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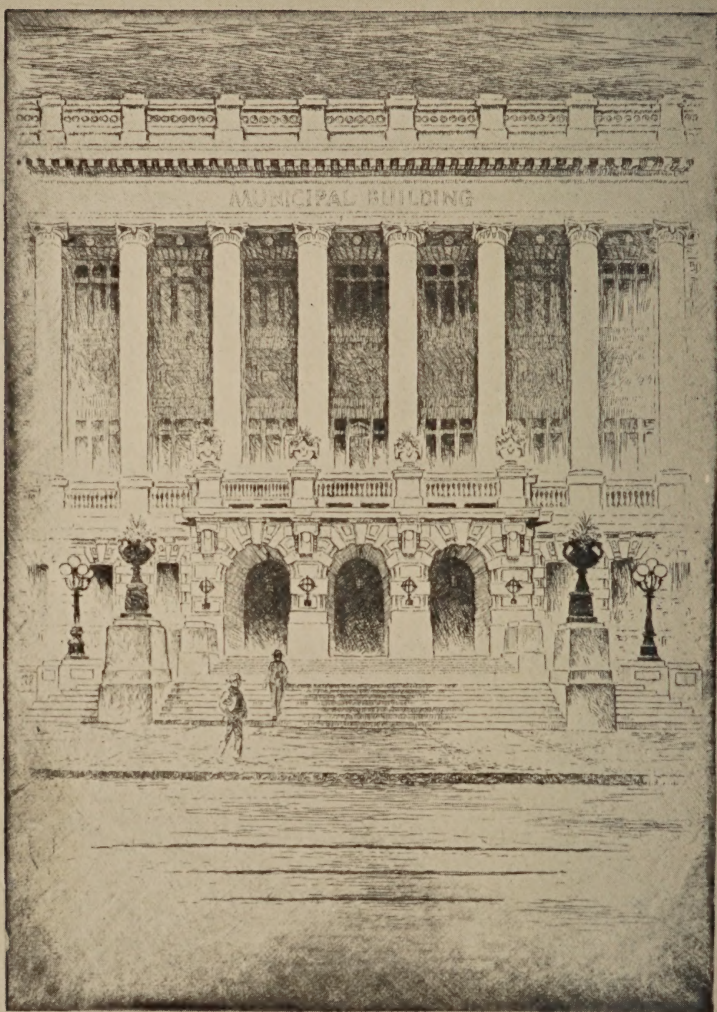
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A history of Trenton, 1679-
1929

A History of Trenton

1679 ∞ 1929

BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE PUBLISHERS OF "A HISTORY OF TRENTON," THE TRENTON TIMES NEWSPAPERS ARE ABLE TO OFFER THIS SPECIAL POPULAR EDITION, IN ONE VOLUME, AT THE MODEST PRICE OF THREE DOLLARS, THE EXACT COST TO THE "TIMES." THIS EDITION, LIMITED TO FIVE HUNDRED COPIES, IS IDENTICAL IN ITS CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS, ALTHOUGH DIFFERING SOMEWHAT IN FORMAT, WITH THE REGULAR EDITION IN TWO VOLUMES, WHICH IS SOLD AT TEN DOLLARS.



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CORNERSTONE LAID JUNE 15, 1909

A History of Trenton

1679 ∞ 1929

Two Hundred and Fifty Years of a Notable
Town with Links in Four Centuries



Trenton Times Popular Edition

Prepared under the Joint Authorship of

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1929

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*To the Citizens of Trenton
That They May Know and Value Better
the Rich Heritage Which Is Theirs*

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Preface

TRENTON is perhaps best known to the American public as the scene of one of the most notable and brilliant events in the War of Independence, the "turning-point," as it has been called, in the fortunes of the Colonies in their contest with the mother country. In crossing the Delaware on Christmas night 1776 and in the successful surprise attack upon the Hessian troops in Trenton, Washington won a signal victory and established his claim to be regarded as a master of strategy. What is known as the "Second Battle of Trenton," or the Battle of the Assunpink, fought a few days later on January 2, 1777, was perhaps even a more brilliant stroke of military genius, although strangely enough most historians have given this second battle but scant attention.

But it is not only as the theatre of a conspicuous military exploit one hundred and fifty years ago that Trenton has a just claim to be regarded with interest. In Colonial days as subsequently it was an important link on the journey between the north and the south, the halfway house between the two great cities of New York and Philadelphia. Trenton early developed a brisk inter-state trade by road and river and was repeatedly visited by many distinguished persons whose names are household words in American history. Here the Continental Congress met in 1784 under the presidency of Richard Henry Lee and General Lafayette took formal leave of Congress. Here Washington in 1789 on the way to his inauguration as first President of the United States was accorded a brilliant reception by the citizens. Here the Federal Government in 1799 established its temporary seat and John Adams, the second President of the United States, lived for a period. In 1790 Trenton was made the capital of New Jersey and has thenceforth drawn within its precincts many eminent persons and has included among its citizens some of the foremost jurists and statesmen of the country.

Preface

Perhaps not many are aware that Trenton in the middle 1780's was seriously considered for the capital of the United States and indeed came very nearly being chosen as such, finally yielding the distinction to the projected city on the Potomac as the result of political manœuvering and the expressed desire of Washington to secure that distinction for his own home land

*John Fitch, a citizen of Trenton, the inventor of steam navigation and the first to make a practical test of its utility, backed by Trenton capital had in 1790 so far perfected his vessel that it successfully plied the waters of the Delaware and conveyed passengers between Trenton and Philadelphia. This was seventeen years before Robert Fulton with the *Claremont* did likewise on the Hudson.*

*Several notable legal cases of far-reaching importance have been determined in Trenton, including the famous controversy in the closing years of the eighteenth century between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut which resulted in what is known as the "Trenton Decree," and the "Goodyear Rubber Case" in the middle of the nineteenth century which was argued by Daniel Webster who had for his chief opponent Rufus Choate. Another Trenton case, "*Hendrickson versus DeCow*," the decision in which determined the respective rights to corporate property as between the Orthodox and Hicksite Quakers, arising out of the schism in the Society of Friends in 1827 and involving certain novel juridical principles, is still cited today in courts of law. All these notable events of general historic importance are fully treated in these pages together with matters of more circumscribed and strictly local interest.*

In industry, particularly in the manufacture of American pottery which was here earliest organized and developed on a large scale and in wire-making and bridge-building as exemplified by the Roeblings, designers and builders of suspension bridges including the famous Brooklyn Bridge, Trenton was a pioneer and has been long and favorably known to the business world. Trenton manufacturers today send their wares to all markets at home and abroad and the city enjoys a corresponding degree of commercial prosperity.

In view of the growth in these modern days of great cities,

Preface

preeminent in industry and commerce, Trenton cannot attempt to claim a foremost place, but it nevertheless possesses a unique distinction of its own as presenting an example of an old American town with an honorable past closely associated with events of the Colonial and Revolutionary eras and preserving today interesting features reminiscent of these periods. With the exception of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, probably there are few cities in the United States richer in historical lore than is Trenton. Its first permanent white settlement occurred in 1679; it existed as a mere hamlet during the last twenty-one years of the seventeenth century and gradually grew in size and importance during the eighteenth and nineteenth, until in this twentieth century it has become a large and flourishing city.

A History of Trenton came about through the conviction of a group belonging to the Trenton Historical Society that the time was ripe for a fresh presentation of the subject, covering all phases of the city's life and development from the earliest beginnings down to the present time.

Though several excellent books by local authors are in existence, dealing with the general history of the city or with certain of its phases, there is yet no single work where the story is told in its fullness and the materials are coordinated and presented in a way calculated to interest and edify the general reader as also to satisfy the serious student. Moreover in recent years much valuable spade-work has been done by individuals, each working in his chosen field, whereby rich veins have been uncovered not hitherto rendered available to the local public.

The immediate occasion which led to the production of this Book was a proposition made several years ago to sundry members of this group to undertake a history of Trenton in the interest of a publishing house which makes a business of producing town and county histories in connection with certain commercial and advertising features. The persons approached were unwilling to sponsor such a project, for the reason that it would seem to cheapen their authorship and compromise the dignity of the subject. Hence the offer was rejected and in association with others it was resolved to undertake the work

Preface

free from the taint of commercialism or the exploitation of individuals.

Public-minded citizens having pledged a guarantee fund sufficient to cover the expense of publication, the task was undertaken jointly on a voluntary basis and with no thought of personal compensation.

As the members of the group are associated with the Trenton Historical Society it seemed fitting that the Book should be published under the auspices of the Society instead of going out unsponsored or merely bearing the names of the several authors. It was felt that the Society's name would serve to add prestige to the work and be in direct line with its purposes and ideals.

For several years past members of this group have been engaged in research and preparation along the line of the subjects severally assigned to them, but until recently little of a definite nature was accomplished. Under the spur of the significant fact that in the year 1929 Trenton will have completed two hundred and fifty years since its original settlement, it was determined, in recognition of that event, to bring the work to a completion.

While each individual writer is alone responsible for the historical accuracy of the facts contained in his narrative, the editorial committee has yet used its best endeavors to verify the main statements by reference to the authorities and by comparison with the work of other writers in the group, and it is presumed that no glaring discrepancies will have found their way into the text. Whatever minor disagreements there may be are undoubtedly due to the influence of the personal equation which is an inevitable factor when phases of the same general subject are treated by different writers. For the same reason occasional duplication of matter has been unavoidable, though the endeavor has been made to reduce the repetitions to a minimum or at least to give them a supplementary aspect.

A word may properly be said about the illustrations. In George A. Bradshaw, instructor in the School of Industrial Arts, Trenton possesses an artist whose pen-drawings and etchings have served to make his work favorably known beyond the confines of this locality. In selecting the subjects preference has been given mainly to buildings and scenes having an historical

Preface

significance rather than to the modern and more pretentious ones at present in evidence. Portraits have been excluded, partly for the reason that those of the more prominent persons are elsewhere available, and partly because it was impossible to make a selection without seeming to be guilty of an invidious distinction.

Acknowledgment of the cooperation in the preparation of this history freely rendered in many important ways by persons too numerous to mention, is here gratefully made. Especially are thanks due to Mr. Frank D. Halsey of the Princeton University Press, who has acted in an advisory capacity to the Editorial Committee, and to Miss Mary J. Messler of the Staff of the Free Public Library, who has made the Index and verified the Bibliography and the Chronology of Important Events. To the public-spirited citizens of Trenton who have generously provided the Guarantee Fund without which this work could not have been published, special gratitude is due, not only on the part of the Associated Historians, but also on the part of all who shall presumably profit by reading this history.

FOR THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

EDWIN ROBERT WALKER

HAMILTON SCHUYLER

JOHN J. CLEARY

JANUARY I, 1929

Errata

- p. 45, line 12. *For Mr. Redman read Mr. Redmond*
- p. 48, line 2. *For Daniel Cox read Daniel Coxe*
- p. 61, note 92. *For pp. 142 ff. read pp. 412 ff.*
- p. 65, lines, 39, 41. *For Grants and Concessions read Concessions and Agreements*
- p. 84, line 8. *For (1745) read (1746)*
- p. 131, line 2. *For daughter of Thomas Cadwalader read sister*
- p. 232, lines 24-5. *For Edward Clunn read Charles Clunn*
- p. 350, line 10. *For in 1745 read in 1746*
- p. 361, line 2 of note. *For 1837 character read 1837 charter*
- p. 428, line 8. *For Centre Street near Lanning read Centre Street near Landing*
- p. 462, line 34. *Insert Christian before Charles Augustus Brandt*
- p. 465, line 38. *For May 27, 1890 read May 27, 1900*
- p. 466, line 14. *For Rev. R. L. Haus read Rev. L. R. Haus*
- p. 467, line 43. *For Rev. L. R. Haus read Rev. L. R. Haus*
- p. 470, line 33. *For Community Home on Stockton Street read Progress Club on West State Street*
- p. 505, line 17. *Transpose H in eH*
- p. 536, line 19. *For Abram S. Hewitt read Charles Hewitt*
- p. 561, line 42. *For \$500 read \$5.00*
- p. 561, line 43. *For great-grandfather read grandfather*
- p. 566, line 9. *For Benjamin Fisher Lee read Benjamin Fisler Lee*
- p. 579, last line. *For Winsett read Wimsett*
- p. 581, line 26. *For Jacob R. Freas read Jacob R. Freese*
- p. 590, next to last line. *For Imlay Moore read Imlah Moore*
- p. 592, line 47. *For Robert M. Messler read Robert A. Messler*
- p. 598, line 25. *For in 1724 read in 1723*
- p. 599, lines 18-19. *For erecting a grammar school read finishing St. Michael's Church*
- p. 609, line 19. *For Benjamin F. Vancleave read Benjamin F. Vancleve*
- p. 609, line 27. *For A. M. Johnson read A. M. Johnston*
- p. 621, line 16. *For Francis C. Lowthorp read Francis C. Lowthrop*
- p. 625, line 5. *For 1904 read 1902*
- p. 625, line 11; p. 629, line 16. *For Richard S. Fields read Richard S. Field*
- p. 634, line 10; p. 636, line 24. *For Joseph Choate read Rufus Choate*
- p. 690, line 14. *For Charles Hewitt read Abram S. Hewitt*
- p. 725, line 15. *For 1902 read 1901*
- p. 730, line 10. *For Charles S. Hewitt read Charles Hewitt*
- p. 760, line 21. *For 1852, 17 read 1852, 3*
- p. 788, line 8. *For Brooks read Brook*
- p. 797, line 30. *For George Holcomb read George Holcombe*
- p. 798, line 11. *For Dr. H. M. Chaseman read Dr. M. H. Chaseman*
- p. 812, lines 10-11. *For Monks and Monastery read Monks and Monasteries*
- p. 825, line 28. *For Frank V. Storrs read Frank V. Storrs*
- p. 837, first line of note. *For Marvin A. Reilly read Marvin A. Riley*
- p. 876, lines 42-3. *For Fred C. Ruhlman read C. Fred Ruhlman*
- p. 896, line 7. *For Harry Klagg read Harry Klag*
- p. 915, line 8. *For Arthur C. Metzger read C. Arthur Metzger*
- p. 953, line 48. *For 1873 read 1883*
- p. 983, line 11. *For built 1914 read built 1911*

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A History of Trenton

1679 ∞ 1929

CHAPTER I

The Colonial Period

BY EDWIN ROBERT WALKER

I. Introduction

SOME people think that that country is happiest which has no history. This obviously is not true; but, on the contrary, that country is happiest whose history is told in monument and story; and this is so of political subdivisions of a State, as well as of the State itself.

In the history of Trenton the first thing that arrests our attention is the early name of the place and its origin. The first settlement, as will hereafter appear, dates from the year 1679, at which time the region on the river in the vicinity of what is now Trenton was known as the Falls of the Delaware. All the authorities agree upon that point. A few white men were at the Falls in the seventeenth century, before the settlement of 1679, or passed through them in voyages on the river, but no permanent settlement was made until the coming of Mahlon Stacy and the other Friends, or Quakers, in the year mentioned.

AN EARLY DESCRIPTION OF "THE FALLS"

An early description of the Falls, and certainly the first after the settlement was made, is that given in the *Journal of a Voyage 1679-1680* by Dankers and Sluyter under date of Friday, November 17, 1679.¹ The entry, which is quoted in full below

¹In ancient times there was much confusion about the calendar, and in the year 46 B.C. Julius Caesar undertook to put an end to it by the arrangement known as the Julian calendar, or Old Style (generally written O.S.). This continued until 1582 when Pope Gregory XIII promulgated the present calendar, known as the Gregorian calendar, or New Style (generally written N.S.). (See Fiske, *History of the United States*.)

In Great Britain the New Style was not adopted until the passing of the New Style Act, which came into operation in 1752, the discrepancy by that

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(p. 33), tells among other things of the travellers' disappointment in the "falls," which they found to be "nothing more than a stretch of about two miles in length where the river is full of stones almost across it, which are not very large, but in consequence of shallowness the water runs rapidly and breaks against them, causing some noise." And this condition is recognizable today, although the bank of the river from Calhoun Street down to the Assunpink Creek has been filled out from the narrow fringe of land along the Sanhican (formerly called the Water Power) to a considerable extent, covering many of the rocks and sandbars, which, except in times of high water, were formerly discernible from the bank.

THE NAME "FALLS" LONG EMPLOYED

Dr. Hall in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton* says that the Falls of the Delaware was not only the first name given to that part of the river where Trenton was afterwards built, but was used for more than a century to denote the general locality. Mr. Raum, speaking in his *History of Trenton*, of the Dutch and Swedes who preceded the English in this country, referred to their fortifications on the Delaware, by them

time amounting to eleven days. Opportunity was taken at the same time to fix the official commencement of the year in England at January 1, the date which had been taken as the commencement of the year under the Gregorian calendar and which had been adopted in Scotland in 1600. Up until 1752 in England the official date of the new year had continued to be March 25. (See Philip, *The Calendar*, p. 22.) Thus it happens that in England prior to 1752, dates between January 1 and March 25 were often referred to by both of the years, and we frequently find such references as "February 25, 1679-80" (which means that that date was in 1679 O.S. or 1680 N.S.). But the month of November, the ninth month O.S., or the eleventh month N.S., was always the November that we know, being in the late fall, for these calendars made no difference in reference to the months as related to the tropical or solar year. Hence Friday, the 17th day of November, 1679, noted in the *Journal of a Voyage*, would be the 28th of November by the present calendar.

The most conspicuous example of this change of dates is afforded by Washington's Birthday. It will be remembered that Washington was born February 11, 1732, but a discrepancy of eleven days existed between the Julian and the Gregorian calendars, which latter was adopted by Parliament in 1752. This discrepancy was corrected by advancing the date eleven days, since which time Washington's Birthday is regarded as occurring on February 22 of each year; and is always celebrated on that day.

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called the South River, near Gloucester in New Jersey, and also on the Hudson, or North River, in New York,² and remarked that the Yorkshire commissioners chose the purchase from the Assunpink, or Falls of the Delaware, to Rancocas Creek.

Mahlon Stacy and the other Quakers, whose names, unfortunately, have not been handed down, came to the Falls in 1679 (quaintly written "Ye ffallles of ye De La Warr"), landed at Burlington in December 1678, which latter place had been settled in 1677. They did not give any distinctive name to the place here but were content to call it the Falls, but after William Trent in 1714 made his purchase of Mahlon Stacy the younger of 800 acres at the Falls, lying on both sides of the Assunpink Creek and extending inland for a considerable distance, being the remainder of the Stacy holdings there, the town was called Trent's-town, sometimes Trent-town, and finally Trenton. Says Mr. Lee in his history of Trenton: "The Falls" was not dropped for years—in fact, it was in common use until the Revolution." Trent himself called the town Trenton in 1719.^{2a}

There is one other name which it is said to have borne at one time, and that is Littleworth. It is spoken of both by Dr. Hall and Mr. Raum, and by both repudiated as a name for the settlement. Dr. Hall says that if the first name given to the settlement was Littleworth, the disparaging title must have been disdained by Stacy, who pronounced it a most brave place whatever envy or evil spies might speak of it. Mr. Raum, likewise, says that it has been asserted that the first settlement of Trenton was called by the Indians Littleworth, in consequence of its liability to be destroyed by flood in the river; that his impression, however, was, that the inhabitants never recognized it as the name of the town; that Mahlon Stacy in his letters written in 1680 dates

² As this passage indicates, the Delaware was formerly called the South River, and the Hudson the North River; in New York City the Hudson is still commonly called by that name.

^{2a} See deed, William Trent, of Philadelphia, merchant, to James Maccombs, of the town of Trenton in the county of Hunterdon, January 4, 1719, for a lot of land in the "Town of Trenton." Liber T, p. 334, Office of the Secretary of State.

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them from "the Falls of Delaware"; that if the inhabitants ever called any part of Trenton by that name they must have referred to the low lands between Front Street and the creek, then filled up; that he was not prepared to dispute its being the name of the town at its earliest settlement, but he had grave doubts of its being the fact. Apparently the name, if ever used, must have been in the spirit of jest. Assunpink Creek, oftentimes misspelled Assanpink (although with good authority) was formerly called St. Pink or Sunpink, and also was called the River Derwent, as old deeds will show. That Assunpink is the proper spelling of the name appears from the fact that Dr. Brinton, the eminent authority on the Lenni Lenape, says that in their dialect the word is pronounced "Assun," meaning a stone.

EARLY GROWTH OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Dr. Hall speaks of Trent-Town Falls and also says that the fact that "Trent's-town" or "Trent-town" was growing to a respectable condition is indicated by the direction of the governor in 1719 that the county courts should be held there. Mr. Raum says that the place was first called Trent's-town and was named Trenton as early as the year 1719.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish professor and traveller who was here in 1748, says that "in Trenton there are two small churches, one belonging to the Church of England and the other to the Presbyterians, and that the landlord said that twenty-two years ago, when he settled here, there was hardly more than one house."^{2b} But Dr. Hall says: "When it is said that the landlord told Kalm that in 1726 there was hardly one house in Trenton, either the Swede did not understand the Jerseyman, or the host spoke at random; for if as early as 1719 the courts sat in Trenton, it is not probable that such a selection would be made seven years before there was 'hardly a house.'"^{2c} Here is an explanation and refutation of the story, to which, doubtless, all will agree.

Of course one could write the history of Trenton by commencing with the first settlement at the Falls of the Delaware

^{2b} Kalm, *Travels in North America*, Vol. I, p. 220.

^{2c} Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), p. 58.

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in 1679, simply stating that Mahlon Stacy, accompanied by certain Friends, called Quakers, settled there at this time; but this would manifestly not be very satisfactory. Almost all histories commence at a date anterior to that which is first treated of in the narrative. For instance: Smith begins his *History of Nova Caesarea* or New Jersey with a brief review of the discovery of America. In writing the Colonial history of Trenton I have chosen to go back to the English conquest of 1664, and set out the letters patent from King Charles II to his brother James, Duke of York; then the grant from the duke to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; and then on down to Stacy and Trent. I have set out in full the old and singular letters patent which Charles II employed to convey New Jersey with other lands in North America to his brother the duke, believing that, since the ordinary reader rarely sees the law books or official archives which contain the grant in full, it will prove to be a matter of great interest.

"NOVA CAESAREA"

Let it be remembered that the first name of the Province, now the State, was Nova Caesarea³ or New Jersey. In the word "Caesarea," in several documents from which I have quoted, the suffix is written "ia" instead of "ea," and in so quoting I have retained the original spelling. The Province was so called in honor of Sir George Carteret, who was one of the grantees of James, Duke of York, in the deed for Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, and who was lieutenant-governor of the Island of Jersey in the English Channel and had successfully defended its possession for Charles I against the parliamentary army of Cromwell. Mr. Nelson in an address on Sir George Carteret, delivered before the New Jersey Historical Society (Vol. XII), says that the natives of Jersey erected a town on the eastern coast of the island on the site of a Roman encampment, it is believed. This seems to be the sum of the learning on the subject, and indicates, of course, that the name is derived ultimately from Julius Caesar, the Roman emperor.

³ In *The Americana* it is stated that the word should be pronounced "Sēs-a-rea."

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Without further introduction the Colonial history of Trenton will be given on the following pages.

II. The Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians

THE aborigines are familiarly known to us as the Delaware Indians. They were known to themselves as the Lenni Lenape.⁴

The name bestowed upon New Jersey by the Indians was "Shejachbi" (pronounced as if spelled "Shā-ak-bee"). They claimed the whole area comprising New Jersey. Their great chief, Teedyescung, stated at the conference at Easton, Pa., in 1757, that their lands reached eastward from river to sea. When I was a boy I assumed the word "Delaware" to be an Indian name, evolved by the savages themselves and by them bestowed upon the river and bay. Originally, however, it was three words, "De La Warr," the name of an ancient English family ennobled in the time of Edward II, who reigned from 1307 to 1327. It is undoubtedly of Norman origin. The particular scion of that ancient house for whom the Delaware River and Bay, and the State of Delaware, were named, was Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, born July 9, 1557. It was from the lordly title of this distinguished nobleman and adventurer that we get our present name "Delaware."

The name Lenni Lenape is not pronounced as spelled, that is, the last word is not. That, phonetically, would be Len-apee, but it is to be pronounced as though spelled "Len-au-pay." The river known to us as the Delaware they called Lenape Wihit-tuck, meaning river or stream of the Lenape.

⁴ The following account is excerpted from an address made by the author before the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, October 31, 1917; not expecting it to be printed, the authorities were not quoted. It was, however printed later. See *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 193. Works which may be consulted are *The American Nations*, by Rafinesque; *The Lenape and Their Legends*, by Brinton; and other standard works to be found in all large libraries.—The Author.

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Whence came the Indians? Rafinesque, in *The American Nations*, says that the annals of the Lenni Lenape contain an account of creation, telling of Kitanitowill, a god, the first and eternal being, who caused the earth, water, sun, moon and stars. This legend also tells of a bad spirit, Makimani, although the theory about an Indian Satan seems not to be accepted by some historians,—nor does it seem that such a being was believed in by the Lenape when the white men first went among them.

These annals of the Lenni Lenape given by Rafinesque tell also of a flood and of the passage of the Indians and their settlement in America. From whence they passed does not appear, and doubtless this mystery is destined to remain forever unsolved.

THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF THE DELAWARE TRIBE

It will probably be a matter of some surprise to most to learn that there is authority for believing that New Jersey was a wilderness, uninhabited by human beings until the year 1396, when King Wolomenap (Hollow Man) led his people into the Delaware Valley where they settled and overran New Jersey. The Reverend Mr. Beatty, in his mission from New York in 1766 to the western Indians, received from a person whom he credited the following tradition, which he had in turn had from some old men among the Delaware tribe:

That of old time their people were divided by a river, and one part tarried behind; that they knew not for a certainty how they first came to this continent, but gave this account:

A king of their nation, when they formerly lived far to the west, left his kingdom to his two sons; the one son making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart and seek some new habitation. Accordingly he set out, accompanied by a number of his people, and after wandering to and fro for the space of forty years, they at length came to the Delaware, where they settled three hundred and seventy years before [that is, before 1766, which thus would make the date 1396]. The way they kept account of this was by putting a black bead of wampum every year on a belt which they used for that purpose.

Rafinesque gives a list of Lenape kings and says their annals tell of Wolomenap (Hollow Man) the 77th, and that he was king at the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton); the first one there, according to the legend.

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The earliest white travellers in this part of the country looked upon the natives as simply savages and but little different from the wild beasts about them. They therefore did not trouble themselves to study their institutions or traditions; all of that has been done in comparatively recent times.

CHARACTERISTICS AND HABITS OF THE INDIANS

The Indians found here by the first explorers and travellers were splendid physical specimens, well built and strong, with broad shoulders and narrow waists, dark eyes, white teeth, and coarse black hair, of which the men left but a single tuft on the top of the head to accommodate an enemy's scalping knife. There were few that were crippled or deformed.

As they lived mainly by hunting and fishing, their habitations, which were called "wigwams," were temporary structures which could easily be removed when occasion required. They generally slept on skins or leaves spread on the bare ground, though some had crude board floors.

From these humble lodgings no one was ever turned away and the generous hospitality of the Indians was noted with admiration by travellers. The Indians' dinner generally consisted of meat and vegetables, cooked in the same vessel, which was rarely, if ever, cleansed. His breakfast generally consisted of maize (or Indian corn), pounded in a mortar till crushed, and then boiled. This was his *ach-poan*, whence comes the name "corn-ponc," which we all know and, I may say, all like. Their thirst was quenched by drinking the broth of boiled meat, or by drafts of pure water. They had no intoxicating liquors until the advent of the white man. Their only stimulant was tobacco, which they smoked in pipes manufactured by themselves.

The Lenape did not depend solely on the trophies of the chase for their subsistence. They were, to a comparatively large extent, engaged in agriculture and raised a variety of edible plants, corn, beans, sweet potatoes and squashes, among them. A hardy variety of tobacco was also cultivated.

The art of the potter was not unknown to the Delawares, and their skill in bead work and feather mantles, and dressing animal skins, excited admiration. Their weapons were mostly of stone, but there was considerable native copper used for arrow heads and also for pipes and ornaments. They had paints and dyes made from vegetables and minerals found in their neighborhood.

Although they were usually clad in the skins of animals they had learned to make a coarse cloth from the fiber of nettles and other plants which they twisted and wove with their fingers. They made ropes, purses and bags in the same way, and had needles made of small bones and wooden splints, with which they were quite dexterous. Like all primitive people the Indians were very fond of ornaments and adorned themselves with shells and beads and other articles skilfully and decoratively fashioned by themselves. The white beads made by the Indians were called "wampum" and the blue, purple or violet ones "suckanhoch." They were made of shells and other suitable materials. Used first merely for ornamentation, this wampum came to be so much in demand that it assumed the character of currency, and it was so used by the white settlers as well as the Indians as neither

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had any other kind of money. Some white men tried to make wampum but their crude product was promptly rejected as counterfeit.

The Indians were never very numerous in New Jersey, at least not after the advent of the white settlers. It has been estimated that in 1648 there were in the various tribes about two thousand warriors all told, which would make a total population of about eight thousand. After this date they disappeared rapidly. In 1721 they were said to be few and friendly,—the fewer the more friendly, doubtless.

Kalm, a Swedish traveller, who spent some time here in 1748, observed that the disappearance of the native population was principally due to two agencies,—smallpox and brandy. It will be remembered, I believe, by everyone, that intoxicating liquors were sold to the Indians by the whites even in defiance of Colonial statutes forbidding it. The practice of violating the excise law, which we have every reason to believe still goes on, appears, therefore, to be of ancient origin and to be founded upon considerable historic precedent.

The names, number and position of all the New Jersey tribes have not been ascertained, but it is known that about 1650 the tribe occupying the area around the Falls of the Delaware, where Trenton now stands, was named "Sanhican." Their chief was Mosilian, who commanded about two hundred braves at the Falls. An artificial stream of considerable beauty, paralleling the Delaware River and running along the southwesterly boundary of the city, built originally to supply water power to mills, but now disused for that purpose, has been named Sanhican Creek.

The Sanhicans were noted for the manufacture of stone implements, making beautiful lanceheads and arrowheads of quartz and jasper. There are several vocabularies of their dialect extant.

Teedyescung, Oraton, Mosilian and the other sachems and sagamores or old Schejachbi (New Jersey) have long since gone to the happy hunting ground, and the remnant of their tribes is on a reservation in the Far West, perishing as a type and destined to become extinct as a people.

III. Land Titles

THE history of land titles in Trenton is the history of land titles in the State of New Jersey generally, and they are part of the history of the State, particularly of this locality.

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They are of more than passing interest, and because they are but little known to the residents of Trenton, I think they should be here given in some detail.

By the year 1664 there were considerable English colonies settled in the northern and eastern parts of what is now New Jersey, and King Charles II, considering a Dutch and Swedish colony in the heart of his dominions in America to be a menace to his government, determined to dispossess them. There were several such Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware River below what is now Trenton. For the purpose mentioned, King Charles II evidently intended that his brother the Duke of York, afterwards James II, should make the conquest in his name, and on March 20, 1664, by patent granted unto the duke a tract of land in North America, including New Jersey. These letters patent,⁵ in the quaint language, spelling, capitalization, punctuation, or rather lack of it, are herewith given in full for the enlightenment of the readers of this history:

THE GRANT OF CHARLES II

CAROLUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA Anglie Scotie francie & hibine Rex fidei defensor &c. Omnibus ad quos p'sentes littere perven'nt sal'tm. Inspecimus Irrolutam quasdam l'eas n'ras paten' sub mango Sigillo n'ro Anglie sigillat' geren'dat'apud Westm' duodenimo die Marcij Anno regni n'ri sexto decimo p'charissimo fratri n'ro Jacobo Duci Ebor' confect' in rotul Cancellor nre' p'dre irrolulat at ebm de recordo remanen in nec verba:⁶

Charles the second by the grace of Gode &c To all to whome these p'sents shall come greeting know yee that wee for divers good causes & considerat'ons vs therevnto moveing have of our espec'all grace certaine knowledge & meere mot'on given & granted and by these p'sents for vs, our heires & Successors doe give & grant vnto our dearest Brother James Duke of yorke his heires & Assignes all that part of the Mayne land of New England begin'ning at a certaine place called or knowne by the name of St. Croix

⁵ "Letters patent" is the name of an instrument executed by a government to grant a right; as, a patent for a tract of land. See Bouvier, *Law Dictionary*, Rawle's 3rd rev., Vol. II, p. 1935.

⁶ Translation: "Charles the Second, by grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom the present letters have come, greeting. We have examined the Registry of the Rolls, certain of our letters patent under our Great Seal, bearing the seal of England, given at Westminster on the twelfth day of March, in the sixteenth year of our reign, executed for our very dear brother James, the Duke of York. In the Rolls our Chancellor registers them and the same remain of record in these words."

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next adioyning to new Scotland in America and from thence extending along the Sea coast vnto a certaine place called Pemaquie or Pemaquid, and soe upp the River thereof to the furthest head of the same as it tendeth Northwards and extending from thence to the River of Kinebequine and soe vpwards vy the shortest course to the River Canada Northwards And alsoe all that Island or Islands comonly called by the severall name or names of Mattewacks or Long Island Scituate Lying & being towards the west of Cape Codd & the Narrohigansetts abutting vpon the Maine land betweene the two Rivers there called or knowne by the several names of Conectecutte & hudsons River together alsoe with the said River called hudsons River and all the land from the West side of Conectecutte River to the East side of Delaware Bay and alsoe all those seu'all Islands called or knowne by the names of Martin Vinyards & Nantukes otherwise Nantiket together with all the lands Islands Soyles Rivers harbours Mynes Min-eralls, Quarries Woods Marishes Waters lakes fishings hawking hunting & fowling and all other Royalties profitts com'odities & hereditaments to the said severall Islands land & p'misses belonging & apperteyning with their and every of their app'ten'nces and all our estate right title Interest benefit advantage clayme & demand of in or to the said lands & p'misses or any part or p'cell thereof and the revert'on & revert'ns remainder & remainders together with the yearly & other the rents reven'ues' p'fitts of all ' singuler the said p'misses of every part & parcell thereof To have & to hold all & singuler the said lands Islands hereditaments & p'misses with their & every of their app'ten'ces hereby given and granted vnto or hereinbefore ment'oned to bee given & granted vnto our said dearest brother James Duke of yorke his heires & assignes forever To the onely p'per use & behoofe of the said James Duke of Yorke his heires & assignes forever To be holden of vs out heires & Successors as of our Mannor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent in free & com'on soccage & not in Capite or by Knights service yeelding & rendring and the said James Duke of yorke doeth for himself his heires & assignes covenant & promise to yeeld & render vnto vs our heires & Successors of & for the same yearly & every yeare fortie Beaver Skinnes when they shall be demanded or within ninety dayes after And we doe further of our speciall grace certaine knowledge & meere mot'on for us our heires & Successors give & grant vnto our said dearest brother James Duke of yorke his heires Deputies Agents Comissioners & Assignes by these p'sents full & absolute power & authority to correct punish pardon governe & rule all such the Subjects of vs our heires and Successors as shall from time to time adventure themselves into any the parts or places aforesaid or that shall or doe at any time hereafter inhabit within the same according to such Lawes Orders Ordinances direct'ons & instruments as by our said dearest Brother or his Assignes shall be established And in defect thereof in cases of necessity according to the good descret'ons of his deputies, Comissioners Officers or assignes respectively as well in all causes and matters Capitall & Criminall as civill, both marine & others Soe alwaies as the said Statutes ordinances & proceedings bee not contrary to but as neare as conveniently may bee agreeable to the Lawes Statutes & governm't of this our Realme of England And saveing & reserving to vs, our heires & Successors the receiving hearing & determining of the Appeale & Appeales of all or any person or persons of in or

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belonging to the Territories or Islands aforesaid or in or touching any Judgem^t or Sentence to be there made or given And further that it shall & may be lawfull to & for our said dearest brother, his heires & assignes, by these p'sents, from time to time, to nominate make constitute Ordeyne & confirme by such name, or names Style or Styles as to him or them shall seeme good And likewise to revoke discharge change & alter as well all & singular Governors Officers & Ministers wch hereafter shal be by him or them thought fitt & needfull to bee or vsed within the aforesaid parts & Islands And alsoe to make ordeyne & establish all manner of Orders Lawes direct'ons Instruc'ons formes & ceremonies of Governm^t & Magistracy fitt & necessary for & conc'ning the Governm^t of the Territories & Islands aforesaid Soe alwaies as the same be not contrary to the Lawes & Statutes of this our Realme of England but as neare as may be agreeable therevnto and the same at all times hereafter to putt in execut'on or abrogate revoke or change not only within the p'cincts of the said Territories or Islands but alsoe upon the Seas in goeing & comeing to & from the same as he or they in their good discret'ons shall thinke to bee fittest for the good of the Adventurers & Inhabitants there And wee doe further of our especiall grace certaine knowledge & meer mot'on grant ordeine & declare that such Governors Officers & Ministers as from time to time shall be authorized & appointed in manner & forme aforesaid shall & may have full power and authority to vse & exercise Marshall Lawe in cases of Rebellion insurrect'on & mutiny in as large & ample manner as our Lieutenants in our Counties within our Realme of England have or ought to have by force of their com'ission of Lieuten'ncie or any Law or Statute of this our Realme And wee doe further by these p'sents for us, our heires & Successors, grant vnto our said dearest Brother James Duke of yorke his heires & assignes that itt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said James Duke of yorke his heires & assignes in his or their discret'ons from time to time to admit such & soe many person & p'sons to trade & traffique vnto & within the Territories & Islands aforesaid and into every or any part & p'cell thereof And to have possesse & enjoy any Lands or hereditam^t in the parts & places aforesaid As they shall thinke fitt according to the Lawes Constitut'ons and Ordinances by our said brother, his heires deputies Com'issioners & assignes from time to time to bee made and established by vertue of & according to the true intent & meaneing of these presents, and vnder such condit'ons, reservat'ons and agreements as our said brother his heires or assignes shall set downe order direct and appoint and not otherwise as aforesaid. And wee doe further of our especiall grace certaine knowledge & meere mot'on for vs our heires and Successors give and grant to our said deare Brother his heires and assignes by theis presents that it shall and may bee lawfull to & for him them or any of them att all and every tyme and tymes hereafter out of any our Realmes or dominions whatsoever to take leade carry and transport in and into their voyages and for and towards the Plantac'n our said Territories and Islands, all such and soe many of our loving Subjects or any other strangers being not prohibited or vnder restraint that will become our loving Subjects and live vnder our allegiance as shall willingly accompany them in the said voyages together with all such Clothing Implements furniture and other things vsually transported and not prohibited as shall bee necessary

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for the Inhabitants of the said Islands & territories and for their vse and defence thereof and manninge and carrying on the Trade with the People there and in passing and returning to and fro yeelding & paying to vs our heires & Successors the Customes and duties therefore due & payable according to the Lawes and Customes of this our Realme And wee doe alsoe for vs our heires & Successors, graunt to our said dearest Brother James Duke of yorke his heires and assignes and to all and every such Governor or Governors or other Officers or Ministers as by our said Brother his heires or Assignes shall be appointed to have Power and authority of Government and Com'and in or over the Inhabitants of the said Territories or Islands that they and every of them shall and lawfully may from tyme to tyme and at all times hereafter forever for their severall defence and safety encounter expulse repell and resist by force of armes as well by Sea as by land and all wayes and meanes whatsoever all such person & persons as without the speciall Licence of our said deare Brother his heires or assignes shall attempt to inhabit within the severall precincts and Limits of our said Territories and Islands And alsoe all and every such person and persons whatsoever as shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter the destruct'on invasion detriment or annoyance to the parts places or Islands aforesaid or any parte thereof And lastly our will and pleasure is and wee doe hereby declare & grant that these our letters patent or the Inrollment thereof shall bee good and effectuell in the lawe to all intents & purposes whatsoever Notwithstanding the not reciteing or ment'oning of the p'misses or any parte thereof or the meets or bounds thereof or of any former or other letters patents or Grants heretofore made or granted of the p'misses or of any part therof by vs of any of our progenitors vnto any other person or persons whatsoever Bodies politique or corporate or any act lawe or other restraint incerteinty or imperfect'on whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding Although expresse ment'on &c In witness &c. Witnessse ourselfe at Westminster the twelfth day of March in the sixteenth yeare of our reigne pip'm Regem Nos antem tenorem L'arum paten p'decan ad requisito'em Johannis Fenwick Armigeri duximus exemplificand per presentes In cujus eri Testimoniu'm has L'ras nr'as fieri fecimus paten Teste meip'o apud Westm' quinto decimo die Junij Anno regni nostri vicesimo septimo

| | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | (Lacon Wm Clitch) | in Cancellar. R |
| Examat. per nos | (et) | anglis ⁷ |
| | (Tho. Estromb) | |

⁷ Translation: "In witness &c. Witnessse ourselfe at Westminster the twelfth day of March in the sixteenth yeare of our reigne by the King himself. The previous tenor of our letters patent through the crown lawyers for the examination of John Fenwick, Major, we have considered attested through these presents. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be patent, I myself witness, at Westminster, on the fifteenth day of June in the twenty-seventh year of our reign.

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | (Lacon Wm. Clitch) | In the Office of the |
| Witnessed by us | (and) | English Chancellor |
| | (Tho. Estromb) | of the Rolls." |

The author is indebted for this and the preceding translation to the

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BERKELEY AND CARTERET

The Duke of York being thus seized in fee of the Province of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, by his deeds of lease and release⁸ bearing dates June 23 and 24, 1664, did grant and convey the Province unto John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. That deed of lease includes therein an exact, and the first, description of New Jersey. It is as follows:

ALL that Tract of Land adjacent to New England and Lying and being to the Westward of Long Island and Manhitas Island and bounded on the East part by the Maine Sea and part by Hudsons River and hath Vpon the West Delaware Bay or River and extendeth Southward to the Maine Ocean as farre as Cape May at the mouth of Delaware Bay and to the Northward as farre as the Northernmost Branch of said Bay or River of Delaware, which is in fourty one degrees and fourty minutes of Lattitude and Crosseth over thence in a Straight Line to Hudsons River in fourty one degrees of Lattitude which said Tract of Land is hereafter to be called by the name or names of New Cesarea or New Jersey.⁹

The deed of release from the Duke of York to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret followed the next day, and for the sake of informing the readers of the titles assumed by the Duke of York, and recited concerning Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the commencement of that deed is here given:

THIS INDENTURE Made the ffoure & Twentyeth day of June in the Sixteenth yeare of The Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Carlis the Second by the Grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the ffaith &c Annoq Dni 1664 BETWEENE his Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke and Albany Earle of Vlster Lord High Admirall of England and Ireland Constable of Dover Castle Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Gouvernour of Portsmouth of the one part John Lord Berkeley Baron of Stratton and one of his Maties most Honorable Privy Counsell and Sr George Carterett of Saltrum in the County of Deven K'nt And one of

Hon. James F. Minturn, Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, an apt Latin scholar, who gives assurance that the translations are correct; and that the clauses are a combination of old English, French and Latin, containing abbreviations and contractions which were in use at the period.

⁸ Lease and release are ancient species of conveyance. The manner was this: A lease for a year being made by the owner, he afterwards made a release of the freehold or reversion (belonging to himself) to the same person, which vested the fee in that person, the tenant then in possession. See 2 *Blackstone's Commentaries*, *339.

⁹ This description is from the original manuscript in the archives of the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.—The Author.

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his Ma'ties most honorable Privy Counsel of the other partt WHEREAS his said Matie King Charles the Second by his Letters Pattents Vnder the great Seale of England bearing Date on or about the Twelfth day of March in the Sixteenth yeare of his said Maties Reigne Did for the Considerac'ons therein menc'oned give and Graunt vnto his said Royall Highnesse James Duke of Yorke, his heires and assignes, &c.

And now Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret owned the fee simple or absolute estate in the whole of the Province. They were each seized of one moiety, or half part of the whole, but were not seized in severalty, that is, were not each seized of a certain one-half area without interest in the other. They were seized according to legal expression, "by the half and by the whole." They were joint tenants, and, as such, were seized by the half or moiety and by all; each had an entire possession, as well of every part as of the whole.¹⁰ Being thus seized, Lord Berkeley sold his moiety, or undivided half part, of the Province to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllynge and his assignes. Upon the request of Byllynge, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas became trustees for the performance of Byllynge to his creditors.¹¹

THE QUINTIPARTITE DEED

The next step in this devolution of title is what is called the Quintipartite (five-party) Deed, made the first day of July, 1676. The parties were Sir George Carteret of the first part, William Penn of the second part, Gawen Lawrie of the third part, Nicholas Lucas of the fourth part, and Edward Byllynge of the fifth part. By this deed the parties divided the Province into two parts by a straight line running from the northwest corner of the Province on the river Delaware at the line dividing New Jersey from New York (just below Port Jarvis), and extending southward to the east point of Little Egg Harbor. They were called in the quintipartite deed East and West Jersey.

Most of the inhabitants at that time were in East New Jersey, that part known as West New Jersey being practically unsettled. A dispute existed concerning the true line of division in the quintipartite deed between the proprietors, freeholders and

¹⁰ *Blackstone's Commentaries*, *181.

¹¹ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 89.

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inhabitants of the two Provinces for many years. Different lines were run by surveyors, but as all left the soil of what is now Trenton far to the westward, Trenton was therefore always in West Jersey, and we were consequently never interested in the controversy. By the quintipartite deed Sir George Carteret, as is well known, had East Jersey granted to him, and Penn, Lawrie and Lucas, as is equally well known, had West Jersey granted to them, in trust for Byllynge.

Being thus seized in severalty, namely, absolute ownership, of West New Jersey, Penn, Lawrie and Lucas (together with John Eldridge and Edmond Warner, grantees of certain lands from Edward Byllynge) directed a letter to Richard Hartshorne dated London, the "26th of the 6th month [August], 1678," informing him of the use of his name in a commission and instructions which they had sent to James Wasse, a copy of which was sent to Fenwick to inform him and his friends that they had divided with Carteret and had sealed deeds of partition; that they had all that side on the Delaware River from one end to the other, the line of partition being from the east side of Little Egg Harbor, straight north through the country to the uttermost branch of the Delaware River (just below Port Jervis), with all the powers, privileges and immunities whatsoever, theirs being called West New Jersey and Sir George's called East New Jersey;¹² that no man was to be arrested, condemned, imprisoned or molested in his estate or liberty but by twelve men of the neighborhood; that no man was to lie in prison for debt, but that his estate satisfy as far as it would go, and he be at liberty to work; and that no person was to be called in question or molested for his conscience. Many more matters were mentioned in the concessions.

These proprietors, Penn, Lawrie and Lucas, on the "18th of the sixth month [August] 1676," sent instructions from London to James Wasse and Richard Hartshorne and Richard Guy or any two of them, to act for them, and, among other things, to find out if Fenwick were willing to peaceably let the land he had taken up of the natives (Indians) be divided into one hundred

¹² Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 80.

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parts, according to their and his agreement in England;¹³ if Fenwick and his people refused to let the land they had taken up of the natives be divided, and refused to join with them, they were authorized to let the country know in what capacity Fenwick stood, that he had no power over the estates of any man or woman more than any other person, and that the land he took of the natives consisted of ninety parts for the use of Penn, Lawrie and Lucas, and ten parts for Eldridge and Warner (the assigns of Fenwick).¹⁴ Then Penn, Lawrie and Lucas addressed an epistle to their "dear friends and brethren" in which they stated, among other things, that one moiety or half part of the Province was for the right of Lord Berkeley and was sold by him to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllynge and his assigns;¹⁵ that a division had been obtained between Sir George Carteret and them as trustees; that the now divided moiety was to be cast into one hundred parts, lots or proprieties; ten of which upon the agreement made between Byllynge and Fenwick¹⁶ were settled and conveyed unto Fenwick, his executors and assigns, by way of satisfaction for what he became concerned in in the purchase from Lord Berkeley and by him afterwards conveyed to Eldridge and Warner; that the ninety parts remaining were to be exposed to sale on behalf of Byllynge.¹⁷

YORKSHIRE QUAKERS AMONG PURCHASERS

Among the purchasers of lands in West New Jersey were some Friends (Quakers) in Yorkshire, and some Friends in London; who each contracted for considerable shares for which they had patents.

Among the Yorkshire Friends or Quakers, who were principal creditors of Byllynge, were Thomas Hutchinson of Beverly, yeoman, Thomas Pearson of Bonwick, yeoman, Joseph Helmsley, of Great Kelk, yeoman, George Hutchinson of Sheffield, distiller, and Mahlon Stacy of Hansworth, tanner, all of

¹³ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 83.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 90.

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England, to whom several creditors made assignments of their debts, which together amounted to £2450 Sterling, and they took in satisfaction of the same, seven full, equal and undivided ninth parts of West Jersey; and the same was conveyed to them, their heirs and assigns by William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas and Edward Byllynge, by deed bearing date the "1st day of the month called March, 1676." On the same date, from the same persons in satisfaction for other debts to the amount of £1050 Sterling, three other full and undivided ninth parts of West Jersey were also conveyed.¹⁸

DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE

In "THE CONCESSIONS AND AGREEMENTS of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New-Jersey, in America,"¹⁹ it was provided in Chapter I that the Province should be divided into one hundred parts as occasion required,—that is to say, for every quantity of land they should lay out from time to time to be planted and settled upon, they should first, for expedition, divide the same into ten equal parts or shares, and for distinction's sake mark in the register and upon the trees belonging to every tenth part. After the same was so divided and marked the commissioners were to grant unto Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pierson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson and Mahlon Stacy, or their lawful deputies, or particular commissioners, for themselves and their friends, who were a considerable number of people and might speedily promote the planting of the said Province, the right to enjoy free liberties to make choice of any one of the said tenth parts or shares which should first be divided and set out, being also done with their consent, and to plant upon the same as they saw fit; and afterwards any other person or persons who should go over (from England to America) and inhabit, and have purchased to the number of ten proprietries, should and might have liberty to make choice of any one remaining parts or shares to settle in.²⁰ The surveyor or surveyors

¹⁸ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 92 n.

¹⁹ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. I, p. 241.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 241.

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whom the proprietors deputed or appointed, should have power to survey, lay out or bound all the proprietors' lands, and for all such lands as should be granted from any of the proprietors to the freeholders, planters, or inhabitants, and a particular territory thereof, to certify to the register to be recorded.²¹ These grants and concessions were dated the "3d day of the month commonly called March," 1676.

On December 5, 1681, Samuel Jennings, Governor of West Jersey, Thomas Olive, Thomas Budd, Benjamin Scott, Thomas Gardner, Daniel Wills, Mahlon Stacy and Thomas Lambert, as commissioners, signed certain methods for settling the regulation of lands²² whereby they provided, among other things, that the surveyor should measure the front of the river Delaware, beginning at Assunpink Creek (which flows through the heart of what is now Trenton), and from thence down to Cape May; that the point of the compass might be found for running the partition lines between each tenth; that each and every tenth, or ten proprietries, should have their proportion of front of the river Delaware and so far back into the woods as would make or contain 64,000 acres for their first settlement, and for the subdividing the Yorkshire and London two-tenths.²³

THE YORKSHIRE TENTH

As already seen, the five settlers, Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pierson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson and Mahlon Stacy, purchased seven and three, making ten, of the ninety parts or proprietries (exclusive of Fenwick's ten) of West New Jersey, and thus became entitled to an entire tenth, and they chose the upper tenth, between Assunpink Creek (at what is now Trenton) and Burlington, and became entitled to have surveyed and set off to them that tenth in proper proportion, as chosen by them.²⁴ Burlington was selected as the southern line of the first tenth,—Yorkshire.

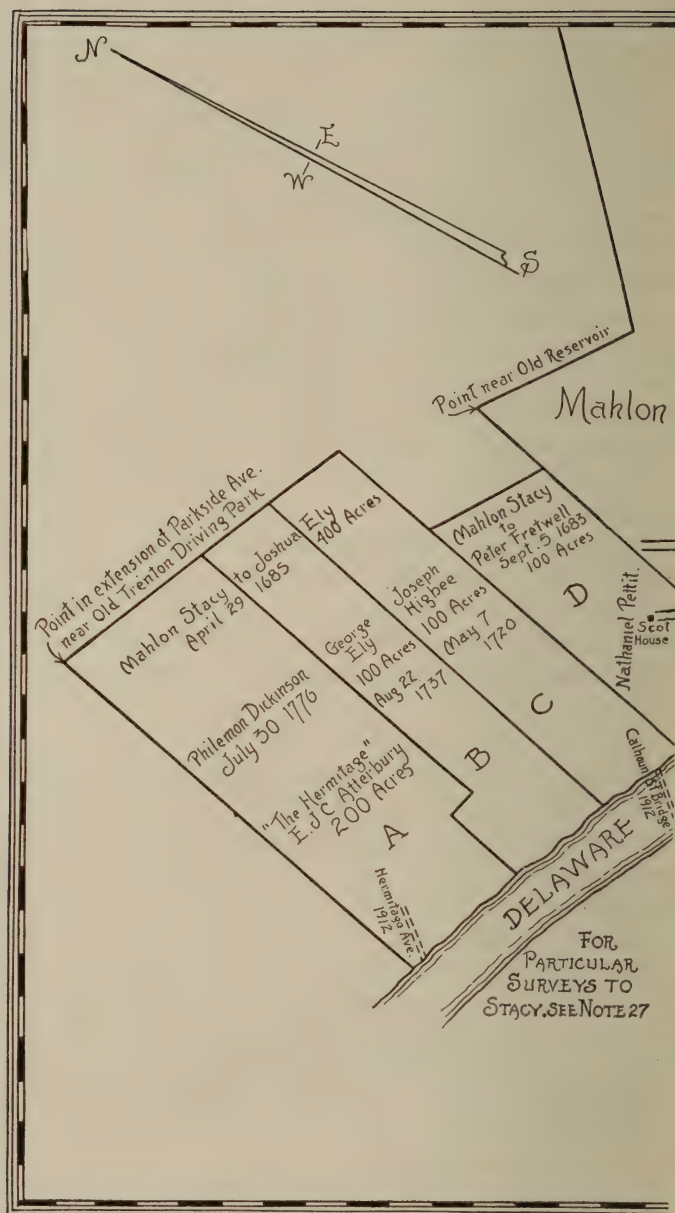
In 1703 a purchase was made by the Council of Proprietors

²¹ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. I, p. 243.

²² Smith, *History of New Jersey*, pp. 130, 134.

²³ *ibid.*, p. 131.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 98.





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of West Jersey of land lying above the Falls of Delaware.²⁵ Apparently the location of lands purchased from the Indians was sometimes made long after their appropriation and settlement on them by the white men, and this appears to be the case in this instance.

By certain deeds of lease and release hereinafter to be referred to, it was recited that on the last day of February and first day of March, 1676, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas and Edward Byllynge, leased and conveyed unto Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pierson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson and Mahlon Stacy, seven full, equal and undivided ninety parts of the Province of West Jersey; and by agreement between them they sold and conveyed unto John Robinson and Thomas Lambert in trust to reconvey unto Mahlon Stacy two whole and entire proprietries; which was done.²⁶ These two proprietries, being two one-hundredths of West New Jersey (they were expressed to be in ninety parts, which, as seen, were above the Fenwick or Salem tenth, the other ten one-hundredths parts) and this entitled Mahlon Stacy to have surveyed to himself, and to locate and settle upon, vast tracts in West Jersey, and he did therefore by certain surveys made by the surveyor-general of the Council of Proprietors take up land on both sides of the Assunpink Creek, which now flows through the heart of Trenton, amounting in all to more than three thousand five hundred acres.²⁷

²⁵ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 96 n.

²⁶ Deed of Release recorded in the office of the Secretary of State in Book BBB of Deeds, pp. 123 ff.

²⁷ See map just above, made by John T. Temple, Esquire, counsellor at law, and published in the *Trenton Times*, Trenton, April 30, 1913. See also, *Revell's Book of Surveys*, pp. 69, 76, 109, 134, Secretary of State's Office; also *Leed's Book of Surveys*, p. 23; *Book A of Surveys*, pp. 6, 17, 35; *Book M-1 of Surveys*, p. 36, Surveyor General's Office, Burlington; also *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXI, pp. 361, 362, 371, 381. It would also appear that some of these surveys to Stacy were made after the land had been deeded by him. And some of them indicate duplications, that is, duplications not as to surveys, but as to place of recordation; for instance, the survey of 1000 acres to Mahlon Stacy in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXI, p. 361, appears to be a duplicate recording or entry of the survey found in *Revell's Book of Surveys*, p. 69, also *Book A of Surveys*, p. 6. By calculating the quantity of land surveyed to Mahlon Stacy (omitting seeming duplications) it would

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MAHLON STACY THE YOUNGER SELLS TO WILLIAM TRENT

Mahlon Stacy died April 3, 1704, leaving a last will and testament²⁸ wherein he gave and devised unto his son, Mahlon Stacy, the younger, his plantation Ballfield, together with the mill and other houses and buildings, lands and meadows, which remained to him, the older Stacy, at the time of his death. By deeds of lease and release²⁹ on August 16 and 17, 1714, Mahlon Stacy the younger conveyed unto William Trent eight

appear that more than 3500 acres were taken up by him at the Falls of Delaware, extending back along Assunpink to Shabbaconck creek, in all upwards of five square miles.

On plat "EEE," Stacy to Trent, 1714, will be found seventeen markings apparently of buildings, besides the mill. On tract "D," adjoining, will be found two similar markings, one labelled "Scot house" and the other "Petty's house." Also on the map of Trenton, 1714, below, are similar markings, labelled "R. Beakes house," and two other smaller buildings. It may therefore fairly be assumed that the similar markings on the tract conveyed to Trent were houses, although such of them as might have been barns, granaries or other buildings cannot be told. However, it is fair to say that a considerable proportion of them were dwelling houses. This leads to the conclusion that Mahlon Stacy's estate of Ballfield, which included tract "EEE," was laid out and built somewhat upon the manor plan. A manor, says Mr. Blackstone, because the usual residence of the owner, seems to have been a district of ground, held by lords or great personages, who kept in their own hands so much land as was necessary for the use of their families and servants. The other lands they distributed among their tenants. (See Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Vol. II, p. *90.) A manor in America is defined to be a tract of land occupied by tenants who paid rent to the proprietors.) (See Webster, *New International Dictionary*, 1928, p. 1313.)

So it would appear that Mahlon Stacy, the proprietor of Ballfield, built tenements which were occupied by renters. The houses and buildings are clustered together, doubtless for protection, for it could not be known in the very beginning what sort of trouble the settlers might have with the Indians. They doubtless went forth to cultivate the lands without their houses being scattered over the territory near to the place of their operations, just as is done in many places, notably in Europe at the present time.

A description of the land in the plat "F and G," will be found in the conveyance from Samuel Atkinson and Ruth (Beakes), his wife, to William Trent, March 12, 1718, recorded in Book DD of Deeds, pages 378 and 379, in the office of the Secretary of State.

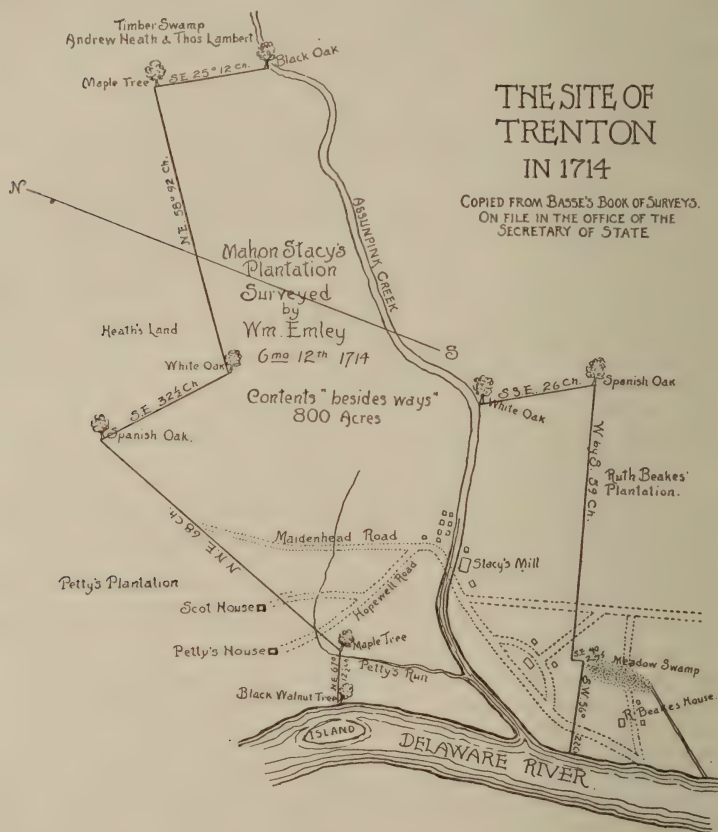
The markings indicating the State House, Old Barracks and Delaware Street, were put in by Mr. Temple at the time the plat was made, for greater certainty of starting point, location, etc.

²⁸ Will bound in Vol. IV of Unrecorded Wills, p. 87, Office of the Secretary of State. This means that the original, not a copy, was bound up.

²⁹ Release recorded in the Office of the Secretary of State in Book BBB of Deeds, pp. 123, &c.

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hundred acres of land lying on both sides of the Assunpink Creek, being the Stacy plantation, Ballifield, of five hundred acres, and three hundred other acres adjoining thereto, which passed to him by the will; and which were the remainder of the elder Stacy's lands here.



A description of what Mahlon Stacy the younger sold and William Trent purchased, will be found in the deed just mentioned, from which the following is taken:

Now this indenture witnesseth that the said Mahlon Stacy for and in consideration of the sume of fourteen hundred pounds money according to the Queen's most Royal proclamation . . . Hath granted bargained and

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sold aliened enfeofed conveyed and confirmed and doth by these presents fully and clearly and absolutely grant Bargain sell aliene Enfeofe Convey and Confirm unto the said William Trent his heirs and assignes for ever all that his plantation and Tract of land whereon he now dwelleth lying by the river Delaware in the Counties of Burlington and Hunterdon aforesaid containing 800 ackers of land and swamp with all and all manner of buildings Houses out houses Sellers storehouses Grist mills Boulting Mills and there apurtenaunces Mill stones Stables Orchards Gardens Meadows pastures Water courses Rivers Springs fencings hedgings ditchings and all and singuler other improvements be what they will belonging or appertaining to the said plantation and tract of land.

Out of the tract, however, were excepted sixty acres sold by Mahlon Stacy, the elder, to Hugh Staniland, and afterwards by his son and heir Thomas Staniland to several persons (not named); and also a lot whereon William Yard dwelt, containing one acre more or less; and another small lot whereon Jacob Bailerjeau dwelt, containing one acre more or less; the latter two lots being sold by Mahlon Stacy the younger.

The eight hundred acres conveyed by the deed are expressed to begin by the river Delaware at a black walnut tree, corner of Nathaniel Petit's plantation.³⁰ Roughly speaking, the tract extended from the Delaware River, between the State House and the Old Barracks, to a point near the old reservoir adjacent to Pennington Avenue; thence back into the country a long distance, and over to the Assunpink Creek; thence down the creek to a point near the present Pennsylvania Railroad station; thence over to a place near the high school on Hamilton Avenue; thence by a line down to the Delaware River, below the mouth of the Assunpink Creek; and thence up the river to the place of beginning.³¹

William Trent being thus seized in fee of 800 acres of land which was for many years in the heart of Trenton (and which has now expanded beyond it), he, and afterwards others claiming under him, made deeds to various people for lands here.

³⁰ See tract "D," map, which was originally in the ownership of Mahlon Stacy, and came to Nathaniel Petit mediately from Mahlon Stacy himself. Platting reveals the fact that the black walnut tree stood between the State House lot and the lot of the Old Barracks; so there was the starting point.

³¹ See tract "EEE" on the map.

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RECAPITULATION

Title here, shortly, is derived thus: King Charles II to his brother, James, Duke of York; the Duke of York to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; Lord Berkeley to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllynge, as to his undivided half; Sir George Carteret, William Penn, Gawen Lawrie and Nicholas Lucas, in trust for Edward Byllynge (the Quintipartite Deed, which divided the Province into East and West Jersey, East Jersey going to Sir George, and West Jersey to Penn, Lawrie and Lucas in trust for Byllynge); Penn, Lawrie, Lucas (added trustees) and Byllynge to Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pierson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson and Mahlon Stacy; the last five named to John Robinson and Thomas Lambert in trust to convey two whole and entire proprietries to Mahlon Stacy, which they did; Mahlon Stacy to sundry parties.³² Some conveyances having been made by him before he left England, and Mahlon Stacy the younger, devisee of Mahlon Stacy the elder, conveyed to William Trent the 800 acres of remaining lands situate on both sides of the Assunpink Creek, Trenton.³³

Such being the history of land titles in this vicinity, it will now interest us to know exactly how the Province was reduced into possession by the English.

POSSESSION BY THE ENGLISH

After the making of the letters patent whereby title to Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, among other lands, was conveyed by Charles II in his brother James, Duke of York, and before the deeds of lease and release by the duke to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and on April 26, 1664, before any formal declaration of war, Sir Robert Carre was sent to America with a small fleet and some land forces, to put the duke in possession

³² See map, pp. 22-3, and explanation E, p. 25.

³³ It is a common mistake to say that Mahlon Stacy purchased 800 acres on both sides of the Assunpink Creek (though it is never stated from whom). This mistake even appears in histories. What the elder Stacy did was to take up more than 3500 acres here by survey from the Council of Proprietors, and his son, Mahlon Stacy the younger, sold the remaining 800 acres to William Trent.

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of the country.³⁴ The expedition arrived at the Hudson River in the latter part of 1664. The land forces, consisting of 300 men, were under the command of Colonel Nicolls. The Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, being unprepared for this attack, and knowing of defects of the Dutch title and their inability to make defense, after some argument was prevailed upon to surrender. The treaty on behalf of the English and Dutch contained many covenants, among them that the States General^{34a} should freely enjoy all farms and houses; that all people should continue denizens,³⁵ and enjoy their lands, houses, goods, ships, wheresoever they were within the country and dispose of them as they pleased; that the Dutch should enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and Dutch discipline.

The fort and city of New Amsterdam (New York) having been surrendered, most of the Dutch inhabitants remained and took the oath of allegiance to the British government, and many of them and their descendants have remained there ever since; hence the Knickerbockers of New York.

Colonel Carre and the commissioners, with the ships under his command, were then sent on an expedition into the Delaware Bay and River, to reduce the inhabitants there.³⁶ On his arrival at New Castle (Delaware) the Dutch and Swedes, following the example of their capital, New Amsterdam, capitulated and surrendered their fort. Articles were duly signed and contained, among other provisions, one that the people should enjoy liberty of conscience in church discipline, as formerly.³⁷ The parties to this agreement were Sir Robert Carre, on behalf of His Britannic Majesty, and the burgomasters, on behalf of themselves and all the Dutch and Swedes, inhabitants on Delaware Bay and River.³⁸

There was some sort of recapture by the Dutch of New York

³⁴ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 35.

^{34a} Generally known as Holland. *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 457.

³⁵ A denizen is an alien born, but who has obtained letters patent to make him an English subject. See *1 Blackstone's Commentaries*, *374.

³⁶ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, pp. 46, 47.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 49.

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and New Jersey in 1673, largely theoretical, however, and they were again yielded to King Charles II by the treaty of peace, February 9, 1674, signed at Westminster; the sixth article of the treaty restored this country to the English. To prevent any dispute that might arise upon the plea of the property being alienated from the first purchasers, the King by his letters patent bearing date June 29, 1674, granted unto the Duke of York, his heirs and assigns, the several tracts of land in America which by the former letters patent had been granted to him, of which New Jersey was a part; and in this year, upon the application of those to whom Lord Berkeley had assigned the land, the duke made them a new grant of West New Jersey.³⁹

This last-mentioned conquest is not treated seriously by the historians, and the grants of confirmation are rarely referred to. They were doubtless unnecessary in view of the uninterrupted possession of the grantees here. They certainly are now of no legal, and very little historical, value. They may be waved aside without further ado.

INDIAN LAND TITLES

Nothing has been said about the title of the Indians to the land in the Province of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey; nor has it been shown how they were quieted with reference to their claims of title in West Jersey. Some statement therefore on that subject should be made. Actual title to the soil was derived from the King of England, who claimed it by right of discovery and conquest. The Indian title was a possessory one, that of an occupant only, and was not of the fee, which is absolute ownership. Taking deeds from the Indians was therefore a sort of buying one's peace in the possession and occupancy of the soil in which the grantee or purchaser had the fee. The Indians had no ownership in "severalty," which means that they did not own lots or tracts whereon they dwelt themselves or which were in possession of their tenants, but their ownership of the land, such as it was, was common to the tribe.⁴⁰ Purchasers and

³⁹ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, pp. 110, 111.

⁴⁰ "The Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Series, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 193.

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settlers were obliged to obtain deeds for the Indian title, which they did, and usually for very inconsiderable amounts, being generally paid in such things as blankets, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, firearms, fire-water, and so on.

The council of proprietors of whom Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Gardner, John Wills, George Deacon, Christopher Wetherill, Samuel Jennings and John Reading were members, in session at Burlington June 28, 1703, certified that the council having taken into consideration the request of proprietors for a third dividend or taking up of land, answered by saying that they had lately made an Indian purchase of land situate above the Falls of Delaware, and that those persons were required to meet with the council that they might be more particularly informed concerning the purchase, its terms and conditions.⁴¹ The proprietors were entitled to take up shares out of this purchase.⁴² Doubtless many did, though such particular conveyances do not concern our history.

IV. *The Coming of Mahlon Stacy*

IN THE tenth month (December) Old Style, 1678, the ship *Shield* arrived from Hull, England; Mr. Raum in his history says that it was December 10.⁴³ The *Shield* entered Delaware Bay and sailed up to Burlington, where it stopped. The river froze during the night and the people from the boat went ashore across the ice in the morning. In her came Mahlon Stacy, his wife and children and several servants, men and women. The others who came in the same ship were: William Emley (for the second time), with his wife, two children (one of whom was born on the way), and two men and two women servants; Thomas Lambert, his wife, children and several men and women servants; John Lambert and servant; Thomas Revell, his wife, children and servants; Godfrey Hancock, his

⁴¹ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 96 and note.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴³ Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 42. This is apparently the only place that that exact date in December 1678 appears, and no authority is cited in verification. The "10" undoubtedly refers to the month only.

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wife, children and servants; Thomas Potts, his wife and children; John Wood and four children; Thomas Wood, his wife and children; Robert Murfin, his wife and two children; Robert Schooly, his wife and children; James Pharo, his wife and children; Susannah Fairnsworth, her children and two servants; Richard Tattersal, his wife and children; Godfrey Newbold; John Dewsbury; Richard Green; Peter Fretwell; John Fretwell; John Newbold; one Barns, a merchant from Hull; Francis Barwick; George Parks; George Hill; John Heyres; and several more.⁴⁴

While in England Mahlon Stacy had acquired his interest in West Jersey, and was one of the Quakers from Yorkshire who selected the Yorkshire tenth as a place of residence; he settled at the Falls of the Delaware, apparently the most eligible spot, where he built a grist mill. He and his family and some of the other Quakers, who intended to settle at the Falls, must have stayed with their friends all winter at Burlington, where there was a town and houses already erected, and doubtless he and they came to the Assunpink in the early spring of the year 1679, on the breaking up of the winter.⁴⁵ This would appear from the book called *Journal of a Voyage 1679-1680*, previously referred to herein, and published by the Long Island Historical Society in their *Memoirs*, 1867. And the reason is obvious. The Quakers did not arrive in Burlington until December 1678, and it would have been quite impossible to start to build the mill and houses until after the spring thaw in 1679. The principals in that adventure were Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, two priests of a sect called Labadists which taught a mysticism as primitive Christianity and believed in community of property among Christians.⁴⁶ These men were sent on a tour of observation through New York and adjoining Provinces for the pur-

⁴⁴ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 108.

⁴⁵ In Raum's *History of Trenton* it is stated, p. 50, that the first settlements were made by Friends at the Falls of the Delaware about the year 1676, but this appears to be a palpable error. No authority is given for it, and it is at variance with all the authorities, documentary and otherwise. The true date is 1679.

⁴⁶ *Webster's New International Dictionary*, p. 1200.

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pose of the settling of a colony of their coreligionists.⁴⁷ They sailed from Amsterdam, Holland, June 14, 1679,⁴⁸ and sailed for home from Boston July 23, 1680.⁴⁹

THE FALLS OF THE DELAWARE IN 1679

In the course of their journey through New Jersey Dankers and Sluyter arrived at the Falls of the South River (the Delaware), on Friday, November 17, 1679, according to the date given in the *Journal*. Their account of the place, being as it is the first written narrative of the settlement, is so important that it is here given in full:

Resuming our route, we arrived at the falls of the South river about sundown, passing a creek where a new grist-mill was erected by the quakers, who live hereabouts in great numbers, and daily increase. But it seems to us as if this mill could not stand long, especially if the flow of water were heavy, because the work was not well arranged. We rode over here, and went directly to the house of the person who had constructed it, who was a quaker, where we dismounted, and willingly dismissed our horses. The house was very small, and from the incivility of the inmates and the unfitness of the place, we expected poor lodgings. As it was still daylight, and we had heard so much of the falls of the South river, or, at least, we ourselves had imagined it, that we went back to the river, in order to look at them; but we discovered we had deceived ourselves in our ideas. We had supposed it was a place where the water came tumbling down in great quantity and force from a great height above, over a rock into an abyss, as the word *falls* would seem to imply, and as we had heard and read of the falls of the North river, and other rivers. But these falls of the South river are nothing more than a place of about two English miles in length, or not so much, where the river is full of stones, almost across it, which are not very large, but in consequence of the shallowness, the water runs rapidly and breaks against them, causing some noise, but not very much, which place, if it were necessary, could be made navigable on one side. As no Europeans live above the falls, they may so remain. This miller's house is the highest up the river, hitherto inhabited. Here we had to lodge; and although we were too tired to eat, we had to remain sitting upright the whole night, not being able to find room enough to lie upon the ground. We had a fire, however, but the dwellings are so wretchedly constructed, that if you are not so close to the fire as almost to burn yourself, you cannot keep warm, for the wind blows through them everywhere. Most of the English, and many others, have their houses made of nothing but clapboards, as they call them there, in this manner: they first make a wooden frame, the same as they do in Westphalia, and at Altona, but not so strong; they then split the board of clapwood, so that they are like

⁴⁷ *Journal of a Voyage*, Introduction, p. xxx.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 392.

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cooper's pipe staves, except they are not bent. These are made very thin, with a large knife, so that the thickest end is about a *pinck* (little finger) thick, and the other is made sharp, like the edge of a knife. They are about five or six feet long, and are nailed on the outside of the frame, with the ends lapped over each other. They are not usually laid so close together, as to prevent you from sticking a finger between them, in consequence either of their not being well joined, or the boards being crooked. When it is cold and windy the best people plaster them with clay. Such are most all the English houses in the country, except those they have which were built by people of other nations. Now this house was new and airy; and as the night was very windy from the north, and extremely cold with clear moonshine, I will not readily forget it. Ephraim and his wife obtained a bed; but we passed through the night without sleeping much.⁵⁰

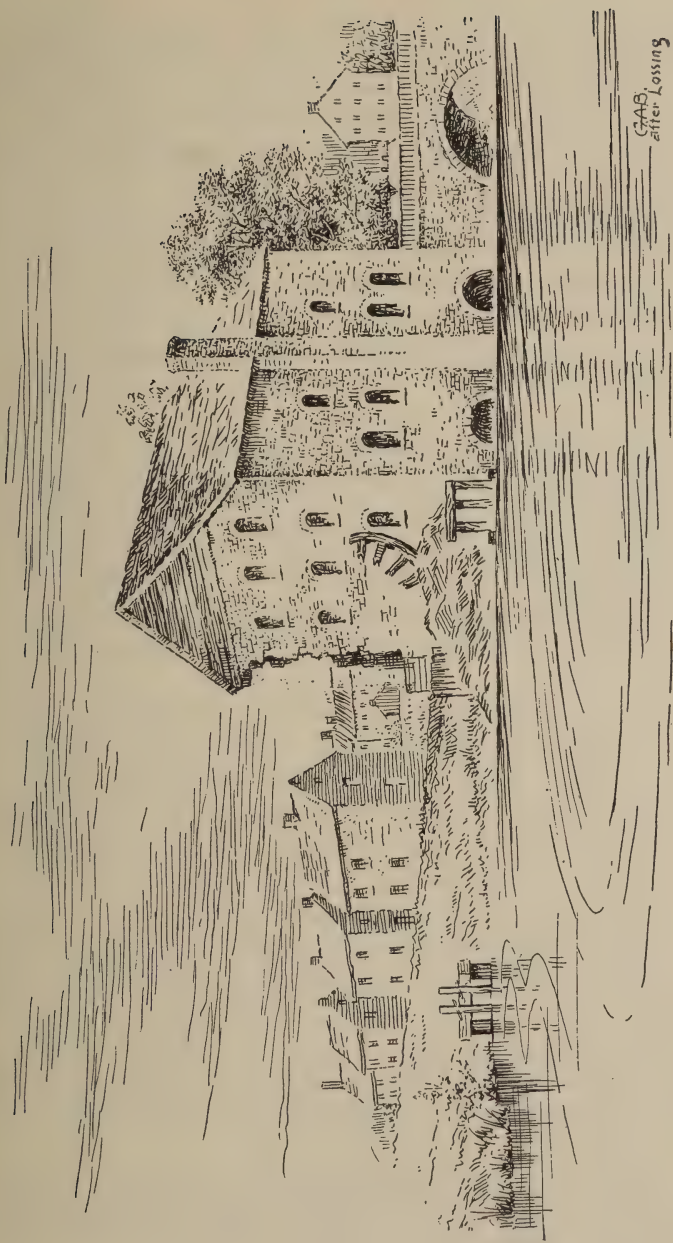
In the succeeding entry, which concerns the next day, Saturday, the eighteenth of November, 1679, the *Journal* commences by the statement that after breakfast, about ten o'clock, they embarked for their journey down the river. So it will be seen that everything that is pertinent here has been included.

THE FIRST MILL AT THE FALLS

In a note to Smith's *History of New Jersey*⁵¹ under a letter from Mahlon Stacy to William Cook of Sheffield, dated at the Falls of the Delaware, 1680, it is stated that the inhabitants of West Jersey had theretofore either pounded their corn or ground it with hand mills; but about that time Olive built his water-mill near Rancocas Creek; and "this year" (not stating what year) Stacy finished his mill at Trenton; the two were the only mills that ground for the country for several years after their arrival. Although it has been generally thought, by reason of this note being under a letter dated 1680 (which makes no mention of the mill), that the date of the letter indicates that the mill was finished in 1680, this is not necessarily the case,

⁵⁰ *Journal of a Voyage*, p. 172. There is another *Journal* of this voyage. It is entitled *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*. It was published in 1913, and is in the New Jersey State Library. It attributes the writing of the *Journal* to Danckaerts, spelling the name differently from that in the former and other edition, and giving authority for it. In the introduction it says that the translation differs very little from that made in the copy published by the Long Island Historical Society; and, by comparison, the translation concerning Friday, November 17, 1679, giving an account of the visit of the priests to the house of Mahlon Stacy at the Falls of the Delaware, is exactly the same.

⁵¹ p. 114.



(748)
after Lossing

OLD STACY MILL, ENLARGED AND IMPROVED BY WILLIAM TRENT, AS IT APPEARED IN 1848, DILAPIDATED BY FIRE AND FLOOD.

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and there is no real conflict in dates between the statement in the *Journal of a Voyage* and that in the note to Smith's *History*. Therefore, the conclusion is that the mill was built in 1679 and finished late in that year, certainly on or before November 17, 1679, and it could not well have been started until the spring of the same year.

Lossing, the historian, as is well known was also an artist, and visited the scenes of the battles and other places of interest of the Revolution and made sketches of the principal objects. He visited Trenton in November 1848 (as appears by a marginal note in his book) and made a drawing showing that portion of the mill still standing, as well as a portion of the creek. He said:

This view is from the north side of the Assanpink, a few rods above the bridge, looking south. The bridge, seen upon the right, is built of stone, and very strong, and is upon the site of the old one. The creek is curbed by a dam near the bridge and forms the sheet of water seen in the picture. The old "Stacy Mill" of the Revolution, the largest building in the sketch, was quite dilapidated from the effects of fire and flood, when I was there.⁵²

The building of the mill is also referred to by the late Rev. Dr. John Hall, Francis B. Lee, Esq., General William S. Stryker and Mr. Raum.⁵³

The *Journal of a Voyage* says the mill was erected when they (Dankers and Sluyter) were here, and that the house was small and the inmates uncivil. That the house was small and airy and the wind came in through the crevices, was undoubtedly due to the fact that the dwelling must have been hastily constructed along with the mill and other houses in the spring and summer of 1679, and was only temporary, as we shall see hereafter. The incivility of the inmates toward their guests, if a fact, seems reprehensible to us of a more refined generation, but undoubtedly was due to the Stacys being austere Quakers, and Dankers and Sluyter clergymen of a very peculiar sect, for Quakers and ministers of the Gospel had very little regard for each other in those days. Probably something was said by some-

⁵² Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 233.

⁵³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), p. 10; Lee, *History of Trenton*, 1895, pp. 16, 17; Stryker, *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 19; Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 180 n., and p. 235.

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body present which provoked some disagreeable controversy, and which led to the caustic remark of the voyager. Dankers and Sluyter were not mild men. It is stated in the *Journal of a Voyage*⁵⁴ that they went on board the Amsterdam packet, on which there were different kinds of people, "all wicked." In particular, they frequently disparaged the Quakers and said derogatory things of them.⁵⁵ Of course everybody with whom they disagreed was "wicked," and they doubtless shared the prevailing opinion, which was decidedly against the Quakers. The Rev. John Talbot, a minister of the Church of England, residing in Burlington, in 1703 wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

The Quakers compass sea and land to make proselytes; they send out yearly a parcel of vagabond Fellows that ought to be taken up and put in Bedlam rather than suffered to go about raving and railing against the Laws and Orders of Christ and His Church and for why: Their preaching is of cursing and Lyes, poysoning the souls of the people with damnable errors and heresies.⁵⁶

The Quakers were no more tolerant or courteous toward their opponents. In the title page of one of their books they express the abhorrence they felt toward one of their former associates, as follows:

The Apostate convicted . . . in which his apostasy from the Truth and enmity against it is manifested, his Deceits, Hypocracie and manifold prevarications are discovered, his false Quotations, Lyes and Forgeries out of the Quaker Books are detected, etc.⁵⁷

In what contrast was the comparatively spacious house in which Mahlon Stacy died twenty-five years after the visit of Dankers and Sluyter, is attested by his will,⁵⁸ in which he said:

And also I give the use and benefit of the two Parlours and the chamber over the Parlours to Rebecca, my wife, and all the orchards on the south side of the dwelling house, and free liberty at all times to use the pump for Water, and also of her own choice to keep Cows and Cut Hay for winter fodder &c. during her life.

As stated in the *Journal of a Voyage*, in the late fall of 1679 there were many Quakers at Trenton and they daily increased. This undoubtedly means that many of the Friends who accom-

⁵⁴ p. 4.

⁵⁵ See pp. 176, 182, 244.

⁵⁶ Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, pp. 4, 5.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Office of the Secretary of State, Vol. 4 of Unrecorded Wills, p. 87.

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panied Stacy on the *Shield* in 1678 came up from Burlington to the Falls of the Delaware with him in the spring of 1679, for the purpose of forming a settlement here, which is further evidenced by his building a grist mill at this place at that time; and many other habitations also must have been built.

This locality was then known, and its name was quaintly written, as "ye ffalles of ye De La Warr," and was called for short "The Falls." By 1685 a number of people, says the historian Francis B. Lee, came to the new town to join their fortunes with those of Stacy.⁵⁹

THE LANDHOLDERS IN 1684

The list of proprietors was for the first time printed in Mr. Lee's *History*, which gives all the landholders of the first (Yorkshire) tenth. It includes the names of plantation holders in Trenton and vicinity as the record stood in 1684, as follows:

| | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Robt Stacy | John Shinn | Marmaduke Hawsman |
| Tho Revell | Tho : Budd | Antho : Woodhouse |
| Seth Smith | Tho : Curtise | Willm Black |
| the 3 brothers | John Butcher | Tho : ffarnsworth |
| Wheelwrights | Samuel Barker | Peter Harrison |
| Tho Bowman | John Curtise | Byran Morehouse |
| Tho Budd | John Browne | Tho Theakes |
| Richard Guy | Michael Newbold | Mathew Watson |
| Nathaniell West | Persifall Towle | Thomas Wood |
| Tho : Singleton | John Antram | John Wood |
| Tho Terry | John Woolston | Robt Wilson |
| Mordecay Bowden | Godfrey Hancock | Willm Hickson |
| John Goslinge | Henry Stacy ^{59a} | Roger Parke |
| John Cripps | Willm Biddle | Thomas ffoulke |
| Joseph Blowdes | Jno Underhill | ffrancis Davenport |
| Tho Wright | Samll Andrews | Samuell Wright |
| Edmund Stuart | Samll Borden | Thomas Wright |
| John Long | Willm Beard | Joseph Stone |
| Samll Oldale | John Snoden | Thomas Lambert |
| Elias ffare | John Hooten | Thomas Tindall |
| ffrancis Boswock | Henry Stacy ^{59a} | George Hutchinson |
| Daniel Leeds | John Horner | Jno Pattison |
| Robert Young | Willm Barnes | Willm Lasswell |
| John Daye | Daniel Bason | Robt & John Murfin |
| Eleazer ffenton | George Goforth | Robt Pearson |

⁵⁹ Lee, *History of Trenton*, 1895, pp. 17, 18.

^{59a} This name (Henry Stacy) is repeated in the original minutes of the Supreme Court, called the "Court Booke," once for 500 acres, and once for 100 acres, and it probably refers to the same person owning different lots.—The Author.

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Tho Sharman
Robt & Tho : Scholey
John Rogers
James Pharoe
George Hutcheson

John ffullwood
Andrew Smith
Peter ffretwell
Hugh Staniland
Mahlon Stacy
John Lambert

Joshua Wright
Tho : Lambert
Willm Emley
Thomas Bartin
John Pancras

North of the Assunpink was practically *terra incognita*, says Mr. Lee; one authentic record remains, throwing light upon the life of the people at the Falls, and that is the Court Book, wherein the first officers elected by the people of Burlington County, to serve for Trenton⁶⁰ as well as for Burlington, are set out. It shows that William Emley was elected sheriff for one year to serve from St. Pink (Assunpink) to Old Man's Creek; Thomas Wood was elected constable at "ye Falls and ye Liberties thereof"; Thomas Revell, registrar; and Daniel Leeds, surveyor.⁶¹ That the Falls and its vicinity had grown to sufficient size to require the services of a constable proves that the population of what is now Trenton had increased with considerable rapidity.⁶²

The use of liquor and sundry regulations in early Burlington are of interest, says Mr. Lee:

Upon the eighth and ninth of August, 1682, it was "ordered by the Co^rt that noe Person or Persons keeping or that shall keep an ordinary or Inne within the Jurisdiction of this Court shall from & after ye Tenth day of August instant, take more than two pence for an Ale Quart (Winchester meazure) of good wholesome Ale or strong beere. And Benjamin Wheat and Henry Grubb are by ye Co^rt appointed to bee Ale Tasters and to goe to ye measures for Ale and beere, according to ye order above, untill ye next Gen^l Assembly or further order." Again, upon the twentieth of February,

⁶⁰ So called by Mr. Lee for certainty of locality, but not then so named.

⁶¹ Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 18.

⁶² It is pertinent to make some observations on the office of constable. That, like justice of the peace, has indeed sunk to a low estate in some instances in present times, but in ancient times it was a high office. High constables were first ordained, according to Blackstone, by the statute of Westminster (13 Edw. I, A.D. 1285), though they were known as efficient public officers long before that time. They were appointed for each franchise or hundred, by the leet (court), or, in default of such appointment, by the justices of the quarter sessions. Their first duty was that of keeping the King's peace, and in addition they served warrants, returned lists of jurors, and performed various other services enumerated in Coke's Institutes. (See Bouvier, *Law Dictionary*, Rawle's 3d rev., Vol. I, p. 625.) And James, Duke of York, in his release to Berkeley and Carteret, describes himself as *Constable* of Dover Castle.—The Author.

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1682, the court ordered that after the first day of March "cyder shall not be sold for more than four pence ye Quart and yt Rumme from and after ye tyme afores'd shall not be sold for more than one shilling six pence ye Quart."⁶³

MAHLON STACY THE FIRST SETTLER

Mahlon Stacy was the first permanent English settler upon the site of what is now Trenton, who owned all the land to a considerable extent about the Assunpink Creek on both sides thereof, from the Delaware River back for considerable distance inland, building a grist mill here for the accommodation of the settlers in this and the surrounding neighborhood. He was a prominent man in his day and generation and held many offices of trust and profit in the Colony. He was elected by the people of the Province of West Jersey, within his tenth, to sit at Burlington in the General Assembly of New Jersey, 1682.⁶⁴ He was also that year chosen a member of Council and a justice for Burlington County.⁶⁵ He was again returned as a member of the Assembly for the Yorkshire tenth in 1684,⁶⁶ and was reelected to the General Assembly in 1685.⁶⁷

Mahlon Stacy's home plantation comprised five hundred acres on both sides of the creek at the Falls, which he called "Ballifield," for his ancestral home in England. His own dwelling there was called "Dore House." His mill was built on the south bank of the Assunpink Creek, adjacent to the road called York Road, afterwards Queen Street, then Greene, and now Broad Street. As already stated, he died at his home, Ballifield, April 3, 1704. In the record of burials in Liber K of the Friends Chesterfield Monthly Meeting (Trenton and Crosswicks being subsidiary to the Chesterfield Meeting) is an entry that Mahlon Stacy was buried the 5th day of the 2nd month (April) 1704, at the burying place in Nottingham in the county of Burlington. This refers to the early Quaker burying ground in the extreme southwesterly part of Riverview Cemetery. His grave is now

⁶³ Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 18.

⁶⁴ Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions (1664-1702)*, p. 442.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 443.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 489.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 498.

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unmarked, although originally there probably was a very small stone erected over it after the manner of marking graves by the Quakers of those days. The inventory of his estate, bound up with the will, shows he left personal property valued at £1034 os. 6d. Beside the provision for his wife he said in his will:

I give and bequeath unto my sonn Mahlon Stacy his heirs and assigns forever, all that my plantation whereon I now dwell, called "Ballifield," together with the Mill, and all other houses, and Buildings, Lands, Meadows, and pastures, &c. containing 500 Acres of Land, more or less, when he shall attain the age of one and twenty years, and also, all my Land lying on the south side of greater Shabba-cunck, and all other lotts, shares or portions of Land throughout the sd province of Nova Cesarea aforesd, not yet taken up, and which shall at any time hereafter become due, and of right to me, belonging.

Mahlon Stacy married in England Rebecca Ely, and left surviving him one son, Mahlon, the younger, and five daughters. Two daughters were born in England, but two others and the son were born at the Falls. Mahlon Stacy, the younger, the one continuing to bear the surname, married Sarah Bainbridge, but died childless in 1742, and the name Stacy of this family became extinct. The daughters all married and numerous descendants of theirs are still living in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.⁶⁸

MAHLON STACY AS A LETTER WRITER

Mahlon Stacy appears to have been considerable of a letter writer, and his epistles were probably numerous and quite lengthy. In Smith's *History of New Jersey*⁶⁹ is an abstract of a letter from himself to his brother Revell^{69a} and some others, dated the 26th of the 4th month (June), 1680 (O.S.), together with an abstract of one of his letters to William Cook of Sheffield, England.⁷⁰ Even as abstracts they are very voluminous. Another letter of Stacy's, to his friend George Hutcheson of

⁶⁸ Mackenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 524; see also *Ely, Revell and Stacy Families*, Fleming H. Revell Co., p. 138.

⁶⁹ p. III.

^{69a} This must have been his (wife's) brother-in-law, Lionel Revell, who had married Ruth Ely and was then residing in Sheffield. See *Ely, Revell and Stacy Families*, pp. 142, 143.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 113.

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England, is in possession of the New Jersey Historical Society of Newark. It is dated at the Falls of the Delaware, the 12th of the 6th Month (August), 1680 (O.S.). While it is principally devoted to religious utterances it nevertheless has an eye to the main chance, namely, the prosperity of the Province in general and of the Friends in particular. As it has never before been published in full it is here so given:

DEARLY BELOVED FREIND, & BROTHER:

In the Blessed Truth of Jesus do I dearly Salute Thee, thy dear Wife, and all tender Freinds, with whom I have been Conversant, and amongst whom my Spirit hath been Refreshed; my dear Love in the Lord salutes them all, desiring as one traveling for the Good and Prosperity of all that love the Lord Jesus; that Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, may be multiplied amongst them abundantly, that they all may be compleatly furnished, wanting nothing, being made able to stand in the Stormy Day, which is hasting on to try the Foundation of all Professions: In which it shall be said, Woe to the Wicked; for it shall go ill with them in that Day, when they shall come to receive the Reward of their Doings. But to the Righteous, it may be well said; It shall go well with you, even all of you, that have born the Name of Jesus; for the Reward of my Love is given you, saith the Lord; and great shall be your Peace and Portion for ever. Amen.

Dear Friend, Thine of the 23d, 11th moneth, 1679, I have Received with great Gladness and Acceptations, as a Token of thy endeared Love and Care, with thy tender Desires for us, and grave Counsel to us: all which I dearly accept of, knowing it was the Flowings-forth of a Soul Fil'd with Love to the Heritage of God in these Parts. For the watering of whom God had fil'd the Hearts of His Servants with His pure Love, precious Life, and Streams of Living Refreshment, for the Comforting of Jacob in his Travels and Tryals, and for the gladding of Israel in the Day of Exercise. So, although we are separated as to the Outward, (a little Scattering as I may say) yet the God of Life abounds in His Love to His Little Flock, dayly extending His Peace (as a River) to His Remnant; And is determined, of a small Number, to make a Great and Strong Nation: And this I plainly saw before I left my Native Country; and the Lord is Mightily bringing it to pass, in His Removing the Heathen that know Him not, and making Room for a better People, that fears His Name. 'Tis hardly credible to believe, how the Indians are wasted in Two Years Time; and especiall the last Summer: and how the English are encreased both in Cattle and Corn, in a little time.

Things go exceeding well with Friends, since they were settled, and our Meetings are duely Kept. The Lord our God is with us, and the Shout of a King is amongst us, Glory, Glory to the Lord our God for ever! I perceive you have strange Reports concerning Us, and our Country; yet our Condition is far otherwise than is represented unto you: for our Land yields its Strength to us in a plentiful manner and we enjoy Fulness of Good Things: The greatest want is that of our Friends; yet the Lord is

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adding to our Number greatly; and in a short Time, this Place will be Populated. Friends are generally Healthful and well. Mine, and my wives dear and tender Love salutes Thee and Thine, with all the Faithful in the Lord; and that the fountain of the Love of God may be your daily Refreshment and Consolation, prayeth

Thy Endeared, & Loving assured Friend,

MAHLON STACY.

Stacy was a canny citizen himself, for in his letter to William Cook of Sheffield, above referred to, he said among other things:

I, with eight more last winter, bought a good ketch [a fore-and-aft-rigged vessel] of fifty tons, freighted her out at our own charge, and sent her to Barbados, and so to sail to Saltertugas, to take in part of her lading in salt, and the rest in Barbados goods as she came back; which said voyage she hath accomplished very well, and now rides before Burlington, discharging her lading, and so to go to the West-Indies again; and we intend to freight her out with our own corn.⁷¹

There is another letter, 1680, from Mahlon Stacy to his brother Revell (probably his wife's brother-in-law, see note 69a), in which he says he had travelled through most of the places that were settled and had seen orchards laden with fruit.^{71a} Now, some people might think that there were orchards here-about, which indicated earlier settlers. Not so. In the first place, Stacy does not declare that he found orchards here, and in the second place, there could not have been any orchards laid out by Englishmen because it takes several years for fruit trees to bear. The first English settlements were at Salem, 1675, Burlington, 1677, and Trenton, 1679, so that even at Salem, settled four years before Trenton, there could have been no bearing orchards there planted by the English; but we must remember that the Dutch and Swedes were in South Jersey (south of here) many years before the English and they remained and amalgamated with the permanent English settlers. It may have been their orchards that are referred to; besides, Stacy likely visited the English settlements in East Jersey which had been established several years before, and some orchards might have been seen there.

This, it will be observed, was in 1680, within the second year of his arrival here. He continued to be a man of energy and

⁷¹ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 114.

^{71a} *ibid.*, p. 111.

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prosperity, as the land he owned and left and the inventory of his estate abundantly show. He lived here a quarter of a century—from 1679 to 1704—and his son and devisee sold the remnant of his land in this community to William Trent ten years after his death, namely, in 1714. The Stacys, father and son, lived here altogether thirty-five years; the son moving to Mount Holly after selling to William Trent, who, unfortunately, lived only three years after becoming a resident at the Falls in 1721, though the place was afterwards named "Trenton" in his honor.

V. The Coming of William Trent

THERE will now be considered the advent and life in these parts of William Trent, a man of address, ability and property; one who attained high office in the Colony, and if the memoir concerning him be somewhat brief, it is due to the fact that he lived here only three years,—from 1721 to 1724. While his accomplishments here were great, they were crowded into a comparatively short time and, necessarily, are briefly told.

William Trent came to Philadelphia soon after it was settled in 1682, from Inverness, Scotland, where he had been born. He was a merchant and man of considerable wealth. He became a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania in 1703, and member of the Assembly there in 1710, 1715, 1719, and was speaker in 1718-19. He, with another, fitted out in 1709 a sloop of war for service in the war of England against France, and with others owned a sloop at Burlington. In 1714 he purchased from Mahlon Stacy, the younger, eight hundred acres of land, which had passed to him under his father's will; it lay on both sides of the Assunpink Creek at the Falls of the Delaware, and afterwards he bought still additional land from others in 1718-21. He removed to his new purchase in 1721, and had a township laid out which he called Trent's Town. He was commissioned by Governor Burnet of New Jersey to be Colonel of the Hunterdon County Militia, and represented Burlington County in the Assembly in 1722, becoming speaker in 1723. He was made judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Hunterdon

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County in 1719, and was appointed chief justice of New Jersey in 1723; he died in 1724. He was twice married; first, to Mary Burge, by whom he had three sons, James, John and Morris, and one daughter, Mary; second, to Mary Coddington, by whom he had two sons, Thomas and William. The first died in infancy, but William became known as Major Trent.⁷²

Chief Justice Trent built Bloomsbury Court, still standing on South Warren Street, Trenton. This was before he moved here, and is said to have been in 1719. He probably spent the summers here before coming permanently. The mansion is of bricks brought here from England as ballast. A wooden addition was made by Mr. Redman during his occupancy of the dwelling which might well be torn down and thus leave the property standing exactly as built by Colonel Trent.⁷³ It is a splendid mansion of purely Colonial design, formerly having extensive grounds surrounding it, which, though greatly encroached upon, are still substantial; once a park it is now but a large lawn.^{73a}

GOVERNOR BURNET'S ESTIMATE OF TRENT

Shortly after he had made the appointment, Governor Burnet wrote to the Lords of Trade saying: "The present Chief Justice, Mr. William Trent, is universally beloved, as your Lordships may observe by his being chosen their Speaker, and I doubt not will answer my expectations in executing the office."⁷⁴

Colonel Trent was a devoted member of the Church of England, and was originally associated with Christ Church, Philadelphia, of which he was for a time a vestryman; his name appears in the list of the church's benefactors who contributed to the parish needs. He was also interested in the church at Burlington.⁷⁵ While he was not a lawyer he was an able, rich and

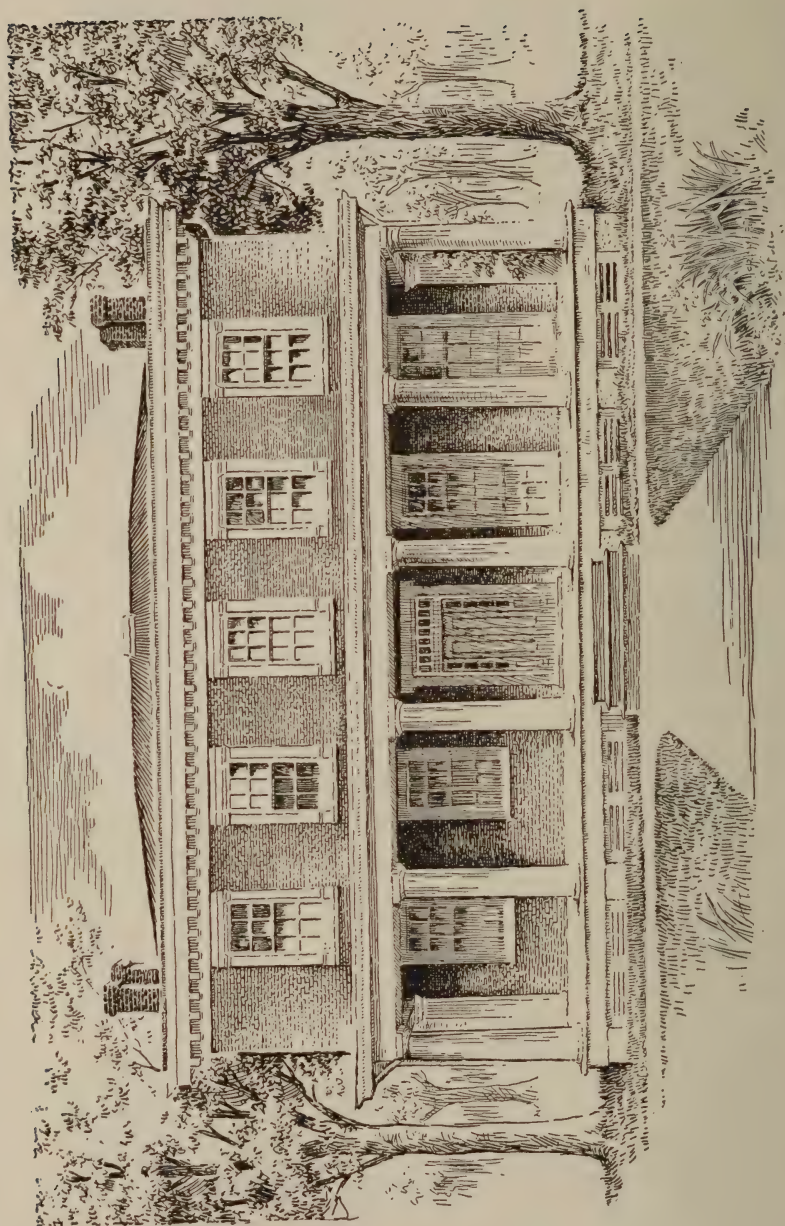
⁷² Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, Appendix I, pp. 339, 340. For further particulars, see also pp. 337-44.

⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 343.

^{73a} There is a movement afoot in Trenton to have the city acquire it, as it is the oldest house here, built and resided in by the early chief justice of the Colony and the residence of several governors since that time.

⁷⁴ Keasbey, *Courts and Lawyers of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 275.

⁷⁵ Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, pp. 12, 13.



BLOOMSBURY COURT, SOUTH WARREN STREET. BUILT BY WILLIAM TRENT, *circa* 1719. THIS DOES NOT SHOW THE FRAME ADDITION
MADE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

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active man of affairs, and was the first chief justice of New Jersey to be appointed independent of New York.

The burial place of William Trent is unknown. That he died in Trenton, December 25, 1724, is well known. The following appeared in the *Philadelphia Weekly Mercury*, December 29, 1724: "On Friday, 25th of this instant, William Trent, Esquire, Chief judge of the Province of New Jersey, departed this life, being seized with a fit of apoplexy in Trent-town." It is surmised by many that he was interred in the Quaker graveyard, now a part of Riverview Cemetery, but there are no records showing this to be the case. It seems to the Rev. Dr. Hamilton Schuyler well-nigh certain that the body of William Trent will be found in the consecrated graveyard of the Hopewell Church. Strong corroboration of this is afforded by an article in the *Trenton State Gazette*, December 6, 1842, speaking of the old Hopewell burying ground, in which it was stated that the remains of the widow of Colonel William Trent were buried there; and tradition came to the Rev. Dr. John Hall, who wrote a *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, to the effect that Mrs. Trent was buried in the graveyard mentioned, which is also corroborative of the apparent fact that her husband, the Colonel, was himself buried there.⁷⁶ The writer of this chapter concurs in the view entertained by the Rev. Dr. Schuyler.

TRENT'S ESTATE

As already stated, Chief Justice Trent died on December 25, 1724. He left no will. His widow, Mary, renounced her right to administer, and James Trent, eldest son of the late chief justice, was appointed by Samuel Bustill, surrogate of the Western Division of the Province of New Jersey, to be administrator of the decedent's estate. James Trent, the administrator, entered into bond to His Excellency William Burnet, who was Governor and Ordinary, in the sum of £1500, to make a true and perfect inventory, to well and truly administer the estate according to law, and to cause a just and true account of his administration thereafter to be made, and to distribute to such

⁷⁶ Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, pp. 241, 243.

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person or persons respectively as by the decree or sentence of the court should be limited and appointed. Daniel Cox and Alexander Lockhart executed the bond, as sureties, along with James Trent, the administrator. The bond to perform his duties faithfully was filed, together with the oath of the administrator, on or about March 16, 1725. The inventory shows a total estate left by William Trent, deceased, amounting to £1100 18s. ½d. This, of course, includes only personal property, and the real estate holdings, which were left by the deceased, descended to and vested in James Trent, his eldest son and heir-at-law, it being a rule of the English law which then obtained in the Province of New Jersey that the eldest son of a person dying seized of real estate should inherit to the exclusion of other children.⁷⁷

The real estate of course included the mansion and estate of Bloomsbury Court. This fine old house was the scene of many social gatherings in Colonial days and afterwards.⁷⁸ It is said that: "General Washington and his lady enjoyed the hospitality of Bloomsbury Court, and the Marquis de La Fayette, Rochambeau, and other noted Frenchmen, were entertained there."⁷⁹

Much of what Chief Justice Trent did for Trenton is recited in the ferry patent granted to his son James Trent, by Governor Burnet, February 7, 1726.⁸⁰ An account of this ferry will more properly come later in another chapter under an appropriate head, but it is here given in some detail as it largely concerns the life and work of Chief Justice Trent himself.

JAMES TRENT'S FERRY

The patent recites that William Trent in his lifetime had expended and laid out a great part of his estate in purchasing lands and making improvements on them, near, and adjoining to, Delaware Falls, and that by his industry, application and encouragement given for building, there had been erected a

⁷⁷ 2 *Blackstone's Commentaries*, p. 214.

⁷⁸ For a description of the house and the entertainments, see Mills, *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, 1902, p. 264.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 267.

⁸⁰ Book AAA of Commissions, Office of the Secretary of State, p. 220.

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pretty considerable town which had theretofore been created into a township by letters patent to William Trent, by the name of the township of Trent Town, and that it would be a great security and convenience to travellers if a regular ferry or ferries could be kept for carrying of passengers and goods over the Delaware near to the town of Trent Town. The grant then proceeds:

Know ye that by our Especial Grace certain knowledge and mere motion, wee have Given And Granted and by these presents do give and Grant unto Our said Loveing Subject James Trent, his Heirs and Assigns the Sole Liberty and Privilege of Erecting and Keeping of a fferry or fferreys for transportation of Goods and Passengers over the River Dellaware in any Place or Places within two Miles above or two Miles below the ffals of Dellaware River near Trent Town aforesaid. . . . IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF We have caused these our Letters to be made patent and the Great Seal of our province of New Jersey to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS our trusty and well beloved William Burnet Esquire our Captain General and Governor in Chief of our Province of New Jersey New York and Territories Thereon depending in America and Vice Admiral of the same &c. the Seventh day of february in the Thirteenth Year of our Reign Anno Dei (Domini) 1726.

This patent for the ferry was sold and conveyed by James Trent to William Morris by deed (other than that conveying Bloomsbury Court) May 28, 1729.⁸¹

A SALE OF LAND TO WILLIAM MORRIS

It is interesting to note that James Trent, son and heir-at-law of Chief Justice Trent, sold and conveyed to William Morris, on March 28, 1729, about three hundred acres of the land he inherited from his father, and this included Bloomsbury Court.⁸² The following appears in the conveyance itself:

Between James Trent Esquire Son & heir at Law of William Trent late of Nottingham in y^e County of Burlington in y^e western Division of the Province of New Jersey Esquire deced of the one part And William Morris of the Island of Barbadoes in y^e English West Indies in America Merchant of y^e other part WHEREAS . . . Mahlon Stacy of Nottingham afores^d son and heir at Law of Mahlon Stacy . . . became seized in his demesne as of fee of & in one certain Tract of Land and plantacon containing by a

⁸¹ Recorded in the Office of the Secretary of State, Liber D of Deeds, p. 686, &c.

⁸² Deed recorded in the Secretary of State's Office in Liber D of Deeds, p. 382, &c.

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resurvey thereof eight hundred Acres (which was conveyed by Mahlon Stacy to William Trent, who died seized thereof, whereby the premises descended to James Trent, his eldest son and heir at law). . . . NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said James Trent for and in consideracon of the sum of two Thousand eight hundred pounds of good lawful Money of America according to the late Queen Anns Royal proclamacon to him in hand paid by the said William Morris. . . Doth fully freely & absolutely grant bargain Sell alien and enfeoffe convey & Confirm unto the said William Morris his heirs & assigns forever three hundred acres of land or thereabouts more or less being part and parcel of ye Above mentioned & above described eight hundred Acres of Land and is Scituate lying & being in ye Township of Nottingham and County of Burlington aforesaid & South side of Assunpink Creek aforesaid [description of land] . . . Together with that Brik Messuage or dwelling House lately erected by ye said William Trent wherein ye said James Trent now Liveth with ye appurtenances Together also with ye Water grist Mill or Mills being three grist Mills under one Roof comonly called & known by the name of Trent's Mills and ye Mill stones and other Ghear to ye Mills belonging or appertaining or with ye same now used occupied enjoyed or reputed as part or member thereof and one ffulling Mill now or late in ye Tenure & occupacon of Jonas Ingham, and one Saw Mill or such part as remaineth thereof and all boultings Mills Sett up & Erected in ye mill house of the said Grist Mill and Boulting cloths & Appurtenances to the land belonging with all Houses Mill Houses Out houses Barns Stables Orchards Gardens Meadows Pastures Woods under Woods Timbers & trees, Water Courses Dams Mill ponds and soil there &c.

This deed is signed and sealed by James Trent and is witnessed by Tho. Lambert, Samuel Bustill and Anthony Morris, Jun.

It will be observed that James Trent in this deed recites the property as being in Nottingham, not in Trenton, and he herein solemnly asserts over his hand and seal that it is together with the brick dwelling house lately erected by William Trent, his father. This is none other than Bloomsbury Court, and while all other statements concerning it are but hearsay, here, of record, we have positive proof of its erection by Chief Justice Trent. And by this conveyance Bloomsbury Court passed forever from the family of its builder.

It is pertinent to call attention to another deed between James Trent and William Morris, made June 12, 1734,⁸³ which affords documentary proof that Mahlon Stacy, the younger, conveyed to William Trent only part of the land he had by devise from his father, and this deed contains the following recital:

⁸³ Recorded in the Secretary's Office at Burlington, Liber 1-K, folio 9 &c.

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Witnesseth that whereas Mahlon Stacy Late of the Province aforesaid, In his life Time Had surveyed unto him a Certain Parcel of Land Lying on Assanpink within the Province of new Jersey, as may more at Large appear in the Surveyor Gen^{ls} office of said Province Relation being thereunto had, Who being thereof Seised did afterwards depart this life by reason whereof the Same Devolved unto [this devolution was by will, and the deed should properly have so recited] and became the Right in Law of his Son Mahlon Stacy, who being thereof thus Seised did convey a Part of the Same unto William Trent, and some time after the Purchase thereof the Said William Trent died Intestate, whereby the Said James Trent party to these presents became Lawfully Seised of the Same as Son and heir at Law to the said William Trent Deceas^d Now this Indenture Further Witnesseth that, &c.⁸⁴

The Trent family, by that name at least, has disappeared from Trenton.^{84a} Descendants by the name of Trent are known to be still living in the South.

VI. Stacy and Trent—Two Historic Names

THE names of Stacy, the pioneer of Trenton who owned all the land in what was for many years the old city, and William Trent, the patron of the old town, are indissolubly linked together in the history of this city. In "Trenton" we find the name Trent; and the beautiful and extensive park on the river front, including the grounds of the State House and the Old Barracks and extending from them up the river on the southwesterly side of the Sanhican Creek, as far as the city limits, is named "Mahlon Stacy Park." Then, too, the names of these worthy men are hyphenated in that of the "Stacy-Trent" hotel, at State and Willow Streets, the leading hostelry of the town.

Both men were rich and owned and left slaves. In the inventory of Stacy, appraised April 25, 1704, and filed in the office of the Secretary of State, amounting in all to £1034 os. 6d., the appraisers being Abel Janney, Samuel Beakes, Will. Beakes, and

⁸⁴ This was a conveyance of a lot in Trenton for £6. 8s. current money. The original deed is in possession of the author. It is on parchment.

^{84a} Some years ago a descendant of Chief Justice Trent, through the female line, Miss Anna Rossell, was living in Trenton, but she is now deceased.

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Francis Davenport, appears the following: "Item: four Negroes."

In the inventory of Trent, filed in the office of the Secretary of State November 2, 1726 (with addition filed April 15, 1727), amounting in all to £1100 os. ½d., Peter Bard and Natha. Leonard being the appraisers, are the following items: "Acco^t of Negroes Viz^t. A man nam'd Yaff; a woman nam'd Joan; a boy nam'd Bob; 1 Do. Dick; a Girl Nanny; a child Tom. Three Negro Men as follows Viz^t. Julius, Bossin, Harry; Two Indian Men Viz^t. Cupid, Pedro."

SLAVERY IN NEW JERSEY

Mr. Lee, speaking of slavery in Trenton says: "During the Colonial period, slavery in New Jersey was a thoroughly recognized institution. In the formative period of provincial existence, so much has been written concerning the slavery of negroes and Indians that especial reference here would be superfluous."⁸⁵ The *New York Gazette* and the *American Weekly Mercury* contained many advertisements during the Colonial period of runaway slaves from Trenton homes and families. It is pertinent, however, to remark that slavery was not ended in New Jersey until 1846, when the Legislature passed an Act to abolish that institution. It provided "that slavery in this State be and it is hereby abolished, and every person who is now holden in slavery by the laws thereof, be and hereby is made free, subject, however, to the restrictions and obligations hereinafter mentioned and imposed; and the children hereafter to be born to all such persons shall be absolutely free from their birth, and discharged of and from all manner of service whatsoever." The restrictions and obligations were that every slave should become and be an apprentice, bound to serve his or her then present owner until discharged; and, further, that they might be discharged only in certain ways.^{85a} Of course when not discharged they continued apprentices for the rest of their natural lives.

There was another class of servants, namely, redemptioners.

⁸⁵ *History of Trenton*, p. 27.

^{85a} Revision, Approved April 18, 1846, State Library.

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All strata of society were represented among them. Once landed they were offered to the highest bidder and hurried off to nearby farms; the redemptioner practically agreed to sell himself or herself for such time as necessary to earn the money to pay passage over sea; and then too there were many apprenticed and bound servants.^{85b}

CREDIT DUE TO BOTH STACY AND TRENT

If these two, Stacy and Trent, could return from the tomb, and with amazement view the many and marvellous improvements upon the site where they lived and died, and could they meet upon the spot, there would doubtless be no misunderstanding between them as to the town, its settlement and improvement in the olden time. Some historians who have come after them have mentioned one or the other as being the founder of Trenton (but without citing authorities for their statements), and it would seem apparent that something should be said upon the subject. No one can read this narrative and not be convinced that Mahlon Stacy was the first Englishman to settle permanently at the Falls of the Delaware (1679), who was the owner of all the land in this locality, others coming here with him; and that ten years after his death William Trent bought (1714) from his son and devisee under his will, all the land left by the older Stacy at the Falls, and that Trent lent the weight of his name and enterprise to the laying out and upbuilding of the town.

AN HISTORIAN'S VIEW OF STACY

The following appreciation of Mahlon Stacy was written by the historian, Mr. Lee.^{85c}

Of the early settlers of West New Jersey none stands in more striking light than does Mahlon Stacy, of Hansworth, in the county of York, in Old England. To him must be given the credit for the practical settling of the northern portion of the Yorkshire Xth, which extended, by virtue of the purchase of 1677, from the Rancocas to the Assunpink. Mahlon Stacy reached America in the *Shield*, from Hull, Daniel Towes, master, which, in December 1678, landed her passengers at Burlington. With Mahlon Stacy

^{85b} Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, Vol. I, pp. 199, 202.

^{85c} *History of Trenton*, p. 34.

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were his wife, children and men and women servants. That he at once came to the site of Trenton is shown by the fact that he began the erection of his grist mill in 1679, and in 1679-80 Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Dutch Labadists, speak in their *Journal* of Mahlon Stacy's house on the site of Trenton. He was the representative man in the vicinity of "Ye ffalles." Mahlon Stacy was influential in the Society of Friends, of which body he was a faithful member. His large plantation interests and his wealth made him rank easily among the half score of men who framed the destinies of Burlington County between 1676 and 1715. In the political life of the time, he held, from one year to another, nearly every office of profit and trust in the Province. He appears as commissioner in 1681-82, and as a member of Assembly in 1682, 1683, 1684 and 1685. He was also a member of Council in 1682 and 1683. In 1683, 1684, 1685 he was an Indian Land commissioner, and in 1683 was selected to write to the members of the Society of Friends, in London, describing the condition of the new settlement. As a justice, he sat in the 1st Xth in 1685, and continuously remained on the Burlington bench as His Majesty's Justice from May 1685 to May 1701.

And this of William Trent:

William Trent, for whom the city of Trenton was named, was of ancient Scotch family. Emigrating from Inverness, young in life, with his brother James, he settled in Philadelphia about 1682. Here he identified himself in business with the Quakers. As a man of intelligence, industry, thrift and integrity he soon became a large wholesale and retail merchant, being a shipowner in partnership with William Penn and his partner, James Logan. Although not a lawyer, William Trent, from 1703 to 1721, continued a member of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council. In 1706 he was one of the persons selected to systematize the courts, and was later one of the five Supreme Court justices. This is all the more remarkable in that he was a Church of England man, whilst the government of Pennsylvania was in the control of the Society of Friends. In 1710, 1715, 1719, he was a member of Assembly, and in 1717-18 was speaker of the House. In Philadelphia, as in Trenton, William Trent was a large landowner. His residence in that city was the famous "Slate Roof House," on Second Street, which had been William Penn's mansion—the most elegant in the city. It was built of brick, surrounded by rare and beautiful plants and flowers, and a lawn extending to the Delaware River.^{85a}

VII. Experiences of the Earliest Settlers

AS has already been told, the earliest settlers for the Yorkshire tenth—that is, from the Assunpink Creek down to Burlington—came over in the ship *Shield*, which sailed from Hull, England, and landed at Burlington in December 1678.⁸⁶

^{85a} Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 35.

⁸⁶ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 108.

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It is stated in Smith's *History* that among the passengers were "Robert Murfin, his wife and two children." One of them, Mary Murfin, was at the time four years and eight months old according to her own narrative, afterwards written, which is given below. She stayed and grew up in Burlington. A recent historian has the following to say of her:

Mary Murfin, who became the wife of Daniel Smith, survived him but four years. She is an interesting character in the history of the Smith house. Her parents came from Eaton, in Nottinghamshire, England. When Mary arrived with them in the ship *Shield* she was but a child of three or four years. Having come to America at such a tender age she gained no other schooling than that which her mother could give her in their pioneer home among the Indians. It is said she became as proficient in the language of the red man as she did in her parents' English tongue. She was twenty-one years of age when she married Daniel Smith. They lived together in great harmony nearly fifty years, and nine children were born to them. It is recorded that she was a "notable housewife and a distinguished minister in the Society of Friends."⁸⁷

The following is copied from her holograph autobiography. She was an adult when she wrote the account and drew upon her recollection, such as it was, and what she must have constantly heard from fellow passengers living in Burlington and vicinity:

THE ACCOUNT OF MARY (MURFIN) SMITH

Robert Murfin and Ann, his wife, living in Nottinghamshire, England, had one daughter born there in the year 1674, the 4th of the 2d month, named Mary [the writer of this account, who married the first Daniel Smith, of Burlington]. After that they had a son called Robert.

Some time after it came in their minds to move themselves and family into West Jersey in America; and in order thereto they went to Hull and provided provisions suitable for their necessary occasions, such as fine flour, butter, cheese, with other suitable commodities in good store; then took their passage in the good ship, the *Shield* of Stockton, with Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Lambert, and many more families of good repute and worth; and in the voyage there were two died and two born, so that they landed as many as they took on board. And after about sixteen weeks' sailing or on board, they arrived at Burlington in the year 1678, this being the *first* ship that ever was known to come so high up the Delaware River. Then they landed and made some such dwelling as they could for the present time, some in caves and others in palisade-houses secured. With that the Indians, very numerous but very civil, for the most part brought corn and venison and sold the English for such things as they needed, so that the said English had some new supply to help out their old stock, which

⁸⁷ Schermerhorn, *History of Burlington, N.J.*, 1927, p. 55.

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may well be attributed to the good hand of Providence so to preserve and provide in such a wilderness.

I may not omit some English that came the year before, which landed lower down the river and were gotten to Burlington, who came in some small vessels up to Burlington before us, and was so consented to by the Indians.

The first comers, with the others that came near that time, made an agreement with the Indians for their land, being after this manner: From the river to such and such creeks, and was to be paid in goods after this manner, say, so many matchcoats, guns, hatchets, hoes, kettles—two full boxes—with other materials, all in number as agreed upon by both Indians and English. When these goods were gotten from England and the Indians paid, then the above-mentioned people surrendered some part of the land to settle themselves near the river, for they did not dare to go far from it at first.

I must not forget that these valiant subjects, both to God and their king, did buy their land in old England before they entered [upon this engagement], and after all this did submit themselves to mean living, taking it with thankfulness, mean and coarse, as pounding Indian corn one day for the next day, for there was no mill⁸⁸ except some few steed-mills, and [we] thought so well of this kind of hard living that I never heard them say, "I would I had never come!" which is worth observing, considering how plentifully they lived in England. It seems no other than the hand of God so to send them to prepare a place for the future generations. I wish they that come after may *consider these things*, and not be like the children of Israel after they were settled in the land of Canaan, forgetting the God of their fathers and following their own vanities, and so bring displeasure instead of the blessing of God upon themselves, which fall and loss will be very great on all such.

It may be observed how God's providence made room for us in a wonderful manner in taking away the Indians. There came a distemper among them so mortal that they could not bury all the dead. Others went away, leaving the town. It was said that the old Indian king spoke prophetically before his death, and said, "the English should *increase* and the Indians *decrease*."⁸⁹

What Mary Murfin Smith says about the hardships experienced by the early settlers at Burlington applies equally of course to those that first settled at the Falls. That establishment was, doubtless, little better than a camp. The houses must have been merely temporary shelters,—shacks, if you please. It was in such that Mahlon Stacy entertained, or, rather, suffered Dankers and Sluyter to stay over night on Friday, November 17, 1679. The Stacys must have filled the habitation itself and

⁸⁸ This was in Burlington, where she lived.

⁸⁹ Woodward and Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*, 1883, p. 11.

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Dankers and Sluyter, as we have seen, could find no bed but had to sit up all night.

VIII. The Government of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey

IT BECOMES important to inquire of the source and the sort of government that prevailed here from earliest times; for the Falls and Trenton were part of the Province and subject to its laws. In the grant of letters patent from Charles II to his brother James, the Duke of York, not only was the land granted, but the government thereof set out in full in the letters themselves, and the King, for himself, his heirs and successors, gave and granted unto his brother, the Duke of York, his heirs, deputies, agents, commissioners and assigns, full and absolute power to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all the subjects who from time to time should adventure themselves into any of the places conveyed, which included New Jersey, and inhabit within the same, according to such laws and ordinances as the Duke of York or his assigns should establish, in all causes and matters criminal, civil and marine, according to the laws, statutes and government of England, reserving to the King, his heirs and successors, the hearing and determination of appeals of all persons in or belonging to the territories or islands conveyed; and, further, that it might be lawful for the duke, his heirs and assigns, from time to time to nominate, constitute and confirm governors, officers and ministers fit and needful within the aforesaid parts and islands, and also to make and establish all laws, directions and instructions of government or magistracy fit and necessary concerning the government, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of England but as nearly as might be agreeable thereunto.

So here we have a complete grant of government by the King to the duke; but it is noticeable that in the next conveyance, the one by the duke to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, there is no grant of the right of government in express terms, and none I think is derivable by way of implication from any language used in the grant. And I do not think it can be spelled out

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of such words as that there is conveyed by the lease all the profits, commodities and hereditaments to the lands and premises belonging, or by the release and conveyance in as full and ample a manner as the same is granted to the duke in the letters patent. These things are restricted to what is conveyed, namely, the land. However, I desire not to state any legal objections that might exist to the grant of government by the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret.

CONCESSIONS OF BERKELEY AND CARTERET

Things moved very expeditiously for a time. Let it be observed that the patent from King Charles II to James, Duke of York, for the tract of land in New England, including New Jersey, was made March 12, 1664, and the lease from James, Duke of York, to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret for Nova Caesarea, or New Jersey, was made June 23, 1664, and the release the day after. Now on February 10, 1664, not only before they received their lease and release from the Duke of York, but prior to the Duke of York's receiving the patent from his brother, Charles II, Berkeley and Carteret, in contemplation doubtless of the grant from the duke to them, made and dated what they called "The Concessions and Agreements of the Lord Proprietors of the Province of Nova-Caesarea, or New-Jersey, to and with all and every of the adventurers, and all such as shall settle or plant there."⁹⁰ Beyond doubt it was never promulgated until after the conveyance to them was made; to have given it publicity earlier would have been without legal efficacy and would have opened them to censure at least. It is significant that they did not recite any grant, because it was not then in fact made, but commenced abruptly with the assertion that they consent and agree that the governor of the Province has power, by the advice of his council, to depute one in his place and authority, in case of death or removal, to continue until their further order. This was an extremely liberal document and made the following, among other, provisions: That all persons that should become subjects of the King of

⁹⁰ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 512.

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England and swear allegiance to him and faithfulness to the lords, should be admitted to plant and become freemen of the said Province, until some stop or contradiction be made by the lords, or the governor, council or assembly; provided, that no stop should in anywise prejudice the right or continuance of any person that had been received; that all and every the persons within the Province should freely and fully have and enjoy their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, not using their liberty to licentiousness, any law, usage or custom of the realm of England to the contrary notwithstanding; that the General Assembly of the Province should have power to act, constitute and appoint ministers and preachers as they should think fit; the Assembly to have power to appoint their own time of meeting and to adjourn; to enact and make all laws, acts and constitutions as should be necessary for the well government of the Province, the same to receive publication from the governor and council and be in force for one year, within which time they should be presented to the lords proprietors for ratification, and being confirmed, should continue in force until expired by their own limitation or repeal; to constitute all courts, together with the limits, powers and jurisdictions of the same, as also the several officers and number of several officers belonging to each court, with their respective salaries, appellations and perquisites; to erect within the Province so many manors, and to divide the Province into one-hundredths, parishes, tribes or such other divisions as they should think fit; to fortify and furnish with provisions and proportions of ordnance, powder, shot, armor, and all other weapons, ammunition and habiliments of war, both offensive and defensive, as should be thought necessary and convenient for the safety and welfare of the Province; to constitute trained bands and companies with a number of soldiers for the safety, strength and defense of the Province and of the forts, castles, cities, &c.; to make offensive and defensive war with all Indians, strangers and foreigners as they should see cause; to give to strangers, as should seem meet, naturalizations and all freedoms and privilege within the Province as to His Majesty's subjects of right belong, they swearing allegiance;

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to prescribe the quantities of land which should from time to time be allotted to every head, free or servant, male or female, and to make and ordain rules for the casting of lots for land and the laying out of the same; to support the governor and constables of the Province, collect the lords' rent and pay the same to the receiver that shall be appointed; the governor and council to nominate and commissionate the several judges, members and officers of court, whether magisterial or ministerial, and all other civil officers, coroners, &c., and their commissions to revoke at pleasure. And that the planting of the Province might be more speedily promoted, the lords in these concessions and agreements made certain provisions that the planters should be armed and that they should have certain grants of land made to them and pay one half-penny for every acre, the first payment to be made March 25, 1670. It may be observed that March 25 is still the first day of term leases made in Burlington County, and for the settlement thereof.

DOUBTS AS TO POWERS OF GOVERNMENT

Doubts were expressed whether the government of West Jersey had been granted with the soil, and reports were circulated in the Province as well as in England to the prejudice of the possessors of the title, as they thought. The Assembly in 1682, to obviate this difficulty, resolved that the land and government of West Jersey were purchased together, and that the concessions agreed upon by the proprietors and subscribed in London and West Jersey were the fundamentals and ground of the government.⁹¹ However, before this time, on August 6, 1680, James, Duke of York, made a second grant for West Jersey to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, Nicholas Lucas, Edmond Warner and Edward Byllynge for the soil and government of West Jersey, in which indenture it was recited that the King, by letters patent, had granted to James, Duke of York, &c., certain lands in North America; and for defending, guarding and keeping of the same, as also for the well governing of the same, and all of the inhabitants thereof, together with the making and ordaining and executing of necessary and con-

⁹¹ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 163.

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venient laws and constitutions for the government thereof, &c.⁹²

Whatever may have been the doubts as to the right of government in the assignees of the duke, namely, Berkeley and Carteret, there can be no doubt but that the government was assumed by those grantees and by the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of the Province who settled under them and in virtue of their grants. A memorial was sent to the Board of Trade in London in 1701, that East and West Jersey were granted with several other territories by letters patent from King Charles II, March 12, 1664, to the then Duke of York, his heirs and assigns, with full and absolute power to govern; that the Duke of York thereafter granted, conveyed and assigned the Province by the name of Nova Caesarea (or New Jersey) to John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, their heirs and assigns, with all appurtenances thereunto belonging; that His Majesty, the King, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, did again grant and convey to the Duke of York all the lands and territories in the same manner as before expressed; and the subdivisions and sales made by Berkeley and Carteret, and others claiming under them, the Duke of York did by indenture of August 6, 1680, grant and confirm the Province of West Jersey with all appurtenances thereunto belonging, to Edward Byllynge (he afterwards granted East Jersey to the Earl of Perth, William Penn and other persons); that the then present proprietors derived their titles to the several shares and portions of the Province by conveyance from and under the grants to Edward Byllynge and the Earl of Perth and other persons, to whom the Duke of York conveyed the same, and did claim the same powers and rights of government as were granted by the King to the Duke, and by him to others; that notwithstanding they did not find any sufficient form of government had ever been settled in the Province, either by the Duke of York or by those claiming under him; and not being satisfied that the grants from the Duke of York (the only title upon which the proprietors claimed a right of government without any direct or immediate authority from the Crown) were or could be of any

⁹² Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, pp. 142 ff.

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validity to convey the right which they had been informed was a power inalienable from the person to whom it was granted, and not to be assigned unto any other, much less divided or subdivided and conveyed from one to another, as had been done in the present, they did thereupon humbly represent to His Majesty, April 18, 1689, that a trial be had in Westminster Hall upon a feigned issue, whereby their claim to the right of government might receive determination, but no such determination having been made, they were of opinion that it was expedient for the preservation of the territories to the Crown of England, and for securing the private interests of all concerned, that His Majesty might be pleased to appoint a governor over the Provinces by his immediate commission.⁹³ This was certified to the King October 2, 1701. King William III having died March 8, 1702, without acting, a surrender from the proprietors of East and West Jersey of their right to govern the Provinces was made to Queen Anne, April 15, 1702. This surrender recited, among other things, that the present proprietors claimed, by virtue of the letters patent and mesne conveyances, to exercise within the Provinces for the governing of the inhabitants thereof, all the power authorized for government granted by the letters patent to the Duke of York, his heirs and assigns; but that Her Majesty had been advised that they had no right nor could legally execute any of said powers, but that they belonged to Her Majesty in right of her Crown of England to govern the Provinces and to give directions for governing the inhabitants thereof; whereupon they surrendered all their pretences to the powers of governing and prayed Her Majesty to appoint a governor or governors of the Provinces with powers, privileges and authorities for making such laws, with the consent of the Assembly and Her Majesty's subsequent approbation thereof.⁹⁴

LORD CORNBURY APPOINTED

Queen Anne acceded to this request, and, accepting the surrender, appointed Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, to be "Cap-

⁹³ Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, pp. 603 ff.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 609.

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tain General and Governor in Chief, in and over the Province of Nova-Caesarea, or New-Jersey, viz., the divisions of East and West Jersey, which have thought fit to reunite into one Province and settle under one entire government," and issued her commission to him at Westminster, December 5, 1702.⁹⁵ There were then issued to Lord Cornbury instructions as governor, which accompanied his commission. These instructions were very extensive, containing 103 separate articles.⁹⁶

Let us now go back for a moment to the government established for West Jersey in and by the concessions and agreements of the proprietors, freeholders and inhabitants of the Province.

Before doing so, however, it may be well to observe that the concessions and agreements of the lords proprietors (Berkeley and Carteret, 1664) had little or no application in West Jersey, because while in East Jersey there were several settlements of English, Dutch, Scotch and others, there was no English settlement in West Jersey until 1675. In that year John Fenwick with a number of colonists sailed from London in a ship called the *Griffith*, and landed on the Delaware, and he then and there settled the town of Salem.⁹⁸ There was no other settlement for two years, or until 1677, when colonists sailed from England in the ship *Wickaco* and settled at Burlington. The town was first named by the commissioners New Beverly, and later Bridlington, but was soon changed to Burlington.⁹⁹ The next settlement was that at the Falls of the Delaware by Mahlon Stacy and some of the other passengers who came on the ship *Shield*, but as to the names of the others we are not informed. Not all came here.

One year before the settlement at Salem, and before any part of West Jersey was settled by the English, "The CONCESSIONS and AGREEMENTS of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Province of West New Jersey, in America," were signed on the third day of March, 1676, by

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 647.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 619; Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 230.

⁹⁷ Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 382.

⁹⁸ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 79.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 99.

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151 specifically mentioned persons, for a form of government in West Jersey. This document was executed in London,¹⁰⁰ and it was after the promulgation of this, the most advanced and liberal charter of mankind written up to that time, the authorship of which has been attributed to William Penn, that the settlements at Burlington and the Falls of the Delaware and elsewhere in West Jersey were made. Former Governor Edward C. Stokes of this State, in an eloquent address in Burlington at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of that city, delivered a panegyric on this great constitution. I here repeat it with his consent.¹⁰¹

GOVERNOR STOKES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCE

The principles of the great organic law of our country are to be found in the Concessions and Agreements adopted and amplified by the settlers of Burlington. Placed side by side with the famous Bill of Rights of our Constitution, it anticipated the former 113 years by a declaration of principles of personal liberty perhaps infringed upon, but certainly not improved, in the years that have passed.

The right of trial by jury by men of the neighborhood, a jury of the vicinage; the principle that no proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant of the Province be deprived of life, limb, liberty or estate of property or privileges, freedoms, or franchise without due trial, or without due process of law, are the same as the Bill of Rights except in phraseology.

Prohibition against the levying of any tax, custom or assessment or any other duties whatsoever without the consent of the General Assembly anticipated the declaration "No taxation without representation." No proprietor, freeholder or inhabitant was to be attached, arrested or imprisoned except in criminal or treasonable cases without a reasonable summons which he should have at least fourteen days to answer. This provided against unreasonable searches and seizures, a feature of the Bill of Rights now much under discussion.

The protection of the accused under indictment, the right to plead his own case, to punish false witnesses and to have his friends present during the trial in open court threw every safeguard around him and protected him from oppression and slavery.

Religious liberty provided the crowning declaration. Listen to the voices of the past: "No man or number of men on earth have power or authority to rule over men's conscience in religious matters. No person whatsoever shall upon any pretense whatsoever be called in, questioned or in the least

¹⁰⁰ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, pp. 521 ff.

¹⁰¹ Address of The Honorable Edward C. Stokes, former Governor of New Jersey, at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the City of Burlington, N.J., U.S.A., Wednesday Evening, October 12, 1927.

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hurt either in personal estate or privilege for his opinion, faith or worship toward God in matters of religion."

This declaration of religious liberty shines out like a star in the darkness of the night of prejudice. Prejudice had no place, intolerance was banished. Jew, Catholic, Negro and all religions were permitted on this free Quaker soil. Nowhere else in all the world could there be found such a liberal religious spirit. These concessions were even stronger than the Bill of Rights in their details and phraseology. Neither the Great Charter of Virginia nor the Mayflower Compact compare with them in liberality, tolerance and the protection of individual rights.

In Massachusetts, there were fifteen crimes punishable by death when in this Quaker colony there were possible two—murder and treason—and they were referred to the General Assembly for final decision. So sacred was this charter that it was to be written in every hall of justice within the Province and read in solemn manner four times a year in the presence of the people by the Chief Magistrate of the Courts and in the opening and dissolving of the free Assembly, a custom that might be profitably observed in the reading of our Constitution, in our Legislature and Congress.

A TOWN THAT NEVER WAS BUILT

Attention is called to the last paragraph of Chapter I, of these Concessions and Agreements, which reads as follows:

And it is further expressly provided and agreed to: that whereas there is a contract or agreement granted by William Penn, Gawen Lawry, and Nicholas Lucas, unto Thomas Hutchinson, Thomas Pearson, Joseph Helmsley, George Hutchinson, and Mahlon Stacy, dated the second day of the month called March, 1676, instant; wherein they grant unto the said persons, certain privileges for a town to be built, whereby they have liberty to choose their own magistrates and officers, for executing the laws, according to the Concessions within the said town: Which said contract or agreement, is to be held firm and good to all intents and purposes, and we do by these our Concessions confirm the same.¹⁰²

The town provided for in the agreement mentioned appears never to have been built. Mahlon Stacy alone took up the land on the Delaware River on both sides of the Assunpink Creek and built his mill, and the settlement there made by him and those who accompanied him has grown steadily ever since. The Hutchinsons, Pearson and Helmsley do not appear to have been connected with the enterprise here.

THE SIGNERS OF THE "GRANTS AND CONCESSIONS"

At this stage of the narrative the names of the signers of the Grants and Concessions should, I think be published, so that the

¹⁰² Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 384.

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readers of this history may be informed who were the brave men who subscribed this fearless document which had such a large measure of influence upon our subsequent Constitutions and Bill of Rights, and embodies so much of the organic law under which we live and flourish to this day. The names are as follows:¹⁰³

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| E. Byllynge | Michael Lackerouse | Isaac Smart |
| Richard Smith | Markus Albus | Andrew Thompson |
| Edward Nethorp | Evert Aldricks | Thomas Kent |
| John Penford | Hendrick Everson | Jenry Jenings |
| Daniel Wills | Jillis Tomesen | Henry Stubbens |
| Thomas Ollice | Claas Jauson | William Willis |
| Thomas Rudyard | Richard Warsan | George Hazelwood |
| William Biddle | Christopher White | Rodger Pedrick |
| Robert Stacy | Paul Doequet | William Hughes |
| John Farrington | John Maddocks | Abraham Vanhighst |
| William Roydon | John Forrist | Hipolitas Lefever |
| Richard Mew | James Vicary | William Wilkinson |
| Gawen Laurie | William Rumsey | Andrew Shennock |
| William Penn | Richard Robison | Lause Cornelious |
| William Emley | Mark Reeve | Samuel Hedge |
| Joshua Wright | Thomas Watson | William Master |
| Nicholas Lucas | Samuel Nicholson | John Grubb |
| William Haig | Daniel Smith | John Worlidge |
| William Peachee | Richard Daniel | E. Meyor |
| Richard Mathews | William Penton | Thomas Barton |
| John Haracis | William Daniel | Robert Powel |
| Francis Collins | Robert Zanr | Thomas Harding |
| William Kent | Walter Peiterson | Mathew Allen |
| Benjamin Scott | Anthony Page | R. Right |
| Percivall Towle | Thomas Lambert | Andrew Bartletson |
| Mahlon Stacy | Thomas Hooton | Woolley Woollison |
| Thomas Budd | Henry Stacy | Anthony Dickson |
| Samuel Jeninns | Aert. Jansen | John Denna |
| John Lambert | John Surege | Thomas Benson |
| William Heulings | Thomas Smith | John Paine |
| George Deason | James Pearce | Richard Buffington |
| John Thompson | Edward Web | Samuel Lovet |
| Edward Bradway | John Pledger | Barnard Devenish |
| Richard Guy | Richard Wilkinson | Thomas Stokes |
| James Nevill | Christopher Sanders | Thomas French |
| William Cantwell | Renear Vanhurst | Isaac Marriot |
| Fospe Ontstont | William Johnston | John Butcher |
| Machgyel Baron | Charles Bagley | Geo. Hutchinson |
| Gasp. Herman | Samuel Wade | Thomas Gardner |
| Turrse Plese | Thomas Woodrose | Thomas Eves |
| Robert Kemble | John Smith | John Borton |
| John Cornelise | Thomas Peirce | John Paine |
| Garret Van Jumne | William Warner | Richard Fenimore |
| William Gill Johnson | Joseph Warne | Thomas Schooley |

¹⁰³ Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, pp. 409 ff.

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Godfrey Hancock
John Petty
Abraham Hewlings
John Newbold
John White
John Roberts

John Wood
John Gosling
Thomas Revel
Eliazer Fenton
Samuel Oldale
William Black
Anthony Woodhouse

Daniel Leeds
John Pancoast
Francis Beswick
William Laswall
John Snowden
Gruna Jacobson

After the rights of the government of East and West Jersey were surrendered to the Crown and accepted by the Queen, who appointed her cousin, Lord Cornbury, royal governor, the reunited Province of New Jersey thereafter became governed by the sovereign of England through governors appointed from time to time by the Crown, and by Acts passed by the Colonial Legislature, which latter restrained and modified the Crown within constitutional limits, until independence was wrested from the British in 1776.

IX. Colonial Money

IT IS extremely difficult to ascertain the amount and character of the money of any country in the more or less distant past, especially in a newly settled country. Accounts, such as we have, agree that money was scarce during the first century of the American Colonies. It consisted of a limited amount of English, together with some Spanish and Portuguese, coins. The most common were Spanish milled dollars, called "pieces of eight." These were divided into halves, quarters and eighths. There was legislation in early Colonial times and during the separate existence of East and West Jersey, arbitrarily fixing and changing the value of these coins, but this proved of little or no efficacy, as the matter was regulated by supply and demand rather than by law. What farmers have to sell constitutes a supply. What city people buy to consume constitutes a demand. Demand and supply are the underlying factors of price.¹⁰⁴ This is a good illustration, and is of universal application.

At a meeting of the Assembly of West Jersey in 1682, Mark Newby and another were appointed to take measures for defraying public charges in the third, or Irish, tenth. Mark was evi-

¹⁰⁴ *The Farming Fever*, p. 38.

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dently an Irishman; and an Act was passed that for the more convenient payment of small sums of money Mark Newby's coppers, called Patrick's half-pence, should pass for pence current pay, provided he gave security to the speaker of the General Assembly that he, his heirs and administrators would change them on demand, and provided, further, that none were obliged to take more than five shillings in one payment. Patrick's half-pence were Irish half-pence, a parcel of which Newby had brought in with him.¹⁰⁵ This is curious, but not important. There is nothing to show the purchasing power of the half-pence or the real value for which they passed current.

"PROCLAMATION MONEY"

After the surrender of the Dutch government English pounds, shillings and pence became the fixed and established currency. The difference in value of the currency in the several Colonies caused so much confusion and inconvenience that Queen Anne issued a proclamation for settling and ascertaining the currency rates of foreign coins in America, in which it was declared that no pieces of eight should be passed or taken in the Colonies or plantations at above the rate of six shillings proportion; and this proclamation fixed the standard up to the Revolution.¹⁰⁶

The proclamation of Queen Anne (July 18, 1704) was based upon the assays of Spanish coins. The Seville piece of eight, or dollar, was rated at four shillings six pence, the Mexican piece of eight, at the same rate. Since the proclamation provided that they should not be received in the currency at above the rate of six shillings each, this was called "proclamation money."¹⁰⁷ The parity with Sterling was £1 to \$4.44 4/9.¹⁰⁸

This proclamation appears to have produced no real effect. The silver dollar usually passed for at least six shillings, so that the shilling was equal to sixteen and two-thirds cents, the pound

¹⁰⁵ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 153, and note.

¹⁰⁶ Elmer, *History of Cumberland County, New Jersey*, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 282.

¹⁰⁸ Summer, *Financiers and Finances of the American Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 37.

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to three and one-third dollars, and the penny to a little under two cents.¹⁰⁹ The proclamation of Queen Anne is recited in an Act of Parliament ascertaining the rates of foreign coins in the plantations (Colonies).^{109a}

Because the proclamation of Queen Anne came to be disregarded, Governor Morris in 1740 proclaimed anew the rates established by Queen Anne relative to passing and accepting (exchanging) pieces of eight.¹¹⁰

THE VALUE OF COLONIAL MONEY

An interesting view of the value of money in the Colonies is to be found in the report to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, upon the account of expenses incurred in the Northern Colonies, on the intended expedition against Canada, 1749-50,¹¹¹ wherein it is said:

We shall now proceed to the Accounts of the four other Colonies whose Troops rendezvoused at Albany under the Command of Governor Clinton, & shall first lay before your Lordships the account of the Charges which have arisen in His Majesty's Colony of NEW JERSEY on the intended Expedition, a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed, containing the Charge of Cloathing, Arms, Batteaux, Tents, Stores, and other incidental Expences distinguished under each of these Heads, amounting in the whole to £8748.4 PROCLAMATION Money, for which the said Colony has drawn a Bill upon your Lordships for £5302.1 Sterling.

And again:¹¹²

As to the proper Rate of Exchange for regulating the New Jersey Account, it is observed by Mr Shirley, that they made use of three different Currencies in it, the New York Currency valued at 7/4 per oz., the East Jersey Currency at 8/ per oz. and the West Jersey Currency, which they call in their Account, Proclamation Money, and is valued at 6/10 per Ounce, all which is reduced into Proclamation Money, in which Currency the Balance of the Account is formed.

That upon Enquiry, he finds the West Jersey Exchange is constantly regulated by that of Philadelphia, which, in the year 1746, was from 180 to 185 for £100 Sterling, in private Bills of Exchange payable in London, as the Exchange of New York Currency was at the same time 190 to 195

¹⁰⁹ R. Wayne Parker, "Taxes and Money in New Jersey before the Revolution," *Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society*, 2nd Series, Vol. VII, p. 143.

^{109a} 6 Anne, Reg., Chap. XXX.

¹¹⁰ Lee, *New Jersey as Colony and State*, Vol. I, p. 249.

¹¹¹ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. VII, pp. 383, 392.

¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 398.

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for £100 Sterling in like Bills: And this Calculation nearly agrees with the Rule made use of in the Account itself, for computing the Difference between the New-York Currency and Proclamation Money, and the East Jersey Currency and Proclamation Money; so that upon the whole it seems to be an equal Exchange, between the Crown and the Province, to settle Proclamation Money at 180 to £100 Sterling; according to which Rate the aforementioned Sum of £4017.9. 0¾ Proclamation Money amounts in Sterling to £2231. 18 4½. As to the bill drawn upon your Lordships by the said Colony, it does not appear to Us to have been paid.

So much for the rates of exchange and the comparative value of proclamation money as compared to pounds, shillings and pence, the money of England. It is quite impossible to determine what proclamation money, or any denomination, would purchase of a given commodity at a given time. That of course was regulated by supply and demand, just as such matters are regulated at present. Two centuries hence it may be practically as hard to compare the *value* of the money of today with the money of that time.

Paper money was emitted (issued from the printing press) in New Jersey as early as 1709 and several times thereafter. It was quite generally made legal tender in the Colony, but it did not regulate the rate of exchange, simply being substituted for hard money.¹¹³ A consideration of the subject is quite useless in an attempted ascertainment of the purchasing power of money in Colonial times.

X. *The Courts of West Jersey*

THE courts established in the two Provinces of East and West Jersey under the proprietors were created by the people in town meeting, or by act of the Legislature; but on the surrender of the government to Queen Anne the courts of the united Provinces were established by ordinances by the first royal governor, Lord Cornbury, and later royal governors.¹¹⁴ The Falls was under the jurisdiction of the courts of West Jersey, and afterwards it and Trenton were under them and those later established by ordinances; and the genius of their

¹¹³ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 360 and note.

¹¹⁴ Clevenger and Keasbey, *The Courts of New Jersey*, p. 81.

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interpretation and application of the laws guided the destinies of the people.

THE EARLY COURTS IN WEST JERSEY

Under the proprietary government of West Jersey, they consisted in the first place of a court for the trial of small causes, held by a single justice of the peace having jurisdiction only in actions of debt under forty shillings, with right of appeal to the county court.¹¹⁵ County courts, or courts of sessions, as they were called, were first established by act of assembly for Burlington and Salem in 1682.¹¹⁶ They were to be held four times a year by the justices of the peace in each County. They seem to have had unlimited jurisdiction in all cases, civil and criminal, with the exception that they could not try cases of a capital nature. They were the great courts of the Province and for a long time there was no appeal from their decisions. But in 1693 a Supreme Court of Appeals was created, consisting of one or more of the justices of each County, and one or more of the governor's council for the time being, any three of whom, one being of the council, were to constitute a quorum.¹¹⁷ This court was strictly an appellate tribunal but in 1699 it was changed and called the Provincial Court, composed of three judges to be chosen by the House of Representatives, and one or more of the justices of each county, three of whom, in conjunction with two of the judges, were to be a quorum. It was to be held twice a year in each County, to have original as well as appellate jurisdiction, and when the matter amounted to more than twenty pounds there was an appeal from its judgments to the General Assembly.¹¹⁸ By an Act of 1700 it was made the duty of the sheriff of each County to meet the provincial judges when riding the circuit, and to attend and conduct them safely through his bailiwick (county) to the place of sitting. This practice continued to prevail until many years after the Revolution.¹¹⁹ In 1693, a court of Oyer and Terminer ("of hearing and determining") was established for the trial of capital crimes, to be composed of a judge to be appointed by the governor and council, assisted by two or more justices of the County where the crime was committed. And, says Judge Field, it is interesting that up to this time there was really no tribunal in West Jersey competent to try offenses of a capital nature, and that it is strongly reminiscent of the code of the great law giver of Athens (Solon), by which no provision was made for the punishment of parricide (killing of a parent), from an unwillingness to suppose that the crime so abhorrent to nature could be committed. Properly speaking, there were no capital offenses in West Jersey, that is,

¹¹⁵ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 24; Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 509.

¹¹⁶ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 24; Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 448.

¹¹⁷ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 25; Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 517.

¹¹⁸ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 25; Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 563.

¹¹⁹ Field, p. 26.

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there were no crimes for which the punishment of death was prescribed. It was, however, provided that whenever a person should be found guilty of murder or treason, sentence and way of execution were to be left to the General Assembly to determine, as they in their wisdom of the Lord should judge meet and expedient.¹²⁰ These were the courts of justice in West Jersey, and no trace of a Court of Chancery under the proprietary government is to be found. The law was probably administered in all their courts upon very equitable principles. Its rigor was mitigated and its severe rules relaxed without the assistance of a Court of Chancery, says Judge Field. He further says, referring to the Concessions of Berkeley and Carteret, that the Concessions of the Proprietors of West Jersey were still more liberal, that a more beautiful fabric of free government was never reared and that it should be forever embalmed in the memory of Jerseymen.¹²¹

THE COURTS UNDER QUEEN ANNE

The claim of the proprietors to exercise the powers of government had been questioned, as narrated above,¹²² and a *quo warranto* was pending in the court of King's Bench in England, to test its validity. When Queen Anne appointed her cousin Lord Cornbury as the first royal governor, he was forbidden to erect without special order, any court not before established. Nevertheless by his commission full power and authority were given to him, with the advice and consent of the council, to erect, constitute and establish courts of judicature in the Province for the hearing and determining of all causes, criminal as well as civil, according to law and equity. Similar authority was given to all succeeding governors.¹²³

Lord Cornbury adopted an ordinance in 1704 creating a supreme court of judicature, to be held alternately in Burlington and at Perth Amboy, fully empowered to have cognizance of all pleas, civil and criminal and mixed, as amply, to all intents and purposes, as the courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer in the Kingdom of England had, or ought to have.¹²⁴

The same ordinances provided that every justice of the peace residing within any town or County was fully empowered to have cognizance of all causes of debt or trespass to the value of forty shillings or under; he might try and determine without a jury. They provided also for process and its service, with an appeal to the judges of the next court of sessions held for the county allowed for any sum upwards of twenty shillings. They provided further that there should be held a court of common pleas in each County, with power to hear and try and finally determine all actions, matters and things triable at common law of whatever kind or nature, with an appeal or removal by *habeas corpus* where the judgment was upwards of ten pounds, with right to try the right or title to land; that general sessions

¹²⁰ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 26n.; Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 404.

¹²¹ Field, p. 27.

¹²² See above, "The Government of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey."

¹²³ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 41.

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 44.

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of the peace should be held in each County at certain times and places mentioned, that for the county of Burlington at Burlington on certain dates named; that all the justices or judges of the several courts had power to make all rules and orders for more regularly practising and proceeding, as fully as any of the judges of the several courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer in England legally do; and that no person's right of property should by any court be determined unless found by verdict of twelve men of the neighborhood, as it ought to be done by law.

In 1705 Lord Cornbury, by virtue of his commission and by advice and consent of the council, passed an ordinance for the erection and establishment of a High Court of Chancery in the Province of New Jersey. The ordinance recites: "That it is absolutely necessary that a Court of Chancery should be established in this Province, that the subject may find remedy in such matters and things as are properly cognizable in the said Court, in which the common law by reason of its strict rules cannot give relief." It provided that the governor or lieutenant-governor, for the time being, and any three of the council, should constitute the court; and authorized them to hear and determine all causes which from time to time should come before them, as nearly as might be according to the usage or custom of the High Court of Chancery in England.¹²⁵

This ordinance continued in force until Governor Hunter's administration (1710-19), when he claimed to exercise the powers of chancellor alone and without the aid of council. This was thought an undue exercise of authority, but met with the approbation of the King, and it appears that the governor continued to act as chancellor until 1770.¹²⁶ In that year, and by virtue of the powers and authority given to him in his commission, and with the advice of the Council, Governor Franklin adopted an ordinance in reference to the Court of Chancery, which recited that there always had been a Court of Chancery in the Province of New Jersey, and that the same required regulation, and it was ordained and declared that His Excellency William Franklin be constituted and appointed chancellor of the High Court of Chancery of New Jersey, and that he be empowered to appoint such masters, clerks, examiners, registers and other necessary officers, as should be needful in holding the said courts and doing the business thereof; and to make such rules, orders and regulations for carrying on the business of said courts as from time to time should seem necessary.¹²⁷

These, then, were the courts whose jurisdiction extended over the Province of West Jersey (including the Falls of the Delaware, now Trenton) and afterwards the United Province of New Jersey, changed, as seen, by Lord Cornbury's ordinances.

The courts that were established when the two Provinces were made one Colony under the Crown are the very same courts that were in operation when the Province became a State in 1776.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 114.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹²⁷ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, pp. 124-5; Griffith, *Law Register, New Jersey*, Vol. IV, p. 1183.

¹²⁸ Field, p. 161.

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AN EARLY COURT AT BURLINGTON

A court at Burlington in 1681 was composed of Robert Stacy, Tho: Olive, Sam'll Jenings, Thomas Budde, John Thompson, Thomas Lambert, Mahlon Stacy, Richard Guy, Edward Bradway.¹²⁹ William Emley was elected sheriff, and Thomas Revell, register. The jurisdiction was from St. Pink (Assunpink) to Old Man's Creek.¹³⁰

In 1701 the justices of Burlington County were Mahlon Stacy, Francis Davenport, William Biddle, Thomas Gardner, William Emley and John Wills.¹³¹

On August 21, 1703, Governor Cornbury appointed Samuel Jenings judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Burlington, to be assisted by Thomas Revell, Francis Davenport, Daniel Leeds, George Deacon, Nathaniel Westland, Robert Wheeler, and Joshua Newbold, justices of the peace, or with any two of them, to hear and determine all causes and matters civil. On the same date a Commission of the Peace for the County of Burlington was issued and Samuel Jenings, Edward Revell, Francis Davenport, Daniel Leeds, George Deacon, Alexander Griffith, Jeremiah Bass, Nathan U. Westland, Robert Wheeler, Joshua Newbold, Ralph Hunt, Roger Parke, William Emley, William Wood, William Biddle, Michael Newbold, William Budd, Richard Ridgway and William Huling, were appointed to the office of justices of the peace.¹³²

LITTLE LEGAL LEARNING THEN

There were very few among those who practised in the courts or sat on the Bench that made any pretense to legal learning. There was no requirement of special training for leave to practise law, and the capable men of every community appeared in such litigation as the parties could not manage for themselves. The leading men of the Colony were farmers and Quaker preachers, and the practice of law was not then a profession in West Jersey. The Concessions and Agreements of the colonists declare that no person should be compelled to fee any attorney to plead his cause, but that all persons should have free liberty to prosecute his own cause if he chose.¹³³

Gabriel Thomas wrote of West Jersey and Pennsylvania that: "Of Lawyers and Physicians I shall say nothing, because this countrey is very peaceable and Healthy; long may it continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of one nor the Pen of the other, both equally destructive of Men's Estates and Lives."¹³⁴

SOME OF THE EARLY JUSTICES RESIDING AT OR NEAR TRENTON

William Trent, as already narrated, was appointed chief justice of the Colony in November 1723, taking his seat the following March.

¹²⁹ Keasbey, *Courts and Lawyers of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 147.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 147.

¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 251.

¹³² *ibid.*, p. 214.

¹³³ *ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 260.

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Daniel Coxe was an associate justice of the Supreme Court. He was appointed November 6, 1706, and served a few years.^{134^a} He was the son of Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was largely interested in the land of West Jersey, which he later conveyed to the West Jersey Society. Justice Coxe was a member of Lord Cornbury's council, but strenuous opposition was made to him in Governor Hunter's time and he was removed from the council, but was elected to the Assembly by the people and became Speaker in 1716. He was soon afterwards expelled from the House. It does not appear how long he remained in the Supreme Court, but he was again commissioned an associate justice on August 1, 1734, and served until his death in Trenton in 1739.^{134^b} Judge Field says of him that "he was a man of enterprising character and of great activity of mind, and his name is entitled to a place in our Colonial history which it has not hitherto received."¹³⁵

Thomas Revell and *Daniel Leeds* were commissioned as associate justices, June 7, 1708. Thomas Revell was one of those who came over in the *Shield*, landing at Burlington in 1678. He was provincial clerk and recorder of Burlington, and for many years register or recorder of the West Jersey Proprietors. He was closely associated with Daniel Coxe and he and Leeds were members of Governor Cornbury's first council.¹³⁶

John Allen was commissioned associate justice November 6, 1736. He had been a member of the council for the Western Division, of which he was treasurer.¹³⁷

Richard Stockton, although not a Trentonian, was often here, living in Princeton only about ten miles distant, was a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and such a prominent man not only in these parts but in the Colony as a whole that he deserves to be mentioned. He was appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court February 28, 1774. Of his abilities as a lawyer Judge Field says: "His fine natural powers had been highly cultivated and improved by study and discipline, and his success was rapid and brilliant. His practice soon became co-extensive with the Province and he was often invited to conduct causes in neighboring Colonies. Although as a lawyer he might still have been willing to acknowledge David Ogden as his master, yet as an eloquent and accomplished advocate he had no competitor." He was also a member of council.¹³⁸ It is beyond the scope of this chapter to pursue his career after Colonial times.

GOVERNORS CORNBURY AND FRANKLIN

The governors of New Jersey of course exercised jurisdiction over the Falls, afterwards Trenton; and this history would doubtless be incomplete without some mention of at least two of them, although they did not live here. The first of these governors was Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury,

^{134^a} Appendix to Rules of Supreme Court, 1905.

^{134^b} Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 137.

¹³⁵ Keasbey, *Courts and Lawyers of New Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 296.

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 296.

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 300.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 308-9.

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sometimes contemptuously referred to as the "Frocked Governor." "It was not uncommon for him to dress himself in a woman's habit, and then to patrol the fort in which he resided; such freaks of low humour exposed him to the universal contempt of the people;¹³⁹ but their indignation was kindled by his despotic rule, savage bigotry, insatiable avarice and injustice, not only to the publick, but even his private creditors; for he left some of the lowest tradesmen in his employment, in their just demands."¹⁴⁰ It will be remembered that he was a cousin of Queen Anne, yet she removed him from his offices of governor of New York and New Jersey, after he had occupied those exalted positions from his appointment in 1702 until the year 1708. He was superseded and Lord Lovelace appointed in his place.¹⁴¹ Although he received the credit for having formed the courts of New Jersey after their English prototype, he appears to have been only the spokesman and mouthpiece of their real and distinguished draughtsman, as the following will indicate. Judge Field, speaking of Lord Cornbury says: "It is really gratifying to find a single redeeming feature in the administration of this weak, corrupt, tyrannical man, who disgraced the sovereign whose representative he was, and dishonored the noble ancestry from which he was sprung. But he is entitled to the credit of having laid the foundation of our whole judicial system."¹⁴² . . . By whom this ordinance was framed it is of course at this late day impossible to ascertain. That it was by one familiar with the common law, and conversant with the courts of Westminster Hall may fairly be inferred, and as we shall see presently Lord Cornbury had such a man in his Council (Roger Monpesson, Chief Justice).¹⁴³ . . . He became his principal adviser in all matters of law, and was no doubt the author of that ordinance to which reference has already been made."¹⁴⁴

The next was William Franklin, the last Colonial governor. His administration extended from 1762 to 1776. He was a natural son of Benjamin Franklin and was born in Pennsylvania. Educated under his father's direction, he afterwards served as clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly, as postmaster of Philadelphia, and Captain in the war with the French. He was at the battle of Ticonderoga. He was taken by his father to England and studied law there, where he was called to the Bar. He was appointed governor of New Jersey, September 9, 1762, at the age of thirty-one. He took sides with England in the turbulent times preceding the Revolutionary War, and when he called the Assembly to meet in June 1776 to present dispatches from the Ministry, he was declared by the Provincial Convention to be in contempt of the Continental Congress, was arrested at Perth Amboy, and sent under guard to Governor Turnbull in Connecticut. After two years he was exchanged and sent to New York, where he remained for five years and then sailed for England, where he was given a pension of £800 a year

¹³⁹ For a picture of Governor Cornbury in female attire, see Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State*, p. 213; also, Ellis, *Library of American History*, p. 244.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, note on p. 352.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 535.

¹⁴² Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 42.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 61.

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and lived to the age of eighty-two.¹⁴⁵ It is to be regretted that so able and accomplished a man did not embrace the patriotic cause, as his celebrated father did, and thus share the glories of the Revolution.

New Jersey is much indebted to William Franklin for upholding and advancing the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery by precept and by ordinance; but that is another matter.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE AT TRENTON

Hunterdon County was created in 1714 and comprehended all that part of West Jersey which lay north of the Assunpink Creek. That will be more particularly referred to in another part of this history.

It is pertinent here to inquire as to the holding of the first courts at Trenton. The exact date of the building of the old Court House cannot be ascertained, and the account of it and of the building of the jail seems to be somewhat mixed, though they were undoubtedly built at the same time. Mr. Lee says that the establishing of the County Court in the village of Trenton was one of the most prominent, if not the most prominent, factors in the development of the town; that court days brought a varied population of many races and faiths, and formed the basis for a fair, from which grew much of the economic prosperity of all Colonial towns; that those buildings (Court House and jail) were undoubtedly located upon land owned by William Trent, who gave the property to the County; that the year in which the jail was built was probably 1721, and it stood upon the same spot where the Trenton Bank then stood (1895); that it was a two-story building erected of grey sandstone, with stuccoed front; that the cells were in the lower story and the upper story was used as a court room.¹⁴⁶ Mr. Raum gives the same account.¹⁴⁷ From these authorities it would appear that the buildings were erected at one and the same time.

As Trent died in 1724, he must have previously (if at all) given the land on Warren Street for the building of the Court House and jail; but whether there was a temporary structure made then and there, which was replaced by the one bearing the date 1730, can only be conjectured. No deed for the old Court House appears to be of record. Mr. Raum says that the courts were held here for the first time in 1719, but whether at the house of William Yard (where the courts were once held) we are not informed; at that time it does not appear that the Court House was built.¹⁴⁸ The Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, and the New Jersey constitution of July 2, 1776, are said to have been read from the steps of this Court House on July 8, 1776, so it would appear that it lasted a long time. It should be stated that courts were held alternately at Maidenhead and Hopewell after the creation of Hunterdon County in 1714 until September 1719.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 335 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Lee, *History of Trenton*, pp. 64, 65. In Lee's *History* is a picture of the Court House bearing the date under the apex of the roof, "1730," and the same picture is to be found in Mr. Podmore's publication, *Trenton Old and New*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 68.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 59.

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Notwithstanding the date of 1730 which was placed on the old Court House, that structure might have been an alteration or replacement, for which authority of record cannot now be found; nevertheless, the fact is that the first mention of the Court House in Trenton, taken from the original Minutes of the Hunterdon Court, shows that a session was there held December 21, 1722, and again on March 6, 1722-23. Under date of June 5,



HUNTERDON COUNTY COURT HOUSE, *circa* 1730. SOUTH WARREN STREET.

1723, John Muirheid, high sheriff of Hunterdon, reported that the jail of the County was "very weake" and that a prisoner had unsuccessfully attempted to escape, being taken in the act.¹⁵⁰ By ordinance of Governor Burnet, April 23, 1724, it was ordained that the County Courts for the County of Hunterdon should be held at the Court House of the County,¹⁵¹ which was therein named as Trent Town.¹⁵²

Trials are almost always interesting. They discover humor, pathos, comedy and tragedy. Many hearts have bled and many souls have sped by the necessarily given verdicts of juries. But it is not within the scope of this chapter to give an account of trials which took place in this Court House. That will be exploited to some extent at least in another chapter by another author.

¹⁵⁰ Hunterdon County Minutes, pp. 33, 34.

¹⁵¹ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, p. 274.

¹⁵² *ibid.*, p. 279.

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THE STATE OF THE CRIMINAL LAWS IN COLONIAL TIMES

In olden times capital executions took place within the public gaze, and many offenders convicted of capital crimes were hanged in public, here as elsewhere. Such scenes are by law no longer permitted; nor have they been for a considerable period of time. Executions now take place within prison walls and are witnessed by but few officials and newspaper reporters.

Some observation ought to be made upon the state of the criminal laws in Colonial times, showing what offenses were punishable with death, since all of them affected Trenton as well as the whole Colony. Blackstone, the great commentator on the laws of England, writing about the year 1765, said that it was a melancholy truth that no less than one hundred sixty actions which men were daily liable to commit had been declared crimes by Act of Parliament, punishable with death,¹⁵³ and that since the ninth year of the reign of Henry I (1109) persons guilty of larceny above the value of twelve pence were directed to be hanged.¹⁵⁴

THE WEST JERSEY CODE RELATIVELY HUMANE

No such sanguinary code disfigured the name and fame of West Jersey. Our fathers brought with them from England the common law which, purified from corruption and redeemed from abuses which tyranny and misrule had engrafted upon it, had reached its highest vigor and perfection at the time of the settlement of this Colony.¹⁵⁵ We also had, besides this common law, the Concessions and Agreements of March 3, 1676, which modified and restrained it, and which provided, in Chapter XIII, that the Legislature should make no laws that did not conform thereto, and, in Chapter XXI, that sentences and the execution thereof in treason and murder were to be left to the Assembly. By Chapter XXIX, the Assembly was empowered to make all laws agreeably to those of England, provided that they were not against any of the Concessions mentioned. Judge Field, speaking of capital offenses in the Colonies, has said that while in East Jersey there were no less than thirteen offenses for which punishment of death might be inflicted, yet in West Jersey there were no capital crimes; that even after conviction in murder and treason the sentences and way of execution thereof were left to the Assembly.¹⁵⁶

A fair difference between the laws of England and Colonial West Jersey will be found in the treatment of larceny: There, as we have seen, if the goods stolen were above the value of twelve pence (about a "quarter," or twenty-five cents, of our present money) the punishment was death; here, any larceny was by Act of 1681 punished by compelling the offender to make restitution four-fold. Restitution also was provided for robbery (forcibly taking from the person of another his property by violence or putting the victim in fear), and in default of repayment the culprit was imprisoned and obliged to work out the amount. And for beating, hurting, wounding or assaulting any man, woman or child the perpetrator was to be punished

¹⁵³ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, p. *18.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. *238.

¹⁵⁵ Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey*, pp. 15, 16.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 207.

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according to the nature of the offense, to be determined by twelve men of the neighborhood—that is, by a jury.¹⁵⁷

By the instrument of surrender from East and West Jersey to Queen Anne, April 17, 1702, there was yielded up to the Crown all power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule the inhabitants of the Provinces; and to make, ordain and confirm any laws, ordinances, or to revoke or change those already made.¹⁵⁸ This arrangement "Her Majesty graciously accepted and was pleased to order . . . that the same be enrolled in her . . . High Court of Chancery."¹⁵⁹ Since the proprietors had expressed themselves as desirous of submitting themselves to the Queen and were willing to surrender all pretence to the powers of government, so that Her Majesty might constitute a governor of the Provinces with authority for the government thereof and for the making of laws with the consent of the Assembly, subject to her approbation,¹⁶⁰ Queen Anne appointed Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, to be "Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over . . . Nova Caesaria or New Jersey."¹⁶¹ He was empowered to make, constitute and ordain laws, statutes and ordinances, with the consent of the Council and Assembly,¹⁶² and in the Instructions accompanying his commission he was charged with the duty of collecting, revising and amending all laws of the Provinces. All Acts were to be transmitted to the Queen for approbation or disallowance.¹⁶³

Thus it will be seen that at all times and in all instruments, whether emanating from the proprietors and freeholders of the soil, or from the crown, the power to make and amend or repeal laws in the Colony was always subject to the will of the representatives of the people in Assembly convened, without whose concurrence no law could be passed. While a veto was reserved to the Crown, its august wearer could only prevent by veto a given enactment having the force of law, but never could impose an affirmative statute upon the people without their consent. This shows clearly that the laws were to be enacted here, and we look to the Colonial Legislatures for the criminal statutes of those days.

Judge Field appears to have contented himself with comment on the penal laws of the Colonies at the time of the surrender in 1702, but does not appear to have examined the criminal statutes from that date until 1776. Now, after the acceptance of the surrender, the power of the Quaker element in West Jersey to control legislation for the Colony was forever gone, and the legislators from East Jersey of the United Province of New Jersey were able to have incorporated into the laws thereof several Acts visiting the punishment of death upon persons guilty of sundry crimes.

CAPITAL CRIMES

It appears that while at the time of the surrender there was no capital crime (one punishable with death) in West Jersey, save as the Assembly

¹⁵⁷ *Concessions and Agreements*, Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁵⁸ Leaming and Spicer, *Grants and Concessions*, p. 614.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 617-18.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 613.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 647.

¹⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 650 ff.

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 623.

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might adjudge after conviction in cases of treason and murder, yet after the surrender and between 1703 and 1776 there were added by the Legislature several penal statutes denouncing crimes which might be punishable with death. One especially (1774) is worthy of mention as showing the inhumanity and cruelty visited in that age of comparative education and enlightenment upon criminals falling into the hands of the law and convicted of crimes; the particular one concerned counterfeiting gold or silver coins of any foreign country current within this Colony. It provided that such criminals should be whipped, burned with the letter "R" in the brawn of the left thumb, by an iron sufficiently hot to make a lasting mark, fined, pilloried or cropped (clipping the ears), or one or more of those punishments, at the discretion of the court; and that if it should appear that such person was before convicted in this or any of the neighboring Colonies, such person should be adjudged guilty of felony without the benefit of clergy, and suffer death accordingly.¹⁶⁴

The statute just mentioned (and several others, too) took away from the defendants the *benefit of clergy*, which theretofore was allowable; and curiosity may exist as to exactly what the benefit of clergy was. It is as interesting as it was absurd, and will now be briefly stated.

"BENEFIT OF CLERGY"

The learned Sir William Blackstone says that after trial and conviction, the judgment of the court regularly follows, unless suspended or arrested by some intervening circumstance, and of which the principal is the *benefit of clergy*. Everyone that could read (a mark of great learning in those days of ignorance) was accounted a clerk or *clericus*, and allowed the benefit of clerkship, though not initiated into holy orders. But when learning, by means of the invention of printing and other concurrent causes, began to be more generally disseminated than formerly, and reading was no longer a competent proof of clerkship or being in holy orders, it was found that as many laymen as divines were admitted to the privilege. Therefore, by statute of 4 Henry VII, c. 13, a distinction was drawn between mere lay scholars and clerks that were really in orders.¹⁶⁵ It would be useless in a work of this kind to enumerate all of the many instances and kinds of privileges that were accorded. Suffice it to say that benefit of clergy gave certain privileges to the clerks in criminal cases, a thing that ought obviously never to have been allowed and is totally abolished at this time. Learning betokens intelligence (at least to a degree), and is rather an aggravation than an excuse for crime.

It is interesting to note that in 1713 a statute was passed that solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers should be accepted instead of the oath in usual form, and for qualifying and enabling those people to serve as jurors and to execute any office or place of trust or profit within the Province. The preamble recited that in the western division of the Province a greater number of the people called Quakers had for some time past not been admitted to serve on juries or to exercise some of the places of trust and profit because they made a religious scruple of taking or giving an oath in the usual form. By reason of this, serving

¹⁶⁴ *Laws of New Jersey*, 1774, p. 82.

¹⁶⁵ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, pp. *365 ff.

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on juries and other places of trust had lain upon the smallest part of the inhabitants, to the great detriment and inconvenience of the other more numerous and wealthy part (the Quakers), who had, however, evinced their loyalty by their readiness to support the government. It was therefore enacted that all Quakers or reputed Quakers might take an affirmation instead of an oath in the usual form, which should be of the same force and effect as an oath required within the Province, and that the Quakers or reputed Quakers having taken the affirmation might and should be admitted to serve on juries (except on petit juries in causes criminal), and that on signing the declaration of allegiance, should be capable to serve in General Assembly or in any other post, place or office of trust or profit within the Province.¹⁶⁶ This applied with particular force to the population of Trenton, numerous composed of Quakers as it was in those times. Before the surrender the Quakers were in control of West Jersey and the Assembly and other officers were largely recruited from their ranks.

AUTHORITY TO PARDON

By Act of 1747 power was given to Governor Belcher to pardon any offender or offenders in criminal matters (treason and wilful murder only excepted). As great numbers of evil-disposed persons, inhabitants of the Province, had committed great and dangerous insurrections, riots and disorders, no persons indicted and prosecuted for such offenses should be entitled to pardon granted by the Act unless they should subscribe the oaths and declarations, or if Quakers, their solemn affirmations, for securing his Majesty's government of New Jersey, and enter into bond for good behavior and to keep the peace. Further, all proceedings in law against any person or persons whatsoever, who at any time before the publication of the Act were concerned in committing and had been accused, indicted and prosecuted for high treason for breaking open the common gaol at Trenton, or any other common gaol, should be stayed until the intent of His Majesty or His Majesty's royal pleasure might be known; such persons were to take and subscribe the oaths or affirmations and declarations and enter into bond and pay the fees of prosecution before they should be entitled to the benefit of the Act.¹⁶⁷ It would appear that the offending inhabitants secured immunity and pardon under this Act.

XI. *Progress of the Falls and Trenton from 1679 to 1776*

THE growth of Trenton for some time after the settlement in 1679 appears to have been slow. It is stated in Woodward and Hageman's *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*¹⁶⁸ that prior to 1700 no great progress was made in the settlement here; that about that time purchases began to be made from the original proprietors or those who had taken up

¹⁶⁶ *Laws of New Jersey*, 1713, p. 83.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 1747, p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ p. 664.

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the land; and that most of the old deeds for lands in this vicinity bear date from 1699 to 1710. It is not made plain, however, just what these deeds were. A search of the records themselves discloses the true condition. It appears by the map (Stacy to Trent, 1714) that Mahlon Stacy was the only proprietor who took up all the land in old Trenton from the locality of Hermitage Avenue on the Delaware River down to just below the railroad bridge and for a considerable distance back into the country, and that all deeds for property on that vast tract were acquired from and under him. Hence any deeds that were made for tracts other than those by Stacy were made by Joshua Ely, Peter Fretwell, Ruth Beakes and others, grantees immediately and mediately from Mahlon Stacy.¹⁶⁹

NUMBER OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS CONJECTURAL

There is little mention of the numerical size of Trenton during the Colonial period, and accounts of it seem to vary somewhat from one another. However, by 1745 the place seems to

¹⁶⁹ It will be observed by reading the account herein of the settlement of Trenton by Mahlon Stacy and the Friends or Quakers accompanying him to the Falls of Delaware at the confluence of that river and the Assunpink Creek, where Stacy took up all the land, that it occurred in 1679. Mr. Raum, however (who contradicts himself on that score in his *History of Trenton*), says that the first settlement here took place in 1676 (which was three years before the actual settlement). At p. 39 he says that several of the first settlers of the Yorkshire tenth built near the Falls of Delaware in the year 1676; at p. 46, that settlements were made on lowlands above the Assunpink in 1676; and at p. 50, that the first settlements at the Falls were made by Friends on both sides of the river about the year 1676. It is noticeable, however, that he gives no names of settlers and no authority for his statements; and even if here, they had no title to the land, but were mere squatters. It is still more noticeable that he flatly contradicts himself as to these assertions, for, at p. 68, quoting from *Gordon's Gazetteer*, at p. 254, says: "Trenton was founded by William Trent, a few years prior to 1720. The place that was then known as Trent's-town received its name about this time, but was founded by *Mahlon Stacy and others*, about the year 1678-9." The quotation is inaccurate in that Raum left out much that is said in the *Gazetteer*, and, anyway, the quotation marks should have stopped at "1720," for the sentence, "The place that was then known as Trent's-town received its name about this time, but was founded by *Mahlon Stacy and others*, about the year 1678-9," is not in the *Gazetteer*, but is Raum's own comment, and is entirely correct. A long article could be written in refutation of this unverified assertion that the first settlement was made about the year 1676, but that is deemed unnecessary.—The Author.

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have been of goodly size and very promising, and the inhabitants petitioned King George II for a royal charter of incorporation. The petition recited that Trenton was situate at the head of navigation, with a large and fruitful country adjacent, and these facts in all probability would tend to render Trenton a place of trade and importance. The charter of incorporation was issued creating Trenton a free borough town September 6, in the nineteenth year of the reign of George II (1745). The dimensions of the town were very large, as appears by the description which was:

Beginning at the mouth of Crosswicks creek; thence up said creek to the mouth of Doctor's creek; thence up said creek to Keith's line, between East and West Jersey; thence along said line including Maidenhead and Hopewell, between Hopewell and Amwell, to Delaware river; thence down said river to the place of beginning.

Provision was made in the charter for a chief burgess and recorder, twelve burgesses, sixteen councilmen, one marshal, one clerk, one treasurer and eight constables. The initial officers appointed by the charter were as follows:

Thomas Cadwallader, chief burgess; Nathaniel Ware, recorder; David Martin, marshal, and Andrew Reed, treasurer. The other burgesses were, William Morris, Joseph Warrell, Daniel Cox, Andrew Smith, Alexander Lockhart, David Martin, Robert Pearson, Andrew Reed, Theophilus Phillips, Joseph Decou, Samuel Hunt and Reuben Armitage. The common councilmen were: Joseph Paxton, Theophilus Severns, Benjamin Biles, Jasper Smith, Cornelius Ringo, Jonathan Stout, Jonathan Waters, Thomas Burrowes, Jr., George Ely, John Hunt, John Dagworthy, Jr., Joseph Phillips, John Welling, William Plasket, Daniel Lanning, and Benjamin Green. The constables so appointed were: Robert Taylor, William Pearson, William Sprowls, John Abbot, Matthew Baker, Abner Phillipse, Vincent Runyon and Jonathan Hunt.¹⁷⁰

The charter conferred the usual powers to make reasonable laws; to impose mulcts and amercements upon breakers of laws and ordinances; for the establishing of market days and of the times of holding fairs, for the sale of livestock and goods, wares and merchandise; provided for a court to inquire into felonies, crimes and offenses not capital, and to hear, try and determine all petty larcenies, routs, riots and unlawful assemblages and all other crimes and offenses whatsoever, where the punishment

¹⁷⁰ See Book AAA of Commissions, pp. 266 ff., Secretary of State's Office, see also, Lee, *History of Trenton* (1895), p. 65.

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did not extend to loss of life or member; provided for fines; and created a civil court with cognizance of all actions (except ejectment and all real actions). This charter is said to have been a royal charter and to have emanated from King George II, then upon the throne of England. It was, however, like all such grants, made by the royal governor, as is witnessed in the attestation clause, as follows:

Witness our said Trusty and well beloved Lewis Morris, Esqr., our said Captain General and Governor in chief in and over our said province of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, and Territories thereon depending in America, and vice Admiral in the same &c., at Kingsbury, the sixth day of September in the nineteenth year of our reign.

However, by experience it was found that the charter did not answer the salutary purposes intended, but was found to be prejudicial to the interest and trade of Trenton, and the burgesses and council yielded to the Crown the charter of incorporation, together with the claims to exercise and administer the powers thereby conferred. The instrument of surrender was under the seal of the corporation, April 7, 1750, and was accepted by Governor Belcher.¹⁷¹

As we have seen, the Swedish traveller Kalm, writing in 1748, says that he was told that twenty-two years before, that is, in 1726, there was hardly more than one house in the town, but from that time Trenton increased so much that there were then (1748) near one hundred houses.¹⁷² Five years later (1753) it was said by Acrelius¹⁷³ that "Trenton, with about one hundred thirty houses, lies at the Falls of the Delaware and has a ferry." Six years later (1759) the Rev. Andrew Burnaby, an English clergyman, describes Trenton as containing about one hundred houses.¹⁷⁴ The late Adjutant-General William S. Stryker, who wrote extensively on historical subjects, in his monograph *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*,¹⁷⁵ writing of 1776-77, places the number of houses in Trenton at about one

¹⁷¹ See Book AAA of Commissions, p. 306; also, Lee, *History of Trenton* (1895), p. 67.

¹⁷² Kalm, *Travels into North America*, Vol. I, pp. 220 ff.

¹⁷³ "History of New Sweden," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XI, p. 144.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church* (2nd ed.), p. 59.

¹⁷⁵ p. 4.

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hundred, seventy north and thirty south of the creek. He made a very careful survey of the subject, giving the names of individuals and locations of the houses, etc. If, therefore, there were about one hundred houses in 1776, there could not very well have been one hundred houses in 1759, as stated by Burnaby; nor one hundred thirty houses in 1753, as stated by Acrelius; nor so few as Kalm relates as having been here in 1726. Accepting General Stryker's estimate, which appears to have been a most careful and painstaking one, the reader must be left to judge what the accretion to the town in population was at various times from the settlement in 1679 to the close of the Colonial period in 1776. A helpful clue lies in the fact that the map made in 1714, showing lands conveyed by Stacy, the younger, to William Trent, delineated nineteen buildings thereon, exclusive of the mill, the number of houses and the number of outhouses shown not being stated; and that on the Pettit tract there were two other houses. It looks as though the marking apparently of a large building low down on the tract "EEE" was the dwelling of Mahlon Stacy himself, but what the two smaller buildings in the immediate vicinity were it is quite impossible to say; probably smaller dwellings.

Mr. Raum says that in 1814 a Mrs. Howell, who was born in 1724 and had consequently reached the age of ninety years, informed a citizen (unnamed) of this place that there were only two or three small houses within the limits of Trenton between 1730 and 1740.¹⁷⁶ This certainly must be attributed to the senility of the old lady repeating the story. At any rate, Dr. Hall's refutation of the similar remarks made by Kalm is applicable here also; it could not have been a correct statement and is pure hearsay, conflicting sharply with our belief as to the situation of the town as founded upon the undisputed facts. It disagrees with Kalm himself, who says that in 1748 there were nearly one hundred houses here. If so, by 1740 there must have been at least half that number, or fifty, and one would think that by 1720 there must have been at least twenty-five. It disagrees also with Acrelius, who says that in 1753 there were

¹⁷⁶ Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 54.

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one hundred thirty houses here, which would indicate a considerable place between 1730 and 1740, although there were doubtless fewer houses here than he mentions; and with the Rev. Burnaby, who in 1759 said Trenton contained about one hundred houses—apparently a little too high an estimate also, for the late Adjutant-General Stryker has said that in 1776, or nearly twenty years later, it contained about that same number, namely, one hundred. Indeed, if Mrs. Howell was correct, as well as Mr. Kalm in his statement about the size of Trenton in 1726, what have we to say of Governor Burnet's commission to William Trent's son James for a patent for a ferry in 1727, in which the governor solemnly recites that William Trent in his lifetime had purchased lands and made improvements on them near and adjoining Delaware Falls, and by his industry, application and encouragement there had been created a pretty considerable town, in consequence of which it would be a great convenience to travellers if a regular ferry or ferries could be kept for the carrying of passengers and goods over the Delaware near to the town of Trent-Town? The presence of about three houses here would most certainly not have provoked this patent from the governor. The truth appears to be that there must have been from twenty-five to fifty houses in the settlement at that time.

NAMES OF THE EARLIEST SETTLERS LACKING

It is to be regretted that it is impossible to give the names of the Friends or Quakers who came up here and settled with Stacy. It will be remembered that they landed at Burlington in December 1678. There they must have stayed, where their friends were, during the inclement winter, for building operations were quite impossible here until the advent of the spring of 1679. It will be remembered also that when Sluyter and Dankers were here in November 1679 they stayed all night at the house of the Friend who built the mill and said that there were many Quakers here and that "they daily increased." They gave no names and are not helpful on that score except as to Stacy himself, for he it was who built the mill and they stayed at the miller's house. This, then, describes him but no others.

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The list of the arrivals in the *Shield* is not given in full, and diligence has failed to locate the missing names. The list actually gives twenty-five names and says there were others; some were described, as wife, children and servants. Probably there were more than one hundred, as the boats came over here very crowded, and two hundred thirty are mentioned as having landed from the ship *Kent* at Rackoon Creek in 1677.¹⁷⁷ Of the *Shield's* named passengers, the Murfins are known to have always lived thereafter in Burlington. Godfrey Hancock, another of the passengers, we find built a house near Burlington on land he preempted there,¹⁷⁸ So it cannot be said who of the passengers of the *Shield* came to the Falls with Stacy, or who of those already in Burlington might also have come up here, even after more than a year's residence there. It appears that their names must forever remain unknown.

Incidentally, in the present chapter will be found mention of the names of Robert Stacy and Henry Stacy. Robert was a brother of Mahlon.¹⁷⁹

OTHER MATTERS OF INTEREST

The progress of Trenton touches upon so much matter appropriate to other headings to follow in this History, where it will be found stated, that it will not be repeated here. There remain, however, several other subjects of which some mention should be made in this chapter on Colonial times, and to them are devoted the pages immediately following.

RELIGIOUS BODIES

This community has always been noted for religion and religious worship. In a subsequent chapter of this History¹⁸⁰ will be found a review of the churches and religious institutions in this community from earliest times, including the whole of the Colonial period.

¹⁷⁷ Smith, *History of New Jersey*, p. 93.

¹⁷⁸ Schermerhorn, *History of Burlington*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ Hunter, *History of Hallamshire*, p. 488 (Hallamshire was a former manor, but has long since disappeared).

¹⁸⁰ See Chap. VIII below, "Churches and Religious Institutions."

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SCHOOLS

The schools that were conducted here in Colonial days will also be found in a subsequent chapter¹⁸¹ which treats fully of schools and libraries.

INDUSTRIES

While in a subsequent chapter¹⁸² industries and trades in Colonial as well as in statehood days are reviewed, nevertheless some analytical account of the views of England concerning trade relations between that kingdom and the Colonies, with respect to the transportation of crude or raw materials to England and the purchase here of the manufactured products of the mother country, will now be given.

It must be remembered that this was an agricultural community when first settled, and that England preferred to trade her manufactured products here rather than encourage manufactories in the Colonies. Hence there was a scarcity of such establishments here in the Colonial period. The attitude of England on that question is well illustrated by the following items:

On November 27, 1728, Sir William Keith wrote to the Secretary of the Lords of Trade, relative to certain manufactures in the Plantations:

I have heard that Some few Experiments have been made both for raising Silk, & Working Hemp up into Sail Cloth, with a view, as I Suppose, to Induce People to Enter into Some Projects of that nature; and as to any Manufactures of Woolen, Their Lordships very well know, That it is already prohibited by Act of Parliament, from being either Water born, or Transported by Land from one Colony to another, So that there is no Room to form any Considerable Project of that kind; nor did I ever hear, that Woolen Cloth has been made in any of the Plantations otherways, Than that every Farmer is by Industry led to employ his spare time in working up the wool of the few sheep he is obliged to keep on his Farm, for the Improvement of his Land, for the use of his Family, and in like manner he often Raises a small Quantity of Flax, which is broke or dress'd commonly in the Winter Season, and Spun up into Course Cloth by the old Women and children, for the same use.¹⁸³

In 1713 the feltmakers of England proffered a memorial to the Lords of Trade in which they concluded:

¹⁸¹ See Chap. XIV below, "Schools and Libraries."

¹⁸² See Chap. X below, "Industries and Trades."

¹⁸³ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. V, p. 203.

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Wherefore it is humbly proposed That the Inhabitants of the said Plantations may be prevented from Wearing or Vending any Hats Save what are of the Manufacture of Great Britain which will Increase the Customs and Navigac'on and set to work great numbers of Poor Families and enable the Hatmakers to revive their said Declining Trade.¹⁸⁴

Governor Belcher, on September 15, 1750, issued a proclamation setting forth that he had received His Majesty's commands to enforce the Act for encouraging the importation (into England) of iron from His Majesty's Colonies in America. In accordance therewith and in order to prevent the erection of any mill or any engine for slitting or rolling of iron or any plating forge, or any furnace for making steel in any of the Colonies, he required the owner of any such mills erected before June 24, 1750, to present to the secretary's office at Burlington an account of their respective works and the name of the owner, whether the same were used or not. The sheriffs of the several Counties were directed to notify him of the number of mills or engines for the purpose aforesaid, in their Counties, with an account of their situation, when erected, name of owner, and whether used.¹⁸⁵ In the same year John Allen, sheriff of Hunterdon, reported the existence of a mill in Trenton owned by Benjamin Yard, where it appeared that not only iron, but steel also, was manufactured.

Governor Belcher, in answer to a query from the Lords of Trade on December 28, 1754, said, among other things, that the exports were in provisions and lumber to Europe and the West Indies, and that it was computed that the Province took from Great Britain "Woolens,—Cutlary,—Habidashiry,—Braisery,—Hats,—East India Goods."¹⁸⁶

Benjamin Franklin, writing from London to his son William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, March 13, 1768, said that complaint was made in the House of Commons that the governors of New Jersey and other Provinces had none of them obeyed the orders sent them to give an account of the manufactures carried on in their respective Provinces; and that after the House adjourned he looked up the reports made by the other

¹⁸⁴ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. V, p. 307.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 674.

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 82-3.

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governors and found all in the same strain, that there were no manufactures of any consequence.¹⁸⁷

Governor Franklin in a letter to Secretary Hillsborough, dated June 14, 1768, himself said:

As to the Manufactures in this Colony I can assure your Lordship, that there are none either of woollen or Linen which deserve to be call'd by that Name. It is true that many Families who live on Farms make some coarse Cloathing for themselves or Servants, but it is by no means sufficient for their Consumption. . . . All the finer kind of Goods consum'd here are imported from Great Britain (except some Linen from Ireland) into the ports of New York or Philadelphia. There are indeed few articles but what may now be imported and sold cheaper than they can be manufactured here, owing to the high Price of Labour. Some Persons, Indeed, out of a Zeal for what they conceive to be for the good of their Country, have ever since the Commencement of the late Differences between the Mother Country and the Colonies, persevered in wearing and encouraging their own Manufactures, tho' to their manifest Loss in many Cases.¹⁸⁸

In a general way he repeats the very same statements in his "Answer to Heads of Enquiry relative to the State and Conditions of His Majesty's Province of New Jersey in America in 1774."¹⁸⁹

Taverns

The keeping of a tavern was an early enterprise among the settlers, here as elsewhere. Says Mr. Raum, "Every town was required to provide an ordinary for the relief of strangers, the keeper of which was to have a license and oblige himself to make sufficient provision of meat, drink and lodging."¹⁹⁰ An "ordinary" was the name for a tavern or eating house where regular meals were served, or the dining room in such a house. These ordinaries were very fashionable in olden times, as much so as the clubhouses are amongst those of the present day.¹⁹¹ This subject will be treated more fully hereafter.¹⁹²

Ferries

Ferries were a most important link in the transportation

¹⁸⁷ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X, p. 29.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 304.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 444.

¹⁹⁰ Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 20.

¹⁹¹ *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 1928, p. 1516.

¹⁹² See Chap. VI, "Landmarks, Taverns, Markets and Fairs."

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system in Colonial times. There has already been detailed in this History an account of the patent granted by William Burnet, royal governor, to James Trent, his heirs and assigns, for the sole liberty and privilege of erecting and keeping of ferries over the river Delaware at any places within two miles above or two miles below the Falls of the Delaware near Trent Town; which patent was sold and conveyed by James Trent to William Morris. Where ferries were built in virtue of these letters patent, and what other ferries existed here, will be told in detail hereafter in this History.¹⁹³

FAIRS

Fairs, as such, in ancient times were associated with markets and were themselves an exalted sort of market, and were held in virtue of licenses or grants flowing from the sovereign power.¹⁹⁴ Blackstone, in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, says of the establishment of public marts or places of buying and selling, such as markets and fairs, with the tolls thereunto belonging:

These can only be set up by virtue of the King's grant, or by long and immemorial usage and prescription, which presupposes such a grant. The limitation of these public resorts, to such time and place as may be most convenient for the neighborhood, forms a part of economics, or domestic polity; which considering the kingdom as a large family, and the King as master of it, he clearly has a right to dispose and order as he pleases.¹⁹⁵

Fairs have now become largely agricultural exhibitions, in which shows, horse racing, and other amusements are held forth. The fairs that have been held here in Colonial times and later will be told of in a subsequent chapter. They are veritable landmarks.¹⁹⁶

MUNICIPAL BOUNDS

Of course prior to any settlement here there was no municipality; nor was there any created by law in any way until several years after the settlement was formed. There was no incor-

¹⁹³ See Chap. V below, "Transportation."

¹⁹⁴ *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13th ed., Vol. 10, pp. 127 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Vol. I, *p. 274.

¹⁹⁶ See Chap. VI below, "Landmarks, Taverns, Markets and Fairs."

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poration of Trenton as a city until after the Revolution.¹⁹⁷ Municipal bounds were landmarks and will be fully treated hereafter.¹⁹⁸

TRANSPORTATION

Transportation was an important, though a hard and tedious, process in Colonial times. None of the mechanical means now so successfully carried on in that regard were then available. Travelling, and the carriage of men, animals and goods were conducted on land and water; on land, largely by horse-drawn vehicles; and on water, by boats propelled by oars and sails. The subject will be fully treated in a later chapter of this History.¹⁹⁹

OLD BARRACKS

The Old Barracks in Trenton is the only one standing out of five erected pursuant to the statute of 1758, and has recently been restored to its pristine condition. It is the most distinguished landmark of Colonial times still left in Trenton. It is managed by the Old Barracks Association, a corporation composed exclusively of ladies; and many patriotic societies occupy rooms there furnished in Colonial style. It is the only institution of its kind known to exist today in the whole country. It will be fully treated of in the appropriate chapter which deals with landmarks.²⁰⁰

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

It is of course difficult to ascertain all distinguished persons who visited the Falls and Trenton during the Colonial period, owing to the lack of available records kept on such subjects in olden times. Most of the visits, being fugitive, are lost in antiquity.

Trenton was not a very important town, nor the capital of the State, until after the Revolution, and the governors did not live

¹⁹⁷ See the later chapter, "Municipal and Corporate History from the Charter of 1792," below.

¹⁹⁸ See Chap. VI, "Landmarks, Taverns, Markets and Fairs."

¹⁹⁹ Chap. V, "Transportation."

²⁰⁰ Chap. VI, below.

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here (except Governor Lewis Morris) but doubtless all of them visited this place on various occasions.

Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, Labadist priests, were here and spent the night of Friday, November 17, 1679, at the house of the miller, Mahlon Stacy, as already told above.

Captain Arent Schuyler of New York was also an early visitor to the Falls of the Delaware. His father was one of the original settlers in Albany in 1650, and the Captain was commissioned in 1692 by Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby of New York and New Jersey, and the Council of New York, to proceed to the Delaware River and meet a delegation of southern Indians, who had been at war with the Five Nations and had come hither to sue for peace and were waiting for permission to continue their journey. Captain Schuyler, who was then in New York, was dispatched to meet the Indians and conduct them to the Governor and Council there. He proceeded to the Falls and reached here on August 15, 1692, and here conferred with the Indians. The singular feature of the account of his expenses was its small amount, being only £12 5s. 11d. currency. The report of his first interview with the Indians on the Delaware River is an interesting document to the antiquarian.²⁰¹

Governor Cornbury of course was here. The Rev. John Sharpe, his chaplain, speaks several times of the Hopewell Church (of England) and of his ministrations there. Under date of April 23, 1706, he says that on Whitsunday he preached at Hopewell Church and that Lord Cornbury was present.²⁰²

Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker preacher, was here in 1725, and lodged with Captain Gould and was well treated.²⁰³

Governor Cosby with his wife and family were here on Tuesday, September 24, 1734, and went to Burlington where they were tendered a reception. In the evening he returned to Trent-Town.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Schuyler, *Colonial New York*, Vol. II, pp. 182-4.

²⁰² Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, p. 24.

²⁰³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), Appendix, p. 323.

²⁰⁴ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 389.

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The Rev. George Whitefield, a famous English evangelist and an associate of John Wesley, was in Trenton November 12 and 21, 1739. On the latter date he came here to preach to a condemned criminal, which he did in the Court House. He said that the unhappy criminal seemed hardened, but he hoped that some good was done in the place. He was here again in November 1740, conferring with ministers, and was probably here several times more. He was advertised to preach here on September 13 and 14, 1754.²⁰⁵

Governor Lewis Morris lived in Trenton from 1740 until his death in 1742.²⁰⁶

Dr. Alexander Hamilton was here in 1744, a fact which may be gleaned from a privately printed volume entitled *Hamilton's Itinerarium*. It is the narrative of a journey in 1744 by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a distinguished physician (not the Alexander Hamilton of the Revolution). The autobiographer says he came to Trenton on horseback from his residence in Annapolis, and put up at Elisha Bond's at the Sign of the Wheat Sheaf. Dr. Cadwalader (of Trenton) came to see him, who he said he understood was a "fallen-off" Quaker. They supped together; their discourse was mixed and rambling. At first it was political, and Cadwalader gave him the character of the constitution and government, saying that the House of Assembly was composed (among others) of "ignorant wretches," obstinate to the last degree, and that there were a number of proprietors in the government and a multitude of Quakers. He enlarged a little in praise of Governor Morris, who was then a very old man. Dr. Hamilton stayed over night here again at Bond's on his return, September 12, 1744.

Peter Kalm, a professor in a university in Sweden, and a famous traveller, was here in 1748. Under date of October 28 of that year he wrote his observations of Trenton, which have been given in another part of this chapter.

John Woolman, a recorded (as they were then called) minister of the Society of Friends, who was a very celebrated man,

²⁰⁵ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), pp. 53-5.

²⁰⁶ Godfrey, *Mechanics National Bank, Trenton*, p. 7.

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lived at Mount Holly and must have been here repeatedly, although he does not say so in terms. He does, however, say in his *Journal* that in the year 1754 he found his mind drawn to join in a visit to Friends' families belonging to the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting; that he spent several weeks that winter in the service, and again the following winter was several weeks in the same service. He must, therefore, have visited all of the families belonging to the Meeting, and, consequently, must have been here, as Trenton was subsidiary to that Meeting.²⁰⁷

He tells of a curious incident that happened to him the year before. He says that someone came to him to write the will of a sick man who had slaves and intended to leave them to his children. He then says:

As writing is a profitable employ and offending sober people was disagreeable to my inclination, I was straitened in my mind, but as I looked to the Lord he inclined my heart to his testimony, and I told the man that I believed the practice of continuing slavery to this people was not right and had a scruple in my mind against doing writings of that kind: that though many in our Society kept them as slaves, still I was not easy to be concerned in it, and desired to be excused from going to write the will.²⁰⁸

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AT TRENTON

Benjamin Franklin visited Trenton in 1757, and doubtless on many other occasions. On April 5 of the year mentioned he dated a letter from this place while on his way from Philadelphia to New York to take passage for England.²⁰⁹ On his famous journey from Boston to Philadelphia as a boy it would appear that Benjamin Franklin did not stop here but passed to the south. He landed in Perth Amboy by boat and set out to walk to Philadelphia. He proceeded on foot to Burlington where he was told he would find a boat to carry him the rest of the way. In his autobiography he says that that night he came to a poor inn where he stayed till morning (without saying where), and proceeded the next day and in the evening reached an inn eight or ten miles from Burlington kept by one Dr. Brown (not saying where that was). Although Trenton is more than ten miles from Burlington it may be that it was here he stopped at Dr.

²⁰⁷ *John Woolman's Journal*, pp. 47-8.

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁰⁹ Sparks, *Works of Franklin*, Vol. VII, p. 134.

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Brown's, where he spent the night, and the next morning reached Burlington, where he spent a few days and then took boat for Philadelphia.²¹⁰

General Dunbar and the British Army were in Trenton on its way to New York after the disastrous defeat and the death of General Braddock in the expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755. Franklin had secured the enlistment of several servants of farmers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and General Dunbar, who succeeded to command, told him that if the masters would come to Trenton, where he would be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of coming here, where the General, however, refused to perform his promise.²¹¹

Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire visited Governor William Franklin in June 1767 (at his house in Burlington) and next morning they came together to Trenton Falls, where they spent the day fishing and took supper together.²¹²

John Fitch, afterwards famous as the inventor of the steamboat, came to Trenton in 1769, and was well established here as a silversmith even before the Revolution. Shortly thereafter he removed to Bucks County, Pennsylvania.²¹³

WASHINGTON AT TRENTON

General Washington, the most distinguished of them all, being in Philadelphia May 23, 1773, on his way to New York, set out for that place with Lord Sterling, Major Bayard and Mr. Custis (the latter being his step-son), after breakfasting with Governor Penn. He (and presumably the party) dined with Governor Franklin at Burlington and lodged at Trenton (it not being known where). On his return from New York to Philadelphia on May 31, 1773, he proceeded to Princeton, then to Bristol; so he must have passed through Trenton on that

²¹⁰ *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, pp. 44-6.

²¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 269.

²¹² Duane, *Franklin's Correspondence*, p. 35; Hall, *History of Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), Appendix, p. 294.

²¹³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), p. 152.

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occasion also.²¹⁴ As Washington went to Boston in 1756 to confer with General Shirley, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, he probably passed through Trenton northward approximately February 14, and southward March 13, 1756, though there is no record of this.

John Adams, afterwards the second President of the United States, was here in August 1774. He wrote in his journal that he rode to Trenton from Princeton, was at (Rensselaer) Williams' tavern at Trenton Ferry; that Trenton "is a very pretty village and appears to be the largest town in the Jerseys."²¹⁵

Trenton in Colonial days, as now, was a place through which travellers passed between New York and Philadelphia, and to points north and south on the Delaware and to and from the shore of the Atlantic and westward into Pennsylvania. In fact, in the Indians' day, before the advent of white settlers, the Falls was known as a stopping point and from which several Indian trails radiated. Naturally it was a place visited by travellers, distinguished and otherwise. While many more distinguished visitors were here than are detailed above, nevertheless rather careful investigation has failed to disclose their names and the time of their visits.

INDEPENDENCE OR THE CLOSE OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In 1775 and 1776 the Colonies were seething with revolt. The Battle of Lexington, said to have been the commencement of the Revolutionary War, had been fought April 19, 1775, but Independence had not yet been declared. The Declaration made by the thirteen original Colonies in Congress assembled is dated July 4, 1776, but New Jersey, be it said to her lasting glory, declared her independence two days earlier by the adoption of a completely autonomous constitution, setting up a State government in all its branches, legislative, executive and judicial. The Provincial Congress of New Jersey, assembled in convention at Burlington on July 2, 1776, adopted that constitution, breathing defiance to Great Britain in every line. Its Preamble is herewith given in full:

²¹⁴ Fitzpatrick, *Colonial Traveler*, pp. 333-8.

²¹⁵ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton* (2nd ed.), p. 168.

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PREAMBLE TO THE STATE CONSTITUTION, JULY 2, 1776

WHEREAS all the constitutional authority ever possessed by the kings of Great Britain over these colonies, or their other dominions, was, by compact, derived from the people, and held of them for the common interest of the whole society; allegiance and protection are, in the nature of things, reciprocal ties, each equally depending upon the other, and liable to be dissolved by the other's being refused or withdrawn. AND WHEREAS, George the third, king of Great Britain, has refused protection to the good people of these colonies; and, by assenting to sundry acts of the British parliament, attempted to subject them to the absolute dominion of that body; and has also made war upon them in the most cruel and unnatural manner, for no other cause than asserting their just rights; all civil authority under him is necessarily at an end, and a dissolution of government in each colony has consequently taken place.

AND WHEREAS, in the present deplorable situation of these colonies, exposed to the fury of a cruel and relentless enemy, some form of government is absolutely necessary, not only for the preservation of good order, but also the more effectually to unite the people, and enable them to exert their whole force in their own necessary defense; and as the honorable the continental congress, the supreme council of the American colonies, has advised such colonies as have not yet gone into the measure, to adopt for themselves respectively such government, as shall best conduce to their own happiness and safety, and the well-being of America in general; we, the representatives of the colony of New Jersey, having been elected by all the counties in the freest manner, and in congress assembled, have, after mature deliberation, agreed upon a set of charter rights, and the form of a constitution in manner following, videlicet.

Then follows the organic law under which New Jersey existed and flourished from 1776 until 1844, when a new constitution, the present one, was adopted.

And thus, on July 2, 1776, by this defiance of Great Britain and the adoption of a constitution for the State of New Jersey, ended the Colonial period of Trenton's existence, as well as that of the commonwealth at large, and embarked both upon statehood days; and so, necessarily, ends this chapter of Trenton's history.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ The proceedings and vote on the adoption of the constitution may be found in the *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey*, published by order, 1776, pp. 35, 36, State Library.

CHAPTER II

Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era

BY HAMILTON SCHUYLER

I. Local Conditions

ANYONE who contemplates at this late day a fresh treatment of conditions, events and persons pertaining to the Revolutionary era here in Trenton, will find himself forestalled by several eminent authors, with Stryker at their head, who have thoroughly gleaned the main field and thus have left little or nothing of the first importance to be said.

In addition to accredited local historians such as Raum, Stryker, Hall and Lee, occasional writers have dealt in pamphlets and newspaper articles with minor phases which had previously been ignored or only incidentally touched upon. All therefore that a writer can hope to do today is to collate and summarize the facts which the researches of others have revealed.

It must be borne in mind that the scope of the present chapter is a limited one, of purely local significance, and only incidentally includes some observations over a wider field, and this merely to elucidate the conditions prevailing here in Trenton in those times. The actual military operations in and about Trenton do not fall within the task assigned to the present writer, but will be fully treated in the following chapter.

The task of the present writer is simply to furnish as complete a résumé, as the sources permit, of the conditions in Trenton during the crucial period associated with the War of the Revolution, with brief references to the leading men who were locally concerned. What the reader has a right to expect is that

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he shall be informed as far as the circumstances and the knowledge permit not only of what transpired here, but what was the mood and temper of the people who lived here and how they reacted to the supreme crisis which resulted in the attainment of political independence.

As a preliminary to an understanding of our subject, it is important to recall the general conditions, commercial, social and political, which prevailed here during the period dealt with.

Although Trenton was little more than a small village at that time, containing probably not more than five hundred inhabitants in all, it was, nevertheless, a place of some importance owing to its strategic situation on the Delaware River at the head of tidewater, and also as being the main station on the post road between the two cities of New York and Philadelphia. All travel between the North and the South normally passed through Trenton, much as it does today, and hence the town was one familiar to a multitude who had occasion to travel in either direction.

IMPRESSIONS OF AN EARLY VISITOR

Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller who visited Trenton in 1748, noted conditions as he then observed them relative to the brisk traffic which passed through the town, and from which its inhabitants derived their livelihood. Though his observations were recorded some twenty-five years earlier than our period, the probabilities are that the circumstances had not altered much if any during the intervening years.

The inhabitants of the place carried on a small trade with the goods which they got from Philadelphia, but their chief gain consists in the arrival of the numerous travellers between that city and New York, for they are commonly brought by Trenton yachts from Philadelphia to Trenton, or from thence to Philadelphia. But from Trenton further to New Brunswick, the travellers go in wagons which set out every day for that place. Several of the inhabitants, however, subsist on the carriage for all sorts of goods which are every day sent in great quantities either from Philadelphia to New York or from thence to the former place, for between Philadelphia and New York all goods go by water, but between Trenton and New Brunswick they are all carried by land, and both these conveniences belong to people of this town.¹

¹ Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, p. 220, trans. by T. R. Forster Warrington, 1770.

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In the year 1774 Governor Franklin reported:

The tide in this river [Delaware] goes no higher than Trenton in New Jersey, which is about thirty miles above Philadelphia, where there is a rift or falls, passable however with flat bottomed boats which carry five or six hundred bushels of wheat. By these boats of which there are now a great number, the produce of both sides of the river for upwards of one hundred miles above Trenton are brought to Philadelphia.²

Though Burlington at this time was perhaps politically a more important place, since it had the prestige of being one of the two capitals of the Province, Perth Amboy being the other, Trenton, owing to its favorable situation, was far better known to the general public. Visitors of distinction often stopped here to break their journey.

John Adams, afterwards the second President of the United States, paid his first visit to Trenton in August 1774 and makes the following record in his diary:

Rode to Trenton [from Princeton] to breakfast at William's Tavern, the tavern at Trenton Ferry, we saw four very large black walnut trees standing in a row behind the house. The town of Trenton is a pretty village. It appears to be the largest town we have seen in the Jerseys.

Since 1719 Trenton had been the county seat of the large County of Hunterdon, and thus was a center for legal business, the place where the courts were held and lawyers congregated.

Recalling the conditions which prevailed in those early days, a writer of a later period thus described the circumstances under which the courts of that time assembled and transacted their business.

In the absence of railroads the common highway of these several distant seats of justice would be lined with wagons, gigs, sulkies, and public stages. Every lawyer kept his horse and sulky in those days, and their attendance upon the county courts involved the necessity of their remaining generally during the whole week, and it was so with jurors and witnesses. The public hotels were thronged with people during the whole term of court, day and night. The table set for the court and bar in those days, and previous years, makes an interesting chapter in the history of judges and lawyers who practised in the courts of the county. County courts in those years were very different from those of the present time. They were more expensive and inconvenient, and they were attended with more conviviality it may be, but they were more impressive upon the people of the country and diffused more knowledge of human rights and wrongs among the throngs who daily filled the courtroom than at the present day.

² *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X, p. 438.

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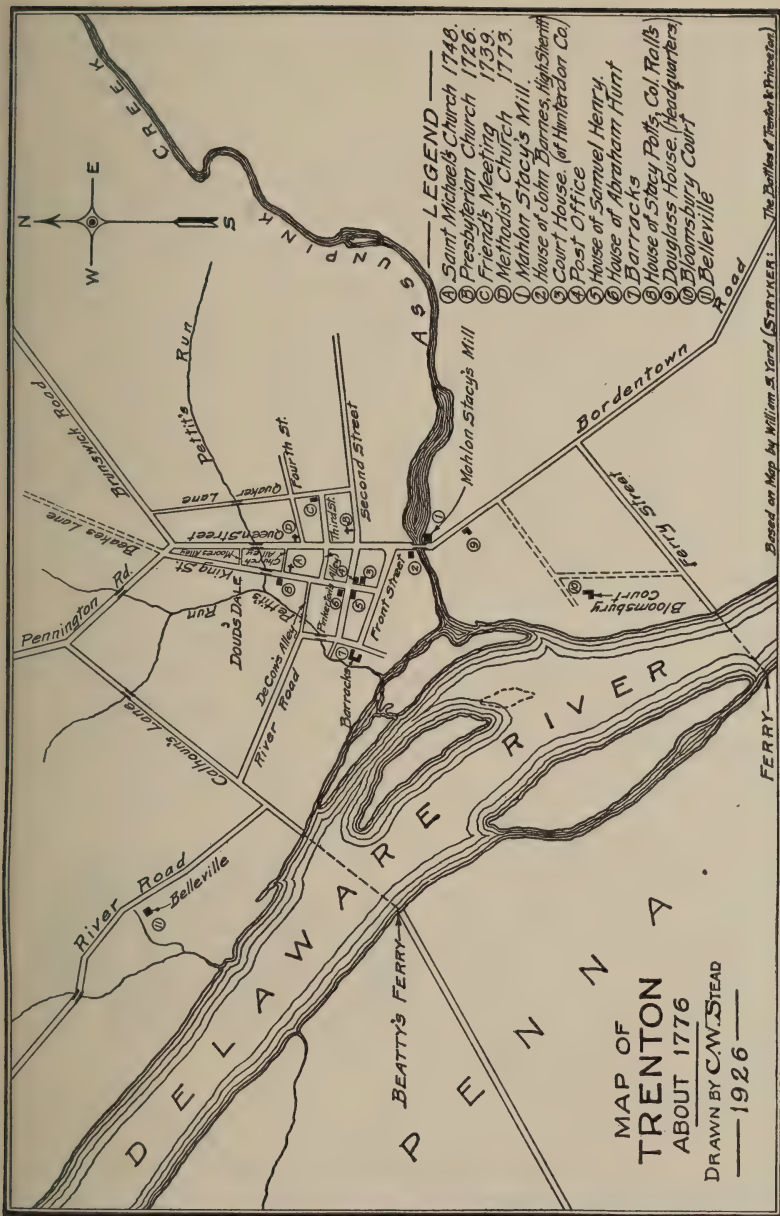
As the only substantial settlement in New Jersey south of New Brunswick, Trenton was also a market town serving a wide territory. We may think of Trenton, therefore, as being in those days a busy little place entertaining at its inns and taverns a constantly moving company of all sorts and conditions. Stage coaches and mails came and went regularly, vehicles and horsemen passed and repassed on their journey, merchants and officials, judges, lawyers, farmers and pedlers found lodgment here; and at their meals and in the evenings when they gathered in the public meeting rooms, interchanged information as to the conditions in their several localities and conversed and argued about politics and particularly the absorbing topic concerned with the controversy between the Colonies and the mother country. It was in such ways and on such occasions that public opinion was formed and men got to understand the sentiment cherished in different sections of the community, and thus when the issue was clarified and the time was ripe for action, had acquired a fairly clear notion of the attitude likely to be assumed by their neighbors and associates near and remote.

THE FERRIES OVER THE DELAWARE

There were two or perhaps three ferries over the Delaware in close proximity to the town,—Trenton Ferry, at the foot of Ferry Street, and a ferry, known as "Beatty's" with a landing somewhat west of the Calhoun Street Bridge. There was also a ferry about a mile down the river from Trenton Ferry known as the "New Ferry" which was conducted by Elijah Bond from his own property.

Besides the ferry near the foot of Calhoun's Lane there were also several other ferries located at convenient points a few miles up the river of which Stryker mentions Howell's, Yardley's, Johnson's, and McKonkey's, the latter at what is now known as Washington Crossing. Thus it will be seen there were ample facilities for crossing the Delaware, rendering Trenton easy of access from points in Pennsylvania.³

³ See "Ferries," in Chap. V, below.



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TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The accompanying map, facing page 104, shows the topographical features of the town and indicates the location of the churches and a few other buildings of historic interest.

The names of the streets in Trenton as identified by Stryker in his pamphlet, *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago, 1776-1777*, then bore titles unfamiliar to us today. Thus State Street was Second; Warren, King; Broad, Queen; East Hanover, Third; Academy, Fourth. There was then no Perry Street, but Church Alley to the north of St. Michael's Church ran between King and Queen, and Pinkerton's Alley west of Queen, now a part of Hanover Street, did likewise. Front Street had then the same name. Second Street, our East and West State Street, was a short street running west only about as far as what is now Willow Street, thence giving access to the River Road, and East State Street extended not much further than what is now Montgomery Street, at one time known as "Quaker Lane," thence passing into a lane bordering an apple orchard and leading to Samuel Henry's iron works at the creek. What we know as South Warren Street then ended at Front Street. Pennington Avenue was Pennington Road. Brunswick Avenue, Brunswick Road, and Princeton Avenue was a mere lane leading to the Beakes' estate. Calhoun Street was a country roadway connecting Beatty's ferry with the Pennington road. The estate known as "Belleville" and occupied in turn by many distinguished families, was about at the junction of West State Street and Prospect. The "Hermitage," afterwards the Atterbury estate, where General Philemon Dickinson lived, was then far out in the country on the River Road, as was also the Cadwalader property, and "Bloomsbury Court," the mansion built by Colonel William



THE "HERMITAGE" ON THE RIVER ROAD, HOME OF GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON. 1776.

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Trent and recently known as "Woodlawn" on South Warren Street, was equally remote from the town and surrounded by farm land.

Stryker says:

The town above the creek may be considered as bounded by what we call today the creek, Montgomery Street, Perry and Willow; all outside was in the suburbs.

All the ground south of Front Street along the Assunpink Creek from the orchard to the river was called "Peace's Meadows" and was low and swampy. The land lying on each side of the road to Bordentown, south of the creek, was then called Littleboro, also Kingsbury, the farm west of that road, Bloomsbury and the village along the shore below Bloomsbury farm called Lamberton after Thomas Lambert [the first settler].⁴

According to Stryker there were at that time in Trenton about one hundred houses in all (seventy above and thirty below the creek), most of them of wooden construction.

Peter Kalm, in his *Travels into North America* quoted above, alludes briefly to the appearance of the town as he noted it in 1748, and probably conditions had not altered materially twenty-five years later.

The houses are partly built of stone, though most of them are made of wood or planks, commonly two stories high, together with a cellar below the building, and a kitchen under ground, close to the cellar. The houses stand at a moderate distance from one another. They are commonly built so that the street passes along one side of the houses, while gardens of different dimensions bound the other side; in each garden is a draw-well.

Of buildings, public or semi-public, there were the barracks, built in 1758, the County Court House and jail built about 1730, the postoffice and the village school erected from the proceeds of a lottery held in 1753 which stood on Second Street where the First Presbyterian Church now stands, the original church built in 1726 being then located a little farther to the west nearer the old City Hall. Other churches were St. Michael's on King Street, built about 1748, the Quaker Meeting House on Third Street, built in 1739, and a small frame church belonging to the Methodists on the northeast corner of Fourth and Queen Streets, erected in 1773.

There was a stone bridge built by the County in 1766 arching the Assunpink at Queen Street. Mahlon Stacy's mill, originally

⁴ Stryker, pamphlet, *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago, 1776-1777*.

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built of hewn logs in 1679 but afterwards replaced by a two-story stone building when the property was bought by Colonel William Trent, was just beyond.

Over the river [Assunpink] in the compact part of the town is a spacious stone bridge, supported by arches built with stone and lime with a high wall on each side handsomely laid. At the foot of the bridge are mills for grinding and bolting wheat. These mills are contained in a very large stone building and are remarkable for the prodigious quantity and excellent quality of the flour which is ground in them every twenty-four hours.⁵

LOCAL INDUSTRIES

There were several manufacturing establishments, among which were Samuel Henry's iron works located beyond an apple orchard to the east of the town on the Assunpink, a steel works at the mouth of Pettit's Run belonging to Stacy Potts, where in 1776 he and John Fitch manufactured files, and Benjamin Yard's iron works where the new Masonic Temple now stands, where guns were made and general iron-working carried on. John Fitch, then a gunsmith, had a shop on King Street in the same building where James Wilson plied his trade as a silver-smith. Fitch had a contract with the American army for repairing arms and making buttons. At one time he is said to have had sixty men in his employ. The shop was burned by the British in 1776. Stacy Potts had his extensive tannery in a yard reached by an alley above his home on King Street. The principal merchant of that day was Abraham Hunt who carried on a thriving business in general merchandise at the corner of King and Second Streets where his house stood. Hunt was postmaster both before and after the war. When Franklin



THE POSTOFFICE ABOUT 1776, SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF SECOND AND KING (STATE AND WARREN) STREETS.

⁵ The Rev. Manasseh Cutler's description of Trenton (1787), in *Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society*, 1873, p. 94.

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was postmaster-general his records show that in 1776 the post-office at Trenton yielded a revenue of £10 16s. 11d.⁶

SOCIAL LIFE

Of the social life of the inhabitants little of a definite nature is known, but it must have been similar to that in other towns of the same size and general character. Probably most of the social events were held in the chief taverns where also public meetings assembled, and where the beaux and belles of that day congregated for balls and routs.⁷

Possibly some of the more sedate affairs were associated with the two churches, St. Michael's and the Presbyterian. The relations between the two congregations were cordial in the extreme. There seems at times to have been a rotation of services and members of each had pews in both churches, so that when one or the other church was without a settled minister, all would attend that in which a service was provided. Also some of the respective vestrymen and trustees often served on both boards at different times or even simultaneously. The two congregations united in a lottery in 1773 for the purpose of raising funds to be divided between them.

An interesting side-light on the hospitality of the day is afforded by the record made by John Adams in his diary under date September 19, 1777:

We rode to Trenton where we dined, drank tea with Mrs. Spencer [probably the wife of the Rev. Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian Church]; lodged at S. Tucker's at his kind invitation.

The next day he records:

20th, breakfasted at Mrs. J. B. Smith's. The old gentleman, his son Thomas, the war officer, were there, and Mrs. Smith's little son and two daughters. An elegant breakfast we had, of fine Hyson, loaf-sugar, and coffee, etc. Dined at William's at the sign of the Green Tree; drank tea with Mr. Thompson and his lady at Mrs. Jackson's; walked with Mr. Duane [James Duane] to General Dickinson's house and looked at his farm and gardens, and his green-house, which is a scene of desolation; the floor of the green-house is dug up by the Hessians in search of money. Slept again at Tuckers.

⁶ *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 1862, Vol. IX, pp. 83-5.

⁷ See "Taverns," in Chap. VI, below.

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SOME CITIZENS OF THE TOWN IN 1776

Of the inhabitants of Trenton at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War several are well known to us from their prominence in public affairs and others can be identified from various sources. If there were then in Trenton one hundred households probably the number of adult males living in the town was about the same and at least a score of these have left memories behind them other than their mere names.

The writer has gleaned from various sources a fairly comprehensive list representing the various professions and occupations of those living in Trenton during the Revolutionary era. Of course the list is not exhaustive, but it includes about sixty names or over one-half of the presumptive one hundred adult males living in or near Trenton at that time.

Of lawyers or those who held judicial and other official positions there were Isaac Allen, John Allen, probably his brother, a deputy from Hunterdon County to the Provincial Assembly of 1776, John Barnes, high sheriff, David Brearley, Abraham Cottnam and his son Warrell Cottnam, Ebenezer Cowell, Daniel Coxe, Isaac De Cow, Robert Lettis Hooper, father and son, Michajah How, William Pidgeon, and Samuel Tucker, president of the Provincial Assembly and subsequently justice of the Supreme Court and for a time treasurer of the State.

Of merchants and tradesmen there were Abraham Hunt, also postmaster, and Moore Furman who likewise held the same office in 1757, James Emerson, Alexander Calhoun, Daniel Pinkerton, John Singer, Job Moore, Robert Singer, and Joseph Milnor. William Tucker was a shoemaker, John Rickey was a dealer in hardware, James Burnside was a school teacher and bookseller, Joshua Newbold, Aaron and Hezekiah Howell, and Joseph and Samuel Lanning were blacksmiths. Richard Howell was a cooper, Matthew Clunn was a tinsmith, Benjamin Smith was a harness-maker, James Wilson was a silversmith, Conrad Kotts was a tailor, Thomas Barnes and Hugh Runyon were druggists. William Yard and Godfrey Winer were bakers, Charles Axford was a carpenter. Alexander Chambers, Sr., was a turner and chairmaker. Physicians were David Cowell, Isaac

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Smith and William Bryant. Benjamin Yard and Samuel Henry were iron manufacturers. Stacy Potts was a steel manufacturer and also a tanner, Elijah Bond was a ferry owner, auctioneer and dealer in real estate, Rensselaer Williams, Thomas Janney, William Cain and Jonathan Richmond were innkeepers and also, though at a somewhat later date, were Francis Witt, Henry Drake and Jacob G. Bergen. Philemon Dickinson was the owner of an estate known as the "Hermitage" on the River Road purchased in 1776 subsequent to the Declaration of Independence. Lambert Cadwalader bought a property in March 1776 on the River Road, but did not make his home there until November 1776, when he was a paroled prisoner of war until 1779. Major William Trent was living in Trenton before the war and probably remained during that period, for his estate in Lamberton was not offered for sale until 1784. Samuel Meredith had an estate known as "Otter Hall" on the river two miles below Trenton which he was occupying in 1770, but he was not living here during the war period though he subsequently returned to take up his residence. Dr. William Bryant was living temporarily during the war at "Bloomsbury Court," Colonel William Trent's former home. Nathan Beakes, who had married Mary, a daughter of Major William Trent, lived on his plantation north of the town. There were two clergymen then living in Trenton, the Rev. Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, and the Rev. George Panton, rector of St. Michael's.

Among the names mentioned above were certain leading men who gave the place its character and were prominent in various lines of patriotic activity, political and military. There were also some who were conspicuous as convinced loyalists, and others who may be reckoned as waverers. Brief biographical sketches of some of these will be given in subsequent pages.

II. General Political Conditions in New Jersey

BEFORE proceeding to consider local political sentiment it will be helpful to offer some brief observations upon the complicated political conditions as they existed in the Colony of New Jersey at the outbreak of the war.

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It had been plainly evident to thinking men for several years preceding actual hostilities that the Colonies were gradually drifting away from the mother country, and it was only a question of time when a crisis would be reached, unless the British government should greatly modify its policy and meet the wishes of the people for a larger share of independence.

The progressive nature of the revolutionary movement in New Jersey may be studied in the proceedings of the Provincial Congress beginning with the session held in New Brunswick in February 1774 and culminating in the session held in Burlington in the summer of 1776, during which, on July 2, the decisive step was taken of declaring the independence of the Colony from British rule. Inclusive of these two sessions seven separate sessions of the Congress were held in all within the two-year period. Each session went a little farther than the one preceding it towards weakening the bonds which bound the Colony to the mother country. Professing the utmost loyalty to the King and ever reiterating the desire and intention of the people of New Jersey to remain his faithful subjects, there went hand in hand with this assertion a bitter protest against the measures taken by the British government to control the destinies of the Colonies and an implied threat to resist those measures by force.

As an example of the formal acknowledgment of the King's sovereignty, the following resolution adopted unanimously at a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Hunterdon County held July 8, 1774, with Samuel Tucker in the chair, may be cited:

We do most expressly declare, recognize and acknowledge His Majesty King George the Third to be the lawful and rightful King of Great Britain and of all his other Dominions, and that it is the indispensable duty of this Colony, under the enjoyment of our constitutional privileges and immunities, as being a part of His Majesty's Dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to His Majesty, and Him to defend to the utmost of our power against all attempts upon his person, crown, and dignity.⁸

The same general sentiments were expressed by meetings held in other counties.

A lip service was thus rendered to the person of the sovereign,

⁸ Snell, *History of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties*, p. 27.

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but at the same time resolutions were passed and actions taken that were plainly contumacious, subversive of his authority and even treasonable as the word is commonly interpreted. The royal governor was ignored and flouted, and a rival government was set up under the old legal forms. Provision was made for raising and equipping a militia to be used presumably against His Majesty's forces and also for recruiting troops to be placed at the disposal of the Continental Congress for the same purpose. Taxes were levied to support the military establishment and for other objects designated by the Congress. A Committee of Safety was appointed which wielded extraordinary powers of inquisition and punishment. In other words the whole machinery of a dual government was brought into existence and used to nullify and supersede the then legally established order.

The declaration of the Colony's independence made July 2, 1776, was merely a formal announcement of what had already notoriously taken place or had been in process of accomplishment for several years.

THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

Of the seven sessions of the Provincial Congress three were held in Trenton, May, August and October 1775, and the seventh session held in June 1776 was adjourned from Burlington and met in Trenton from July 5 for fourteen days.

Hunterdon County and Trenton men took an active part in the preliminary agitation and also served on the first General Committee of Correspondence appointed by the Provincial Assembly, July 21, 1774. These included Samuel Tucker, Dr. Isaac Smith, Charles Coxe, Benjamin Brearley, Abraham Hunt, Alexander Chambers, Isaac Pearson and John Allen. On the first Committee of Safety appointed in October 1775 were Samuel Tucker and Isaac Pearson. Samuel Tucker was president of the Provincial Congress of 1775 and also 1776.

The Provincial Congress of New Jersey which met in Burlington early in June 1776 with Samuel Tucker of Trenton as its president, after arresting and imprisoning the royal governor, William Franklin, had embodied in the preamble to the constitution, adopted July 2, the following pronouncement: "All Civil

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authority under him [George III] is necessarily at an end, and a dissolution of government in each Colony has consequently taken place." A few days later it became known that the united Colonies through their representatives at Philadelphia had passed the Declaration of Independence, which document was read July 8 from the steps of the Court House in Trenton where the Provincial Congress was then sitting, having adjourned thither from Burlington on July 5. Tradition says that the document was read at noon simultaneously with its proclamation in Philadelphia and adjacent towns in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the presence of the members of the Congress by Samuel Tucker, the president.

It was plain that the time had now arrived when men had to make the momentous choice whether they would continue to remain loyal subjects of King George or cast in their fortune with the new order.

A judicious historian thus sums up the situation :

The opening of the Revolution found New Jersey's sentiment unevenly crystallized. Few, if any, were favoring absolute independence. There were three elements. One, the Tory party, was led by Governor William Franklin, the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin. This conservative class embraced nearly all the Episcopalians, a vast proportion of the non-combatant members of the Society of Friends and some East Jersey Calvinists. Another element was composed of men of various shades of belief, some in favor of continual protest, others desirous of compromise. This included at the outbreak of the struggle most of the Calvinists, some few Quakers of the younger generation, and the Scotch-Irish. The third party drew its support from a few bold, aggressive spirits of influence whose following included men who believed that war for independence would benefit their fortunes.⁹

A CONFUSED ISSUE

It is evident that the prevailing public attitude in New Jersey as elsewhere was one of hesitancy, and even many of those who had been leaders in demanding concessions from the British government were not yet certain in their own minds whether they desired to take the irrevocable step of seceding and putting the issue to the arbitrament of war.

The military forces under the command of the British authorities were strong and supposedly efficient and moreover

⁹ "Outline History of New Jersey" in *Legislative Manual*, 1918.

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represented the principle of an established order, while the troops of the revolting Colonies were correspondingly weak and rested under the stigma of being rebels. It is no wonder therefore that a large minority should have experienced some difficulty in deciding what their personal attitude should be. The mind of the plain people was confused as to the merits of the issue and unable to read clearly the signs of the times. All they knew was that whichever side they favored, the other side, if and when it got the ascendancy, would be sure to visit waverers with severe reprisals and penalties.

DUAL PRONOUNCEMENTS

Pronouncements were made by both authorities seeking to secure adherents to the side they respectively represented and threatening the direst consequences to any who should aid or abet their enemies.

On July 15, 1776, at a meeting of the Provincial Congress (afterwards given the title "Convention of the State of New Jersey") held in Trenton, a resolution was passed providing that no person elected to a seat in the Council or Assembly should be entitled to take his seat until he had subscribed to the following oath:

I, A. B., do swear (or affirm) that I do not hold myself bound to bear allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain; that I will not by any means directly or indirectly oppose the measures adopted by this Colony, or the Continental Congress, against the tyranny attempted to be established over these Colonies by the Court of Great Britain; and that I do and will bear true allegiance to the government established in this Province under the authority of the people.¹⁰

On July 18 the Convention put forth an ordinance for punishing treason, meaning thereby treason to the patriotic side.

Whereas it is necessary in these times of danger, that crimes should receive their due punishment; and the safety of the people more especially requires, that all persons, who shall be found so wicked as to desire the destruction of good government, or to aid and assist the avowed enemies of the State, be punished with death.

Therefore be it resolved and ordained by this Convention and it is resolved and ordained by the authority of the same, that all persons abiding within this State of New Jersey and deriving protection from the laws thereof

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey, 1776.*

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do owe allegiance to the Government of this State as of late established on the authority of the people and are deemed as members of this State.

And that all and every persons who from and after the date hereof shall levy war against this State within the same, or be adherent to the King of Great Britain or others the enemies of this State within the same, or to the enemies of the United States of North America, giving to him or them aid or comfort, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason and suffer the pains and penalties thereof, in like manner, as by the ancient laws of this State, he or they should have suffered in cases of high treason.¹¹

When the British army entered New Jersey in November 1776, General Howe under instruction from the home government offered a free pardon to all who should have taken up arms against the British and issued protection papers to such and others as were willing to accept the same and take the oath of allegiance. It is said that 2700 persons in New Jersey took advantage of the offer, and thus ostensibly at least ranged themselves on the loyalist side and against the patriotic.

The following is the substance of the proclamation issued under date November 30, 1776, by the Howes, Richard and William, "the King's Commissioners for restoring peace in his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America" whereby "all persons speedily returning to their just allegiance were promised a free and general pardon," etc.:

We do hereby declare and make known to all men that every person who within sixty days from the day of the date hereof shall appear before . . . and shall claim the benefit of this Proclamation and at the same time testify his obedience to the laws by subscribing a declaration of the words following:

"I, A. B., do promise and declare that I will remain in a peaceable obedience to his Majesty, and will not take up arms, nor encourage others to take up arms in opposition to his authority," shall and may obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons and misprisions of treasons, by him heretofore committed or done, and of all forfeitures, attainders and penalties for the same: and upon producing to us, or to either of us, a certificate of such his appearance and declaration, shall and may have and receive such pardon made and passed to him in due form. Given at New York this thirtieth day of November, 1776.

By Command of their Excellencies
HENRY STRACHEY

HOWE
W. HOWE

Confronted by these two pronouncements, American and British, of similar intent, each demanding fealty to a separate sovereignty under a threat implied or specific that recusants

¹¹ *Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey, 1776.*

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would be subject to the penalties of treason, the people of New Jersey were in a perilous position.

A COMPROMISE ANTICIPATED

At the beginning of the struggle and for some time subsequently most perhaps were doubtful as to the issue and probably inclined to believe that there would in the end be a compromise which would leave things very much as they had been.

THE NEED FOR PRUDENCE AND CAUTION

The inhabitants of New Jersey, to whatever side their personal sentiments may have inclined, owing to the exposed position in which they were placed in the direct route between the two opposing forces, with New York held by the British and Philadelphia by the patriots, must have felt the need of exercising the utmost prudence and caution in the presence of the dual danger which confronted them. As the fortunes of war ebbed and flowed, as now the Continentals were in the ascendancy in the district, and now the British, many of the inhabitants would incline, as the occasion demanded, to hurrah with the patriots or to profess loyalty to the government of King George. Of course this was not an heroic attitude, but it is one perfectly natural for those confronted by an immediate contingency, and the common custom everywhere of those impaled on the horns of such a dilemma. Thus many, when an involuntary decision was forced upon them, swore allegiance alternately to both sides.

BRITISH "PROTECTION"

It would appear that this wavering, this running with the hounds and doubling with the hares, was not popularly regarded as a grave moral delinquency by those who secretly favored the American cause, but rather as a justifiable expedient, dictated by a natural regard for the preservation of life and property. Moreover since the Hessians, and even the British soldiers, were disposed to disregard these protection papers and indiscriminately pillaged in the case of loyalists and patriots alike, those who held British protection papers may have felt themselves

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morally absolved from their oaths as the corresponding terms were not observed.

The conduct of the British in New Jersey tended in a great degree to excite and confirm opposition. The peaceful and unresisting were plundered and abused and the most wanton and cruel injuries were inflicted, and with a strange disregard for good policy as well as good faith, no favor was shown even to those who had received written protection from the British. "The Hessians," says Gordon, "would not understand and the British soldiers deemed it a foul disgrace that the Hessians should be the only plunderers." Universal indignation was thus aroused.¹²

Certainly in many cases where persons took protection from the British but actually did not bear arms against their countrymen, the offense was often condoned and was not subsequently regarded as any bar to citizenship when the American government was finally established. Thus Samuel Tucker of Trenton, although he had previously been the president of the Provincial Congress and also held other high offices, yet took protection, in December 1776, from the British, in order, as he claimed, to safeguard public funds in his possession as well as his own personal property. Nor did he find that this temporary defection operated in the popular mind much to his discredit, though it entailed the immediate forfeiture of his membership in the Assembly and his removal from the office of justice of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, subsequently having taken the oath of allegiance, Tucker was again elected to the State Legislature and served 1782-84.

EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES

But if the taking of British protection, unlike the refusal to take the oath of patriotic allegiance when officially called upon to do so, was regarded under certain extenuating circumstances as not too heinous an offense there were yet conspicuous examples of those on both sides who from the very outset disdained to compromise their principles and suffered accordingly. But if many others who compromised or wavered in their stand for the patriotic side were like the inhabitants of Meroz in Old Testament history in that "they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty," we who live in calmer days and are

¹² Mulford, *History of New Jersey*, p. 440.

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not likely to be confronted by such a crisis as were they, have small reason to reproach them with their failure to act a more heroic part. When it is a question of being shot as a traitor, or imprisoned and despoiled of all your worldly goods, a discriminating prudence rather than a heedless valor is a virtue likely to commend itself to the average person.

The following is the official text of the "protection" papers issued in accordance with the proclamation put forth by the brothers Howe in November 1776:

I do hereby certify that the bearer came and subscribed this the declaration specified in a certain proclamation published at New York on the thirtieth day of November last, by the Right Honorable Lord Howe and His Excellency General Howe. Whereby he is entitled to the protection of all officers and soldiers serving in His Majesty's Army in America, both for himself, his family and property, and to pass and repass on his lawful business without molestation.

Signed (Name of British Officer
issuing the above)

III. Loyalist Sentiment in Trenton

THAT Hunterdon County which included Trenton was regarded as a prime center of disaffection to the patriotic cause may be inferred from a letter written by Governor Livingston from Princeton under date October 4, 1777, to John Hancock, the president of Congress. The letter embodied a protest against sending prominent Tories to Hunterdon County as prisoners on parole under surveillance by order of the Continental authorities and praying that they might be sent elsewhere. The particular incident referred to was concerned with John Penn, late the royal governor of Pennsylvania, and Benjamin Chew, late chief justice, and others who had been sent to "Union," an iron works located in what was afterwards Union Township in Hunterdon County. The letter goes on to say:

Of all Jersey the spot in which they are at present is the very spot in which they ought not to be. It has always been considerably disaffected and still continues so notwithstanding all our efforts, owing, we imagine, in part to the interests, connections and influence of Mr. John Allen, brother-in-law of Mr. Penn, who is now with the enemy.¹³

¹³ *New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence*, pp. 101, 102.

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The John Allen mentioned above was probably a son of John Allen, an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and a brother of Colonel Isaac Allen of Trenton, a well-known loyalist. John Allen himself had been a deputy from Hunterdon County to the Provincial Congress of 1776 against whom complaints were filed by the Trenton Committee early in the session and who had retired or been compelled to resign his seat, as the result of the charges proved against him. He was the owner of the Union Iron Works.

During the occupation of Trenton by the Hessians in December 1776, the attitude of the inhabitants if not favorable to the British was certainly not one of enthusiastic support of the patriotic cause.

A few days before the surprise attack on Trenton Washington was anxious to obtain accurate information as to the actual conditions which obtained there. He accordingly requested General Philemon Dickinson, as a resident of the place and therefore presumably familiar with responsible persons likely to undertake such an expedition, to find some one to go to Trenton and gather the information he needed. The following is General Dickinson's report on the subject:¹⁴

Yardley's Farms, 21 December, 1776.

Sir:

. . . I have endeavoured to prevail with some intelligent person to go down into Trenton, but hitherto without success. If 'tis agreeable to your Excellency, I will offer fifteen or twenty dollars to a good hand, who will undertake it, if such a one can be found. People here are extremely fearful of the *inhabitants at Trenton betraying them*.

PHILEMON DICKINSON

His Excellency Gen. Washington.

Probably many in Trenton had a strong suspicion lest their devotion to the patriotic cause might be questioned owing perhaps to their too friendly association with the Hessians and British during the occupancy of the town in December 1776.

In a letter of Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman, aide-de-camp to General Washington, written to his father, James Tilghman of Philadelphia, from the headquarters of the American army, Newtown, Pa., dated December 27, 1776, he says:

¹⁴ *American Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. III, 1343-4.

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"The Hessians have laid all waste since the British troops went away, *the inhabitants had left the Town* and their houses were stripped and torn to pieces."¹⁵

If, as this passage seems to indicate, the inhabitants or many of them had fled the town, following its occupancy by the Hessians, it would seem that they did so to avoid compromising themselves. As it was, not a few sought and obtained "protection" from the enemy.

SOME LOCAL PROTECTION PAPERS

The originals of some of the British protection papers issued under General Howe's proclamation of November 1776, and involving Trenton persons, were discovered some twenty years ago by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey in the Library of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. In a recent communication to the writer, in which he certifies as to the authenticity of the copies made of them at the time, Dr. Godfrey calls attention to the fact that the "name General 'Harries' mentioned in some of them unquestionably refers to General Howe." These protection papers, which are probably only a moiety of those issued, bear the names of some fourteen inhabitants of Trenton who sought and obtained British protection. The papers are signed and countersigned by English or Hessian officers under dates running from November 30, 1776, to February 22, 1777. The names inscribed are Archibald William Yard, Marmaduke Watson, John Stevens, Andrew Mershon, Elijah Lanning, Daniel Hutchinson, Timothy Howell, William Harcourt, John Cubberly, Moses Clayton, Samuel Hill, John Cox, Thomas Cox and Benjamin Arrenson.

A specimen may be given:

Tis His Excellency General Harries [Howe] express orders that no person presume on any account to molest or injure Elijah Lanning in his person or property.

By order of his Excellency
HENRY KNIGHT
Aid de Camp

Headquarters Dec. 13, 1776
Von Munchausen
Adjutant
(endorsed) Elijah Lanning
Sworn Feb. 21, 1777.

¹⁵ *Correspondence of Tench Tilghman*, Library of Congress, E207-757T5.

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The spelling and wording of many of these papers would indicate that they were made out by Hessian officers, who were notoriously deficient in knowledge of the English language.

The following is an example of the certification of the oath taken:

I do certify that the Bearer Archb^d Wm. Yard has taken the oath agreeable to the proclamation of the 20th Nov. 1776.

JAMES GRANT, M. Genl.

(Endorsed) Archb^d Wm. Yard

Sworn Feb. 22, 1777

None of these names above appears in the official list of loyalists of New Jersey printed in the *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. X, published 1926-27. It would seem probable, therefore, that the persons mentioned subsequently purged themselves of their offense and took the oath of American allegiance.

Trenton as the quasi-seat of government, where the Provincial Congress held many of its sessions, was certainly in the very thick of the trouble. Officeholders of the County and the Province lived here or frequently visited here. Feeling ran high on both sides. There was a Tory element which, if it was not numerous, was wealthy and influential and included men like Isaac Allen, John Barnes, Daniel Coxe and Samuel Henry. That men of property having a substantial stake in the prosperity of the country and bound to the old order from sentiments of loyalty and self-interest should hesitate to cast in their lot with the patriotic party will not seem strange. Particularly would this be the case with those who held office under the British government, for in addition to imperilling their lives and fortunes, they would also be in the position of violating the solemn oath which they had taken faithfully to serve the interests of the British Crown.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND LOYALISTS

Others who were devoted members of the Church of England would likewise hesitate to take an open stand against the British government to which they were also attached by conviction and perhaps had near relatives in the old country who

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would regard their political defection as tantamount to a repudiation of their religious belief, so close were the relations between Church and State in those days. The Church of England clergy in the Colony were loyalists to a man and almost necessarily so since all had received their orders from the hierarchy of the English Church, and as a condition of their ordination, had taken an oath of the King's supremacy and, moreover, had promised conformity to the doctrines, discipline and worship of the English Church as set forth in the Ecclesiastical Canons and the Book of Common Prayer. To depart from these would have been, in the judgment of most, to break their solemn vows.

A letter of the Rev. Jonathan Odell, rector of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel under date January 25, 1777, may be taken as representative of the general attitude of the clergy in New Jersey and elsewhere:

Since the declaration of Independency the alternative has been either to make such alterations in the Liturgy as both honour and conscience must be alarmed at, or else to shut up our Churches and discontinue our attendance on public Worship. It was impossible for me to hesitate a moment in such a case, and I find that many of the Clergy in Pennsylvania and everyone in New Jersey (Mr. Blackwell only excepted) have thought it their indispensable duty in this perplexing situation to suspend our public Ministrations rather than make any alterations in the established Liturgy. . . .¹⁶

Several of the clergy, including the Rev. George Panton, then rector of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, and the Rev. Jonathan Odell of Burlington mentioned above, took an aggressive part on the loyalist side carrying on an active propaganda in favor of the existing order. The Rev. William Frazer of Amwell (Ringoes), who after the war became the rector of St. Michael's Church, 1787-95, appears to have adopted a pacific attitude and in some measure continued his ministrations during the war period. But this did not relieve him of suspicion, and his life was made unendurable by repeated searches of his home, by outrages upon his person and pillage of his property by the Continental troopers.

In February 1777 it was reported:

At the time of this writing a party of 50 men from Washington's army

¹⁶ Hills, *History of Church in Burlington*, p. 317.

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surrounded his house and fired upon the out sentry of the Hessians. In 1778-79 the record is made: Mr. Frazer has been stripped of almost all he possessed by the rebel army, and being too low in circumstances to remove is forced to submit to daily insults and threatenings.¹⁷

Mr. Frazer writes (no date):

While the English Army was in this Province my house was almost every night search'd for persons whom I had never seen, the Bayonet presented to my Breast, and my Family more than once, Robbed of Clothing and other necessities; besides terrifying in the most cruel manner the dear Companion of my Life and Several small children.¹⁸

The following is the official record:

August 8, 1777. The State vs. The Rev^d William Frazer Sur Recognizance for refusing the Test. Entered into Recognizance in the sum of 100 pounds & Corn^s Williamson his Surety in the sum of 50 pounds for his appearance at next court.

February 4, 1778. The State vs. Rev^d William Frazer. The defendant still refusing to take the test—ordered to be fined 20 pounds & Process in 2 months.

As with the clergy so in general it may be said that the laity of the Established Church were favorable to the existing order though there were many notable exceptions in Trenton as elsewhere.

THE VESTRY OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH

With the vestry of St. Michael's Church the sentiment was a mixed one. Perhaps there was an almost equal division between the members. It is evident, however, all felt that in the excited state of public opinion it would be imprudent to attempt to maintain services and accordingly the church was closed by a resolution of the body. This action was significantly taken at a meeting held Sunday, July 7, 1776, five days after the State Convention had declared the independence of the Province from English sovereignty and the day before the Declaration of Independence was publicly proclaimed from the steps of the Court House. The resolution, which follows, gives the reason for the determination to close the church. Though set forth in guarded terms, it is possible to read between the lines and recognize a note of protest and bewilderment.

¹⁷ Parker, *Historical Sketches*, p. 112.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. XII, p. 221.

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At a meeting of the Rector, wardens and vestry of St. Michael's Church held on Sunday the 7th day of July, Anno Dom. 1776.

The Rector, church wardens and vestry of St. Michael's Church in Trenton, deeply affected with the situation of Public Affairs, by which, among other unhappy Circumstances, the Public Home of Worship of a Church of the most Catholic & Benevolent Principles has become incompatible with the safety of the Person of the Rector & Members of the Church, and the Exercise of it may thereby be attended with Inconveniences which for the Peace of the Church & society they wish to avoid. And as no alteration therein can take place, but by a Particular Authority competent only for that purpose. In order therefore to avoid the Inconveniences aforesd, the Rector, Church wardens & vestry agree to a Temporary Suspension of Public Worship 'till God in his Providence shall so order that it can be performed agreeably to the Principles & Constitution of the Church.¹⁹

The "alteration" referred to concerned the obligation to include the "Prayer for the King" as set forth in the liturgy.

The vestry elected at the Easter meeting for the year 1776 were the following as set down in the Minutes, April 6, 1776:

Wardens: Mr. [Isaac] Allen and Mr. [Elijah] Bond.

Vestrymen

Mr. [Robert Lettis] Hooper
Mr. [Michajah] How
Mr. J. Pearson
Mr. Carr
Mr. [John] Barnes
Mr. R. Pearson

Vestrymen

Mr. [Daniel] Coxe
Mr. [William] Pidgeon
Mr. Taylor
Mr. [Charles] Harrison
Mr. Collins
Mr. [James] Emerson

Of this vestry holding office in 1776, Isaac Allen, a warden, John Barnes, Daniel Coxe, and Charles Harrison were staunch loyalists and almost immediately following the Declaration of Independence threw in their lot with the fortunes of the British government. Other possible loyalists in the vestry were Carr, Taylor and Collins. As no given name in these cases is inscribed upon the church records it is impossible to be certain as to their affiliations. There was an Alexander Carr, Jr., of Hunterdon County, who is known to have been a loyalist, also an Edward Taylor who was imprisoned as a spy. These may have been identical with the vestrymen. Of Collins there is no record. Of the two Pearsons, one may have been "Justice" Pearson with whom the rector the Rev. George Panton lodged and who was killed in the surprise attack upon the town on December 26. Of

¹⁹ Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, p. 75.

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the other members of the vestry all are known and several of them again served on the vestry when the church was reopened after the war. Doubtless all these favored the patriotic party as there is no record of their disaffection, and in the case of Robert Lettis Hooper, Michajah How, Elijah Bond and James Emerson, their services were conspicuous to the American cause. The careers of the loyalists are duly detailed on later pages, below.

THE SENTIMENT OF OTHER BODIES

The Episcopalians and the Presbyterians together included the leading families of the town. Of the Presbyterians it is probable that most adhered to the patriotic party though it is known that several took British protection papers. These include Samuel Tucker, who was a trustee and for many years clerk of the board, Samuel Hill and Archibald William Yard, son of Joseph Yard, a trustee.

The Reverend Elihu Spencer, at that time pastor of the Presbyterian Church, was particularly obnoxious to the British government, because at the instance of Congress he had carried on a mission of propaganda in favor of independence in remote parts of the South for which contumacious conduct a reward of a hundred guineas had been placed on his head as a rebel. Receiving timely warning that the British army was about to enter Trenton, he fled to Delaware and suffered the loss of his furniture and other personal effects during the occupation of the town.²⁰

There was a sprinkling of Methodists of whom John Fitch then living in Trenton was a conspicuous member, though afterwards he was expelled from the Society on the charge that he worked on Sunday, presumably at his trade as gunmaker in repairing arms for the Continental soldiers. There was also a substantial contingent of Quakers who were by conviction men of peace, though there were conspicuous individuals among them who when hostilities began did not scruple to take a prominent part on the patriotic side even in some instances to the extent of bearing arms. Stacy Potts, whatever may have been his per-

²⁰ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, 2nd ed., pp. 161-2.

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sonal convictions, and they were doubtless favorable to the patriotic cause, is recorded as refusing the oath of patriotic allegiance and was fined one hundred pounds.

Probably as a Quaker, Potts' principles would not permit him to take the oath. Doubtless his sentiments were well known and his apparent toryism did him no harm in the public esteem, since he continued to reside in Trenton and subsequently became mayor of the town.

LOYALISTS OF HUNTERDON COUNTY

In the *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. X, 1926-27, are listed the names of known loyalists within the State, such being derived from the official records here and in England. The total number of names given is 1727, but these by no means include all the loyalists, since the records are absent or incomplete for several of the counties. For Hunterdon County the list, in some instances with short biographical sketches, contains sixty-nine names, including such prominent persons as Isaac Allen, John Barnes, Daniel Coxe, Charles Harrison, Samuel Henry, the Rev. George Panton, "Justice" Pearson, Mary Poynton, wife of Major Brereton Poynton of the English army, Major Walter Rutherford of "Edgerston" in Union Township, Joseph Taylor, an attorney of Trenton, John Allen, a deputy from Hunterdon County to the Provincial Congress of 1776, Dr. William Bryant, John Tabor Kempe and wife Grace (daughter of Daniel Coxe), Stacy Potts, and Samuel Tucker.

The offenses of these and others range from the acceptance of protection from the British or a refusal to take the oath of "Abjuration and Allegiance" up to the supreme crime of bearing arms against the Continentals. The charge against each is stated with reference to the official records. The penalties range from fine and temporary imprisonment to the confiscation of property and the execution of the accused. The compiler of this volume says: "As hundreds of persons were cited to appear [before the Committee of Safety] and take oaths of allegiance to the American government and did so, their names are omitted

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unless they later proved to have transferred their allegiance to the British. When they refused allegiance to the United States, this fact alone proved them to be loyalists."

IV. The Trenton Militia Regiment

THAT the patriots of Hunterdon County did their full military duty both in the Continental army and locally, the records amply show.

Besides the contingent serving in the Continental army, four militia regiments were provided from this County of which the First Regiment, under the command of Colonel Isaac Smith, included most of those from Trenton who were mustered into the State service. In addition to regular military service the local militia was used for police duty, the apprehension of deserters, the arrest of loyalists and disaffected persons, and in general for the suppression of disorder within the County and State.

Some of the officers and men in the First Regiment who bore familiar Trenton names may be mentioned: Colonel Isaac Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Abraham Hunt, First Major Joseph Brearley, Second Major Isaac DeCou, Captain Benjamin Van Cleve, Second Major Henry Phillips, Adjutant Elias Phillips, Captain William Tucker, Ensign Joseph Clunn, Captain Charles Harrison who resigned in 1776 to join the loyalists, Captain John Hunt, Lieutenant Isaac Yard, First Lieutenant John Fitch, Second Lieutenants Ellet Howell, Elias Hunt, and Ralph Lanning, Ensigns Eli Moore, John Mashatt and Samuel Beakes. Among the non-commissioned officers there were Sergeants William and Henry Chambers, Corporal David Hunt, Musicians Charles Axford, William Morris and William Smith.²¹

Miss Mabel W. Howell of Trenton has compiled²² (1927) a list of sixty Revolutionary soldiers whose graves she has identified in Trenton and vicinity; also a list of sixty-three officers and men belonging to Trenton who served in the War of the Revolution.

²¹ Stryker, *Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*.

²² MS. on file in the State Library.

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AN APPEAL TO THE MILITIA

As a choice example of the rhetorical appeals to patriotic sentiment characteristic of the times, the following address to the militia of the State by the New Jersey Assembly, August 11, 1776, may be cited:

On you, our friends and brethren, it depends this day to determine whether you, your wives, your children and millions of your descendants yet unborn shall wear the galling, the ignominious yoke of slavery; or nobly inherit the generous inestimable blessings of freedom. The alternative is before you—can you hesitate in your choice? Can you doubt which you prefer? Say, will you be slaves? Will you toil and labor and glean together a little property, merely that it may be at the disposal of a relentless and rapacious conqueror? Will you of choice be hewers of wood and drawers of water? Impossible! You cannot be so amazingly degenerate as to lick the hand that is raised to shed your blood!—Nature and nature's God have made you free!—Liberty is the birthright of Americans! the gift of heaven! and the instant that it is forced from you, you take leave of everything valuable on earth!—Your happiness or misery, virtuous independence or indignant servitude hang trembling in the balance!—Happily we know we can anticipate your virtuous choice. With confident satisfaction we are assured that not a moment will delay your important decision—that you cannot feel hesitation, whether you will tamely and degenerately bend your necks to the irretrievable wretchedness of slavery or by your instant and animated exertions enjoy the fair inheritance of heaven-born freedom and transmit it unimpaired to your posterity.²³

V. Prominent Trenton Patriots and Loyalists

FOR a small town Trenton certainly numbered among its inhabitants during the Revolutionary era more than its full share of distinguished men, both of those who rendered conspicuous services to the cause of American independence and of those likewise who remained firm in their loyalty to the British Crown. Of the patriots there is no need to magnify their character and achievements, since they have always received a full meed of praise from their admiring and grateful countrymen. Of the loyalists, beyond their mere names, little definite hitherto has been known by the public and the consequence is that all such have commonly been classed under the general category of "Tories" and contemptuously dismissed as unworthy of remembrance and respect.

²³ *Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, 1776.*

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The writers of our American history books, especially the earlier ones, in dealing with the War of the Revolution, show a disposition to magnify unduly the characters of those who espoused the cause of the patriots, and to belittle and disparage those who adhered to the mother country. Certainly the loyalists in our histories are too seldom accorded fair treatment; rather are their motives aspersed, and their characters as men of honor and lovers of justice and liberty bitterly assailed. Nothing could be more unfair or more subversive of the actual facts in many cases.

The men of Trenton who, in 1776, threw in their fortunes with the royal cause, were undoubtedly at least equal in conscience and character to their fellow townsmen who supported the cause of the patriots. It was a time that tried men's souls, and those equally intelligent and conscientious saw their duty differently.

The history of any country or of any town is largely an epitome of the doings and characters of the leading men of the era under consideration, and hence it is important as a background for an understanding of Trenton's history in the Revolutionary era to know something of the men who lived here and influenced sentiment in the community whether by their actions or by their character and attainments.

Some of the men referred to had their most conspicuous activities beyond the narrow borders of the immediate locality, but all are to be reckoned as Trentonians by their family history, associations and main interests, and thus may justly be included in this list. In considering these men let us, first, take those upon the patriotic side or at least those who ultimately inclined in that direction and, second, some of those who favored the British cause.

Possibly the most distinguished for his military services as for his close friendship with Washington was General Philemon Dickinson.

SOME TRENTON PATRIOTS

Philemon Dickinson was a native of Maryland of Quaker stock, a brother of the famous John Dickinson, governor of Delaware and Pennsylvania and a member of the Continental Congress. He was educated as a lawyer,

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but does not seem ever to have practised his profession. His mother was a daughter of Thomas Cadwalader, and he married successively two of his cousins, Mary and Rebecca Cadwalader. John and Lambert Cadwalader, Samuel Cadwalader Morris and Samuel Meredith were his cousins. The latter subsequently became his brother-in-law. In 1767 he came into possession of an estate near Trenton, a portion of which is in possession of his descendants today. In 1776 he bought the property known as the "Hermitage," afterwards the Atterbury estate. In July 1775 he was commissioned Colonel in the Hunterdon County Battalion and later in the same year he was made Brigadier General of the first brigade, after the battalion had been formed into two brigades. In 1776 he was a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey which met in Burlington. He was appointed a member of the committee to draft a constitution which after much discussion and various amendments was adopted July 2, 1776. He was present at a council of war held by Washington on Bergen Heights October 1 of that year and subsequently accompanied Washington in his retreat through New Jersey. When the American forces had crossed the Delaware under the orders of Washington, he took up his headquarters at Yardleyville. He did not participate in the First Battle of Trenton, owing to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient transportation for his troops, but remained at Yardleyville. At the second crossing of the Delaware, on December 30, he accompanied Washington and took part in the Second Battle but did not proceed to Princeton, remaining to cover the retreat and keep the camp-fires burning, thus deceiving the enemy. During the Hessian occupation of Trenton, General Dickinson's place, the "Hermitage," was devastated by the enemy. He continued his activities through the war, serving with distinction in several engagements including the battle of Monmouth. In 1777 he was commissioned Major General and Commander-in-Chief of the Provincial forces of New Jersey in the field. In 1782 he was sent to the Continental Congress as a member from Delaware where he owned property and was thus eligible for the office. Upon the expiration of his term in Congress, Hunterdon County sent him to the New Jersey State Council of which body he was elected vice-president in October 1783. In 1784 he was one of the commissioners appointed by Congress to select a site for the national capital. In 1790 he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Patterson who had become governor of New Jersey. He remained in the Senate until 1793 when his term expired. He declined a renomination and retired to private life. He remained in Trenton, living upon his estate until his death February 4, 1809, in his seventieth year. He was buried in the graveyard of the Quaker Meeting House at Hanover and Montgomery Streets, where also lie the bodies of Colonel Lambert Cadwalader and other distinguished members of the Cadwalader, Clymer, Dickinson and Meredith families.²⁴

Stryker says of him:

"General Dickinson was one of the truest patriots of the Revolution. Possessed of an ample fortune he devoted his wealth, his time and his talents to the glorious struggle."²⁵

²⁴ See *Magazine of American History*, December 1881.

²⁵ Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 83.

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Lambert Cadwalader, the cousin and later the brother-in-law of General Philemon Dickinson, though he bought property in Trenton in March 1776, did not make his permanent home here until November of that year, being meanwhile engaged with his military duties under the State of Pennsylvania. He was the son of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader who in 1746 was the chief burgess of the town and gave £500 to found a public library. His son Lambert was born in Trenton in 1742. With his brother John, Lambert was a member of the Committee of Superintendence and Correspondence which met in Philadelphia in July 1774, and also a member of the Provincial Congress which met the following January.

He was appointed January 3, 1776, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the battalion commanded by Colonel Shee. He was made a prisoner at the capture of Fort Washington by the British November 16, 1776, but was paroled and afterwards retired to his estate in Trenton, where he remained a prisoner of war on parole until he resigned his military commission January 22, 1779.

The estate of Lambert Cadwalader on the River Road was probably a portion of the large tract formerly owned by his father Dr. Thomas Cadwalader and sold by him when he left Trenton for Philadelphia. Lambert called the place "Greenwood" and here, after he left the army, he remained, "dispensing the hospitality of the times and where one of his chief pleasures was to receive the repeated visits of Washington."

Colonel Cadwalader represented New Jersey in the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1787 and in the Federal Congress 1789-91 and again 1793-95. He died in Trenton September 13, 1823, in the eighty-second year of his age and was buried in the Quaker graveyard at Montgomery and Hanover Streets.²⁶

Abraham Hunt, in whose house Colonel Rall was being entertained on Christmas night, December 25, 1776, previous to Washington's attack the following morning, was the most prominent merchant in the town. At the time he held the commission of Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Isaac Smith's First Regiment, Hunterdon County Militia. The charge has been brought against him that he was lukewarm in the patriotic cause, probably due to the fact that he seems to have been on good terms with the Hessian commander after his occupancy of the town. But this charge of "lukewarmness" cannot be established from the records. Possibly his Christmas entertainment of Rall was dictated by a shrewd intention to cater to the convivial habits of the Hessian commander and thus render him unfit to meet the attack the following morning, of which Hunt may have had some previous intimation through secret channels. In any event there could have been no sense in needlessly antagonizing the Hessian commander since for the time being he held Trenton in military occupancy, and could have made it distinctly unpleasant for the inhabitants and especially for persons of property like Hunt himself. Stryker in refutation of the charge against Hunt's patriotism says:

"It has never been stated that he ever claimed protection from the British.

²⁶ "Colonel Lambert Cadwalader," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 1-14.

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His property does not appear to have been confiscated which would have been done if he had been a Tory, and he certainly was in full enjoyment of it to the date of his death, long after the close of the war. He also retained his office of postmaster of the village under the national government for many years."

At the time of the Declaration of Independence, 1776, Hunt was one of



HOUSE OF ABRAHAM HUNT, NORTHWEST CORNER OF SECOND AND KING (STATE AND WARREN) STREETS, WHERE COLONEL RALL WAS ENTERTAINED ON CHRISTMAS NIGHT 1776. NOW SITE OF TRENTON BANKING COMPANY.

the commissioners of the County of Hunterdon and as such disbursed funds for the purchase of firearms. He also held the same office and fulfilled the same duties in July 1777, which would hardly have been the case had his loyalty to the American cause been under suspicion.²⁷

Since Stryker wrote, researches made by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey in the Hunterdon County court records have completely disproved Hunt's alleged toryism. The evidence was published in full with comments by Doctor Godfrey in the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser*, February 26, 1922. The following is quoted from the article:

Recently numerous original manuscript minutes of the county courts throughout the Province and State of New Jersey have been transferred to the Public Record Office from the Clerk of the Supreme Court. Among these were the minutes of the Hunterdon County Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, which was held at Flemington from December 23, 1777, to January 1, 1778. The court was presided over by the Hon. Isaac Smith, associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and who lived in Trenton. This record has an important bearing upon the

²⁷ Stryker, *Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, pp. 122-3.

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deportment of Abraham Hunt and beyond question removes all suspicion of his being a Tory in the Revolution. On Saturday, December 27, 1777, besides the presence of Justice Smith, the minutes show that Andrew Muirheid and Nathan Stout comprised the remaining members of the court. The proceedings for that day further recited, in part:

"The Justices in the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Hunterdon handed up the following indictments found before them:

"The State vs. Abraham Hunt. Indict. High treason. It appearing to the Court, That there was but one Witness in Support of this Charge; that this Witness testified merely as to the speaking of Words of a seditious Cast; that he had been before the present Grand Jury, which did not think proper to indict the Defendt. for any Offence whatever, and it being clear that an Indict. for High Treason could not be found in the Sessions of the Peace; therefore ordered, on Motion of the Atty. Gen., that the said Indictment be quashed."

Aside from the patriotic and conscientious scruples that guided Justice Smith in his official duties, it is important to notice the composition of the grand jury—noted in the minutes, whose personnel will be recognized by many as well-known Revolutionary patriots, and who were: Jeremiah Woolsey, William Allen, Joseph Burrowes, John Carpenter, Henry Chamberlain, Joseph Hart, Amos Hart, John Moore, John Temple, Benjamin Clark, Jacob Searle, Ebenezer Rose, Stephen Burrowes, Henry Baker, Amos Scudder, Joshua Jones, Aaron Van Cleaf, Jedediah Scudder, Benjamin Parks and Isaac Gray.

As a matter of law it is well known that an indictment against a person for high treason cannot be found by parole evidence with less testimony than two witnesses. The single and unknown witness appearing in this case might have had his own peculiar notion of what constituted sedition, and, besides, he might have been an enemy of Mr. Hunt. Whatever was alleged to have been uttered by Mr. Hunt of a seditious nature, the court and grand jury were not much impressed with its truth, nor was William Patterson, the attorney-general of New Jersey, who subsequently became a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Therefore the "historical tattle" we have listened to for years against Abraham Hunt crumbles under the slightest critical pressure through this valuable judicial document.

David Brearley, a man eminent as a soldier and patriot and of supreme distinction as a jurist and statesman, was born June 11, 1745, and was admitted to the Bar in 1767. He practised law in Allentown, N.J., and later moved to Trenton. He was surrogate of Hunterdon County 1771, chief justice of the Supreme Court 1779-89 and justice of the United States District Court from 1789 up to the time of his death, August 17, 1790. He married a daughter of Abraham Cottnam and in 1779 purchased the Cottnam house on Pennington Road a short distance above Calhoun.

At the commencement of the Revolution David Brearley entered the

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military service by being commissioned Captain in the Second Regiment, New Jersey Continental Line, October 28, 1775. On November 28 in the following year he was promoted Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Regiment, and transferred to the First Regiment on January 1, 1777. He resigned from this command while in service against the Indians in the Wyoming Valley to date August 4, 1779, to accept the office of chief justice. He was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States in 1787, and the same year member of the Convention of New Jersey that ratified the Constitution; presidential elector 1789; an original member of the New Jersey Cincinnati Society, and vice-president of the Society 1783-90.

David Brearley was one of the commissioners appointed by Congress to settle the land controversy between the States of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, which held their court at Trenton, from November 12 to December 30, 1782. Their decision, which was in favor of Pennsylvania as against Connecticut, is known in legal literature as the "Trenton Decree."²⁸ He represented St. Michael's Church in the diocesan convention of 1786 and was a deputy to the first General Convention in 1785. He was a prominent member of the Masonic order, being the first Grand Master of New Jersey. In 1924 the Grand Commandery placed a fine granite slab over his grave in St. Michael's churchyard.

John Fitch, subsequently famous as the inventor of the steamboat, came to Trenton in 1769 where he practised his trade as a gun-maker and metal-worker. He rendered conspicuous service to the American cause in repairing firearms and making metal buttons. He was associated with Stacy Potts in his steel works in the making of files and other implements. When the first military company was formed in Trenton, Fitch was one of the Lieutenants and held that rank in the cantonment at Valley Forge. The Committee of Safety employed him as their gunsmith or armorer, and he was expelled from the Methodist Society, presumably for working at that business on the Sabbath. When the enemy entered Trenton in December 1776, Fitch removed to Bucks County. His shop and its contents, valued at three thousand dollars, were burned by the British as it was known that he had large contracts for the repair of American arms. Subsequently his studies in steam navigation resulted in the successful application of this power to a steamboat which plied the waters of the Delaware, 1788-1790, between Trenton and Philadelphia. Stacy Potts was one of the company formed to assist Fitch in his experiments, and he with Isaac Smith, Robert Pearson, Jr., Samuel Tucker, Abraham Hunt, Rensselaer Williams, John and Charles Clunn gave their names to the application to the Legislature of 1790 which obtained for him fourteen years' exclusive privilege on this side of the Delaware. Fitch travelled much through the country northwest of the Ohio, and made a new and accurate map of that country, generally referred to as the "Ten New States," including Kentucky. The map was advertised in Collins' *Trenton Gazette* of July 1785. He died at Bardstown, Ky., in 1798.²⁹

²⁸ See Chap. XII below, "Courts, Judges and Lawyers."

²⁹ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, 2nd ed., pp. 152-4.

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Isaac Smith was a physician by profession. He was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1755 and was a tutor in that institution until 1758. He studied medicine and on receiving his degree practised in Trenton. At the beginning of the troubles with Great Britain, he ranged himself definitely upon the patriotic side. When the militia was organized in 1776, he was elected Colonel of the First Militia Regiment of Hunterdon County. He resigned his position in 1777 and on February 15 of that year he was elected a justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, serving by successive reelections until November 1, 1804. During his occupancy of this office he was elected in 1784 to the Federal Congress, serving 1795-97. He was also a presidential elector in 1800, casting his vote for John Adams. He was the first president of the Trenton Banking Company 1805-06. A biographical sketch of him was printed in the first volume of *The Portfolio* published by Dennie in 1809, where it was said of him that "endowed with fine talents, blessed with bright and just perceptions and enjoying the glorious privileges of classical education, he united in delightful and honorable assemblage the character of a Christian, a scholar, a soldier, and a gentleman."

He died August 20, 1807, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Joseph Reed, though his conspicuous military services were not connected with this locality, but rather with the extended operation of the Continental Army, was born in Trenton, August 27, 1741. His father was Andrew Reed. He was graduated from Princeton in 1757, studied law with Richard Stockton, and was admitted to the Bar, May 13, 1763. Subsequently he went to London and continued his legal studies at the Middle Temple. In 1765 he returned to Trenton and took up his practice. In 1767 he was deputy-secretary of the Colony of New Jersey and surrogate of the Province. In 1770 Reed revisited England and was married to a daughter of Denys de Berdt. He then took up his residence in Philadelphia and his public and official life was thenceforth identified with the State of Pennsylvania. His military career was one of eminence. He was military secretary to Washington at Cambridge, Adjutant-General of the Continental Army, member of the Congress of the United States and president of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Colonel Reed was with General Cadwalader's division when Washington crossed the Delaware in December 1776. He died in Philadelphia, March 5, 1785.

Stryker says of him:

"No man was more freely admitted to the counsel of General Washington than his friend Reed and to no man did he more frequently refer for advice. To him Washington always wrote with a familiarity and frankness which he never used toward any other officer. Colonel Reed was always energetic and brave, a model staff officer, a wonderfully quick penetrating genius and an accomplished gentleman. Who has not heard the indignant answer which he made to George Johnston, the English diplomatist, who had tried to bribe him to return to the support of the English Crown: 'I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it.'"³⁰

³⁰ Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, pp. 6-7.

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A controversy ensued in 1782 in regard to Reed's military record which was made the occasion on the part of certain writers of impugning his loyalty to the American cause. This charge was renewed in the middle of the last century. Bancroft, the historian, distinctly charged Reed with being untrue to the cause of American independence, but later on in the light of newly acquired evidence acknowledged his mistake.³¹

William Trent, known as "Major" Trent, was the son of Chief Justice William Trent, for whom Trenton was named. His mother was Mary Trent, his father's second wife who died in Trenton in 1772, and was buried in the old Hopewell (Episcopal) graveyard. He was born in Philadelphia 1713 and engaged in the mercantile business, dealing especially in fur and peltries, which brought him into close relation with Indian trappers. He travelled much among them, and Cooley (p. 284) says: "There were very few of their great treaty-making assemblies at which he was not present either as a counsellor or one of the parties or in some other official capacity." He got his title of "Major" during what is known as "King George's War" (1746-47), when he was in the military service of Pennsylvania.

Before his visit to England (1769) he removed to Trenton, where his family lived during his absence, and he himself after his return until 1783, when he removed to Philadelphia. He does not appear to have taken any active part in the Revolutionary War, probably because he was advanced in years when it broke out. His daughter, Mary Trent, was married to Nathan Beakes. Trent's estate in Lambertton was advertised for sale by Elijah Bond in the *New Jersey Gazette*, July 5, 1784.

Samuel Meredith was born in Philadelphia in 1741, and died at his seat "Belmont," Wayne County, Pa., February 10, 1817. He was the son of Reese Meredith, a native of Radnorshire, Wales. In 1765 he and his brother-in-law, George Clymer, the Signer, were taken into partnership with the elder Meredith as "Meredith Sons"; as such, all three signed the famous "Non-Importation Resolution" November 7, 1765. In July 1771 General Meredith married Margaret (born 1748), daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader. General Meredith was evidently an owner of property in Trenton as early as 1770, as he was a vestryman of St. Michael's parish in 1770, and again 1807-12. In 1776, Mr. Meredith was commissioned Major of the Battalion of Associators of Pennsylvania, of which his brother-in-law, John Cadwalader, was Colonel, and as such served with distinction at Princeton January 2, 1777. He served in the Pennsylvania Assembly 1779, and was General, Fourth Brigade, Pennsylvania Militia, 1778-79. In 1780 he and his brother-in-law, George Clymer, each gave £20,000 to carry on the war. In 1786-88 General Meredith was a member of the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania; surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia 1788-89; treasurer of the United States, September 30, 1789. He was a close personal friend of General Washington. Meredith was the owner of "Otter Hall," an estate on the Delaware two miles below Trenton. The place was advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 7, 1774.

Moore Furman, though not living in Trenton at the time of the war, was both before and afterwards a resident of the town. In 1757 he was postmas-

³¹ Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, pp. 75-8.

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ter of Trenton where he was a merchant carrying on business under the firm name of Reed and Furman and subsequently Furman and Hunt. He removed to Philadelphia in 1762 where he lived for a period of years, but returned to Trenton in 1780 where he continued to reside until his death in this city March 16, 1808, in his eightieth year. Furman was Deputy Quartermaster General during the war, and Stryker says of him that "he was a faithful patriot and greatly entrusted by the Government and by Washington during the Revolution." He was a trustee of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton 1760-62 and again 1783-88. His office and home were on Second Street where the Hotel Sterling now stands. He was the first mayor of Trenton under the charter of 1792.

Robert Lettis Hooper, III, who was Deputy Quartermaster General in 1778, was the son of Robert Lettis Hooper, II, and a grandson of Robert Lettis Hooper, I, chief justice in 1724-28. Biographical sketches of all three Hoopers are given in some detail in a later chapter, "Courts, Judges and Lawyers."

SOME WAVERERS

Samuel Tucker was a man whose patriotism has been questioned, and there was some color for this charge since he did accept protection papers from the British, but under circumstances which appear to relieve him of odium, if not of timidity and weakness. He was a man of great prominence in his day, and held many high political offices in the Province and State. He was at one time high sheriff of Hunterdon County and a member of the Provincial Congress of 1769, and also in 1772. He was most active and influential in the movement for independence.

"When the news of the Battle of Lexington (April 19, 1775) was sent by express to Philadelphia, Samuel Tucker and Isaac Smith were the Committee to receive it in Trenton, April 24, 9 a.m., and they forwarded it to Philadelphia."³²

On October 3, 1775, Tucker was elected president of the Provincial Congress, having previously been vice-president. He was again president in 1776, and he officially signed the constitution, which it adopted July 2 of that year. He was said to be responsible for the introduction of the clause which provided in the event of a reconciliation taking place between the Colonies and Great Britain the instrument should be null and void.

Gordon said: "The door of retreat was kept open by the fears of the president who a few months after claimed the clemency of the enemy, with whom this clause gave him an interest."³³

Tucker on September 4, 1776, was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court, but in January of the following year at the instance of Governor Livingston he was relieved of his office on the ground that he had taken protection from the British in the perilous days of the previous December. The Assembly resolved that "no member having taken such protection is entitled to sit in this house, and that the place of the member is vacated." This resolution operated to exclude several others, besides Tucker.

³² Wickes, *History of Medicine in New Jersey*, p. 399.

³³ Gordon, *The History of New Jersey*, 1834, p. 180.

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The conditions of Tucker's acceptance of British protection appear substantially to be as follows:

On December 9, the State Chest containing a large amount of paper money and valuable public documents which Tucker as one of the two treasurers of the State had sent away from Trenton to the house of John Abbott, five miles away, to keep from falling into the hands of the advancing British, was captured by the enemy and on the fourteenth, Tucker himself was taken prisoner near Crosswicks and was held until he obtained a "protection" from Colonel Rall, the Hessian commander. In an affidavit which he laid before the Legislature in February 1777 Tucker defends his conduct. Tucker swore that he thought it prudent to remove all his valuable papers and State papers and unsigned money from Trenton upon hearing that General Howe's army was coming; he took them in a box to John Abbott's house about five miles from Trenton in Burlington County and placed the papers and unsigned money amounting to £5818 under the care of Samuel and John Abbott. That Howe arrived at Trenton December 8, 1776, and on Monday, December 9, a detachment of British came to Abbott's house in company with Mrs. Mary Poynton and seized the property and took it to Mr. Randall Mitchell and showed the money to Mr. Mitchell and then took the property to Princeton and New Brunswick. That he [Tucker] left on December 8 and took with him £1504 of money and paid it to Treasurer Smith. That on Saturday, December 14, he heard that his family was in great distress and his wife sent him word urging him to return home; he set off for home and at Crosswicks he was met by John Leonard and about twenty others on horseback. That John Leonard placed a pistol to his breast and told him he was a prisoner; Robert Pearson gave his parole that the prisoner should remain at his farm until he was ordered home by a Hessian Lieutenant on Monday; that he applied for protection and it was granted by Colonel Rall on Monday, December 17; that he inquired for his papers and thought some had been removed to Philadelphia.

Tucker's affidavit is rather a rambling and unconvincing document, and afterwards gave rise to a controversy between him and Governor Livingston in the *New Jersey Gazette* of 1784. Elmer, in his *Reminiscences of New Jersey* (p. 266), says Tucker's "weakness in taking advantage of British protection during the panic which prevailed so extensively previous to the capture of the Hessians, was attributable perhaps to the fact that his wife was an English lady."

On March 10, 1778, Tucker was summoned to appear before the Council of Safety then meeting in Trenton, and having taken the oath of abjuration and allegiance as prescribed was thereupon dismissed.³⁴

His lapse does not seem seriously to have affected his standing in the community since he was again elected to the Legislature 1782-84. Tucker died in 1789 and his body was interred in the graveyard of the old Hopewell Episcopal Church beside that of his wife, who had died two years earlier. Their tombstones may be seen there today, though in a much defaced condition.

Stacy Potts was a grandson of Thomas Potts, a Quaker who emigrated from England in company with Mahlon Stacy and his family in the ship

³⁴ *Minutes of the Council of Safety*, March 10, 1778.

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Shield and landed at Burlington in the winter of 1678. The Stacy and Potts families intermarried and hence Potts acquired his given name "Stacy." He owned considerable property in Trenton and lived on the west side of King Street where St. Mary's Cathedral now stands. When Colonel Rall occupied the town in 1776, he made his headquarters at Potts' house, and died there as the result of his wounds. Potts conducted a tannery and also a steel



THE HOUSE OF STACY POTTS, WEST SIDE OF KING (NORTH WARREN) STREET. HEADQUARTERS OF THE HESSIAN COMMANDER, COLONEL RALL, DURING THE OCCUPATION OF TRENTON, DECEMBER 1776.

works, and was evidently a prosperous man. His loyalty to the patriotic cause has been called in question, since he refused the oath and was subjected to a fine of £100 for which an execution was issued October 31, 1777. Presumably as a member of the Society of Friends, he had conscientious scruples against taking the oath, for there seems no reason to doubt that his personal sympathies were on the patriotic side. His apparent defection does not seem to have injured his standing in the community, since he was elected mayor of the city in 1806 and held the office for eight years.

Samuel Henry, a prominent and wealthy citizen of Trenton who was the owner of an iron works located to the east of the town on the Assunpink, had strong loyalist tendencies, which made him suspected by the patriotic element. Probably some imprudent expressions overheard by some busybody led him to be denounced by the Committee of Trenton, which presented a report to the Provincial Congress on July 10, then meeting in Trenton. An order was made that Colonel Isaac Smith be directed to employ some officers of the militia to apprehend him. On July 17, Henry appeared before the Congress and was examined. The following day it was ordered "that Samuel Henry be committed to the common gaol of Hunterdon, and kept in close confinement until the further order of this Congress or the future Legislature of the State." On July 20 Henry presented a petition setting forth that "he is desirous of giving every reasonable satisfaction in his power that may obviate any prejudices remaining in the mind of the Con-

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vention; and that he is ready to make acknowledgments for any rash expressions that Convention may conceive he was guilty of, and for every part of his conduct that has been in their opinion exceptionable; that it is his fixed resolution so to conduct himself in future, as to afford no further room for just offense: that he is ready to give any security the Convention may think necessary to require; and praying that he may be released from his confinement."

It was accordingly ordered "That for the contrition expressed in the above petition, Samuel Henry be discharged from his confinement, and have leave on his parole, drawn in the usual form and giving bond with security, in the sum of Two Thousand pounds, for the faithful performance of his parole, to remove to his mills in Trenton, and there, or within a circle of two miles thereof, continue and not to depart said bounds unless with the leave of this Convention or the future Legislature of this State."³⁵

Though not a vestryman, Henry was certainly an Episcopalian, and a strong supporter of St. Michael's Church, since he left a contingent legacy of three hundred pounds "to the Trustees or managers of the English Church in Trenton for the maintenance and support of an orthodox minister." In St. Michael's churchyard are the tombstones of "Samuel Henry, May 10, 1784, sixty-seven years"; "Samuel Henry, January 9, 1795, twenty-four years"; "George Henry, October 23, 1846, seventy-nine years." There is a fourth stone in the group, marked, "Mrs. May Henry, July 23, 1804, twenty-nine years."

Samuel Henry was a wealthy man owning extensive tracts in Nottingham and Trenton, including "the old iron works." He also held property in Pennsylvania. For a time he occupied as his home a house on the site where the Mechanics Bank now stands. In his will he left a property in Trenton to Mary Yard, a daughter of William Yard, on condition of her keeping it as a comfortable home for his children during their minority; making special reference to the vacation of his sons when they should be students at Princeton College. Their names, however, are not in the catalogue.³⁶

SOME TRENTON LOYALISTS

Daniel Coxé, III, among the Trenton loyalists who unequivocally favored the British cause, was probably the most distinguished on account of his wealth and family position. He was the grandson of Colonel Daniel Coxé, one of the largest land owners in New Jersey, and was born probably April 1, 1741. He studied law and was licensed as an attorney March 20, 1761, and as a sergeant November 15, 1772. He was a vestryman of St. Michael's Church with which his father and grandfather before him had been associated. He was appointed a member of the Governor's Council May 1, 1771, and remained such until the close of that body's existence in 1773. He was a zealous loyalist, and expressed himself freely regarding the burning political questions of the day. In a letter dated July 4, 1775, he viewed with prophetic insight the cruel plight to which such as he would be reduced:

What then have men of property not to fear and apprehend,

³⁵ *Proceedings of the Provincial Congress*, 1776.

³⁶ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, 2nd ed., pp. 155-6.

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and particularly those who happen and are known to differ in sentiment from the generality? They become a mark for popular fury, and those who are esteemed friends to Government devoted for destruction. They are not even allowed to preserve a neutrality, and passiveness becomes a crime.³⁷

His fine residence in Trenton was burned by the British forces and sacked by the Hessians, during their pursuit of Washington in December 1776, but this did not impair his attachment to the royal cause.

In the winter of 1777 and spring of 1778, he raised the West Jersey Volunteers. During the British occupation of Philadelphia he acted as magistrate of police without emolument. He accompanied the army to New York, serving as a member of the Board of Associated Loyalists. He was also chairman of the Associated Refugees. In 1780 he was secretary to the British commissioners to receive and pardon penitent rebels, an office which proved a sinecure.

He petitioned the British government March 13, 1784, for reimbursement for his losses sustained during the war. The British government granted him on his arrival in England, in 1784, a £500 annuity. The *Gentleman's Magazine* announces the death of Mr. Coxe thus: "March 10, 1826. In upper Seymour street, aged 87, Daniel Coxe, Esq." In 1828 his widow, Sarah, daughter of Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia, whom he had married June 5, 1771, brought suits in New Jersey for her dower rights in his property, which had been confiscated, and recovered judgment therefor.³⁸

Coxe filed with the British Government a schedule of his properties in the Counties of Hunterdon, Burlington, Sussex, Somerset, Salem, and Cape May. He refers to the looting of the elegant house of Daniel Coxe by the British. He is careful to state that his houses and property were taken possession of by the Hessians and that notwithstanding his well-known character as a loyalist and the remonstrances of his friends and servants, his rooms, his stores and cellars were broken open, ransacked and pillaged, and all the furniture, china, glass and liquors were plundered, destroyed, or taken away, leaving the place a scene of wanton destruction.

He estimated his total losses at £40,267 11s. 6d. His property in Trenton included his mansion house grounds on Second Street; 507 acres at Belmont Farm, situated ten miles above Trenton on the river, and having a patent ferry; 495 acres of land comprehending his Trenton ferry estate and patent; Douglass Farm, and Lamberton.³⁹

Grace Coxe, daughter of Daniel Coxe, III, of Trenton, married John Tabor Kempe of New York in 1766. He was a native of England and a son of William Kempe, attorney-general of New York. He was appointed to succeed his father in the same office, July 1759, and held the position until the War of the Revolution. He became one of the proprietors of 100,000 acres of land granted to Daniel, William and Rebecca Coxe, John Tabor Kempe and Grace, his wife, in exchange for the Province of Carolina,

³⁷ *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. IX.

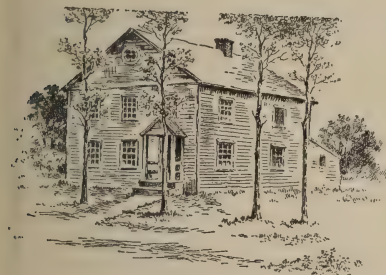
³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 84, 85, 86 abridged.

³⁹ *Loyalists' Transcripts filed in England*, New York Public Library, Vol. 38, 295.

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owned by Colonel Daniel Coxe. Kempe was attainted for treason in New York and New Jersey and his property confiscated. Kempe and his wife went to England, where he died in 1791. His widow survived him until 1831, when she died at Clifton, Gloucestershire, England.

John Barnes was high sheriff of Hunterdon County from May 24, 1775, to July 18, 1776, when he was superseded by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey because he refused to execute the writs issued by its authority. Barnes had taken an active part in the military affairs of the Colony, first



HOUSE OF MAJOR JOHN BARNES, QUEEN (SOUTH BROAD) STREET, USED AS HIS HEADQUARTERS BY GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON DECEMBER 30-31, 1776, AND JANUARY 1, 1777.

as a Lieutenant from August 23, 1746, in the company of Captain John Dagworthy, Jr., in which he had been granted a commission in acknowledgment of his services in recruiting men for the intended expedition to Canada. His original commission describes him as a "gentleman." His occupation seems to have been that of a distiller. He was appointed high sheriff of Hunterdon County by Governor William Franklin, which was a lucrative office, yielding an annual income in fees of £600.

His home in Trenton on Queen Street, below Front, is described as "a large and commodious mansion, two stories high, with stables and

other buildings." This house was used by General Washington as his headquarters from December 30, 1776, to January 2, 1777.

Barnes was a vestryman of St. Michael's Church.

The Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, under dates July 18 and 20, 1776, give the details as to the official charges brought against Barnes:

July 18, 1776.

The petition of Ebenezer Cowel, Jun., setting forth that John Barnes Esq., high sheriff of the County of Hunterdon, had refused to receive and execute two writs issued under the authority of the people, pursuant to the ordinances of this Convention read: Whereupon *Ordered* that Mr. Barnes immediately attend this House.

Mr. Barnes appeared before this House and, in answer to the above charge, informed the Convention that he declines acting as sheriff under the authority of the people, and is willing to be superseded; wherefore:

Resolved that a new sheriff be appointed.

July 20.

Ordered That William Tucker Esq. of Trenton, be sheriff of the County of Hunterdon, until a sheriff be chosen at the ensuing election and that a commission be made out accordingly.

Following his resignation of his office as sheriff Barnes openly identified

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himself with the loyalist cause. In November 1776 he was appointed Major in the First Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. He was severely wounded August 22, 1777, in the attack on the British posts on Staten Island, and died August 31, 1777. Stryker says of him "he was much lamented as a worthy man and a gallant officer."

The whole of his property was confiscated and sold by the State. His widow lived upon a pension granted by the British government until her death, April 14, 1807.

Isaac Allen was a son of John Allen, a distinguished citizen of Trenton for many years, and an associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Isaac was graduated from Princeton in 1762, and admitted to the New Jersey Bar in 1765. He was a convinced and zealous loyalist, and joined Sir William Howe's command in December 1776. He was a warden of St. Michael's Church when the war broke out.

The family of Isaac Allen left their home in Trenton, accepted protection papers, and were ever afterwards considered subjects of King George. Isaac Allen was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, commanding Sixth Battalion New Jersey Volunteers (loyalist), December 3, 1776; commanding Third Battalion, April 25, 1778; commanding Second Battalion, July 24, 1781; retired, October 13, 1783. He was at the siege of Savannah, Ga., October 9, 1779, and commandant of Charleston, S.C., July to December, 1782. During the war all his property in Trenton, which was considerable, was confiscated. In the year 1783, having removed to St. John, N.B., he resumed his profession as a lawyer. He was one of the grantees of that city and among other offices he held a seat in the council and was a judge of the Supreme Court. His death occurred in Kingsclear, N.B., October 12, 1806, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He married in 1769, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Campbell of Philadelphia.

Isaac Allen's property in Trenton included a dwelling house of stone, two stories high, and a farm on the Delaware within half a mile of the town. In addition he owned property in Philadelphia. An account of his estate in Hunterdon County, which was confiscated and sold, puts the value at £5,076 currency. An affidavit as to the value of his real property was signed by Abraham Hunt and Isaac DeCou, high sheriff. Allen was granted £925 by the British government in partial payment of his losses.

John Allen was probably a brother of Isaac Allen, and was evidently a man of considerable standing and property. He was the owner of the Union Iron Works in what is now Union Township. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress from Hunterdon County in 1776 and took his seat at the first session, which was held in Burlington June 10 of that year. His colleagues from the county were Philemon Dickinson, Samuel Tucker, John Hunt and John Mehelm. He appears to have voted with the minority and against all radical measures. Scarcely had he taken his seat when a petition was presented to the Congress from sundry inhabitants of Hunterdon County, praying that his election for reasons mentioned in the petition might be vacated. The petition was not granted. Allen's name does not appear as voting after June 21, and the probabilities are that he vacated his seat finding that the Congress was bent upon taking steps that were opposed to the loyalist sentiments which he professed.

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On Friday, July 25, 1777, he was cited to appear before the Council of Safety when he refused the oath, and was committed to the Trenton gaol. Allen is mentioned in a letter written by Governor Livingston to John Hancock in October, 1777, as a loyalist whose "influence in spreading disaffection in the county was notorious." In 1778-79 judgment was rendered against his estate.

Dr. William Bryant, who at the time of the war was living temporarily in Bloomsbury Court, the mansion built by Colonel William Trent in 1721, was a loyalist in his sentiment as shown by his over-friendliness with the Hessians when they occupied the town under Colonel Rall in December 1776. On December 23, 1776, he informed Colonel Rall that "he had just heard from a negro who had crossed the river that the rebels had drawn rations for several days, and were about to attack Trenton," but Rall regarded the information as "old women's talk."

Dr. Bryant was the son of Captain William Bryant, of Perth Amboy, a mariner, of whom it is recorded on his tombstone that he had made fifty-five voyages in the merchant service between the ports of New York and London. His son William was born January 11, 1730[-31]. After his father's death he studied medicine and settled in New York where he practised for a few years, removing to Trenton in 1769, where he purchased a home. In Trenton he speedily acquired a reputation as a successful physician. He appears to have been recognized as a man of scholarly tastes, being elected a member of the American Philosophical Society January 21, 1774; he read a paper before the Society, an "Account of an Electrical Eel or Torpedo from Surinam," which is published in the *Transactions* of the Society, Vol. XI, 166 (old series).

Notwithstanding his loyalist sentiments Bryant continued to reside in Trenton undisturbed by his neighbors and from time to time rendered medical service to the American soldiers. He associated with him in his practice Dr. Nicholas de Belleville, a French physician, who came to this country in 1777 in the suite of Count Pulaski, and whom Dr. Bryant persuaded to settle in Trenton. Bryant was an extensive holder of real estate in Trenton. His will was proved June 2, 1786, by which he left a considerable estate in real and personal property, including several negro slaves.⁴⁰

Charles Harrison was a resident of Trenton and a vestryman of St. Michael's Church. He became Captain in the Sixth Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers (loyalist), December 16, 1776. He was taken prisoner on Laurence Island, near New Brunswick, February 18, 1777, and exchanged August 20, 1778, while a prisoner in the Yorktown, Va., jail. He served later as a Captain in the Third Battalion, then as Captain in the Second and was retired October 13, 1783. He had been previously commissioned Captain in the Hunterdon County Militia August 30, 1775, but resigned on July 8, 1776, when he openly embraced the cause of the loyalists.

The Reverend George Panton, who was rector of St. Michael's Church when the war broke out, was born in Scotland and in 1770 went out to America as a tutor to a young man. In 1773 he became rector of St. Michael's Church. As a clergyman of the Church of England he was naturally a

⁴⁰ *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 56-8.

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strong loyalist. Compelled to flee the town on account of his political sentiments he sought the protection of the British authorities. He joined the British army at White Plains before the action in October 1776. He remained with the army and was appointed Chaplain to the Prince of Wales American Regiment by Sir William Howe.

The evidence presented to the British authorities shows the character of his services to the British cause, of which the following is a transcript.⁴¹

Says that in conjunction with Dr. Inglis, Dr. Cooper & Dr. Chandler, published essays in support of the British Govt.

Produces Copy of a Petition to the Assembly of New Jersey from the Freeholders of Nottingham Township, N. Jersey, expressive of Loyal Sentiments & attachment to the British Govt. & desiring that they would use their endeavours to promote a reconciliation with Gt. Britain & of their disapprobation of the conduct of persons concerned in the late disputes, Dated 20th May, 1775. Says he drew up this paper & had it signed by many respectable Inhabitants, in consequence of that he was obliged to leave the country.

Produces a Letter from Dr. Inglis, April 5th, 1776, requesting the claimant to take care & carry a manuscript to Humphreys the Publisher at Philadelphia. This manuscript was a Loyal Pamphlet which had been burnt by the Rebels at New York.

He joined the British Army at White Plains, before the action in October, 1776, & did everything in his power in Conducting & Assisting the Army & gave information of the proper persons to be intrusted & employed, he gave a sketch of the Country to Major Montessor.

He attended Sir Henry Clinton to Ft. Montgomery as a volunteer.

He remained with the Army all the war and was apptd Chaplain to the Prince of Wales American Regt by Sir Wm. Howe.

He left New York 1784. He received £30 pr. an. from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Living was worth £80 pr. an. Pen. Curry, raised of a voluntary Subscription of the Inhabitants of the Parish.

Surplus fees were worth £20 pr. an.

Library—left at Trenton when he fled. His books were destroyed by the Americans in December, 1776, at Rawle's defeat. Values his books at £60 Pen. Curry.

Linen, Furniture & Clothing lost at the same time £32 P. Curry, Manuscripts, lost at the same time £100 P. Curry.

Raymond, in *Winslow Papers*, says, p. 29, n.:

Rev. George Panton, M.A., of Trenton, N.J., and afterwards of Phillipsburg (now Yonkers), N.Y. During the war he was chaplain of the Prince of Wales American Regiment. At the peace he came to Nova Scotia and became S.P.G. missionary at Yarmouth.

One of the most notable loyalists in New Jersey was *Major Walter Rutherford*, who if not a resident of Trenton had an estate in Hunterdon

⁴¹ *First Report of Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario, 1903, Vol. I, p. 53, compiled from the original rolls by Dr. C. E. Godfrey.*

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County which he called "Edgerston" from his ancestral home in Scotland. He was the father of John Rutherford who for a few years made his home in Trenton and was a warden and trustee of St. Michael's Church 1800-06.

Walter Rutherford was born in Scotland December 29, 1723, the sixth son of Sir John Rutherford of Roxburgshire. Walter held a commission in the British army. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War he was ordered to America. He was promoted to the rank of Major of the Sixty-second or Royal American Regiment, and was retired at the close of the successful campaign of 1760. He married in 1758 the widow of Elisha Parker of Perth Amboy. Mrs. Rutherford's brother was William Alexander, known as "Lord Sterling." Major Rutherford lived for a period after his retirement in New York City. Both he and his wife were possessed of ample means. In 1775 he received for his military services a patent for five thousand acres of land in Tyron (now Montgomery) County, N.Y. When the War of the Revolution broke out Major Rutherford naturally was reluctant to take up arms against the government which had treated him so handsomely, and he accordingly retired to his estate in Hunterdon County in company with John Stevens, his brother-in-law, and James Parker, hoping thus to keep out of the turmoil of the struggle then raging in New Jersey. He was not long left undisturbed, but was ferreted out in his retirement, and refusing to take the oath before the court at Trenton, under orders of Governor Livingston was arrested with his relative James Parker, and removed and imprisoned August 1777 at Morristown, being held as hostage for the proper treatment and safe delivery of two well-known patriots, Judge John Fell and Wynant Van Zandt, who had been captured by the Tories and who, it was reported, had been treated with undue severity. Rutherford and Parker were well treated, their imprisonment being a nominal one, and placed under bond of £2000 to remain at the court house in Morris County or within a mile of it. On the representation of his wife, the Council of Safety permitted him to go to his home and remain there for ten days at the expiration of which time he was required to return to his confinement. He was fined £50, August 8, 1777. At the conclusion of the war Rutherford returned to New York City, where he died January 10, 1804.

A WOMAN LOYALIST

Women loyalists sometimes made as much trouble for the patriotic party as did men, and were perhaps even more cantankerous in their opposition. *Mary Rutherford Poynton* of Trenton, the daughter of Elisha Beadles and his wife Mary, who married as her first husband Samuel Rutherford, son of James and Mary Rutherford of Trenton, is a conspicuous example in point. She had married in 1772 as her second husband Major Brereton Poynton, an officer in the British army who had served against the French in Canada. Their marriage is recorded in the Parish Register of St. Michael's Church, September 22, 1772. Subsequently Major Poynton served in the West Indies, but returned to Trenton in 1774, going back to join his command there, however, before the war in America broke out. His wife was told that if she wrote to her husband and persuaded him to join the American army he would be made a Brigadier General. He seems not to have served on either side. Mary Poynton owned much property in Trenton, including a house opposite St. Michael's Church. Her mother married for

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her second husband Elijah Bond, whom his step-daughter describes as "a great Rebel and a great enemy to her." According to Daniel Coxe, Mary Poynton "rather spoke her mind too plain." In her Memorial of April 8, 1789, she states that a separation was about to take place between her husband and herself. The Poyntons were allowed by the British government £775 for their claim of £1,764 6s.⁴²

⁴² *Collections of New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. X, pp. 173-4.

CHAPTER III

The Two Battles of Trenton

BY FREDERICK L. FERRIS

I. The First Battle

“NOWHERE in the annals of warfare,” says General William S. Stryker, “can be found a counterpart of the winter campaign of Washington and his army in 1776-77—that army which left the vicinity of New York a ragged, starved, defeated, demoralized band, which passed through the Jerseys and over the river, then dashed upon the Hessian advance, punished the flank of the British line, doubled on its own bloody tracks through the village of Princeton, and at last marched into quarters an army of victors.”¹

DARK DAYS FOR THE PATRIOTS

This is a simple statement of fact. Disaster after disaster had come to the Americans during the summer of 1776. The defeat on Long Island was followed by the indecisive engagements at

¹ *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1898), p. 1. This is the definitive work dealing with Revolutionary events in Trenton and vicinity. General Stryker was a painstaking and scholarly author who devoted his spare time for twenty-seven years to preparation for his great task and rewrote his manuscript five times. Professor William Starr Myers, of Princeton University, editing the same author's posthumous work, *The Battle of Monmouth*, has borne testimony that he found Stryker as an historian “accurate, sound, judicial and scholarly.” Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Baronet, in his authoritative work, *The American Revolution*, says of Stryker's commentary on Trenton and Princeton: “A better book on the subject could not be compiled.” Living on the scene of the memorable engagements here, General Stryker from childhood was steeped in local Revolutionary lore. He gathered much of his knowledge almost first-hand from the families of survivors. Quite inevitably, therefore, the author of the present chapter has found it necessary and desirable to lean heavily upon Stryker's immortal account of the Battles of Trenton as both a factual and an interpretative guide.

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Harlem Heights and White Plains ; and then ensued the collapse of Fort Washington and Fort Lee. Having lost 329 officers and 4,430 men in his unsuccessful attempt to defend the lower Hudson, Washington found himself in command of a force of not more than 4,000 poorly equipped, discouraged troops, facing a situation which demanded quick action but offered the smallest promise of success.

It would have been absurd further to resist the British. It would have meant annihilation to linger near New York. Washington, accordingly, ordered a retreat through the Jerseys, not knowing whether he would be forced to continue on to Virginia or even beyond the Alleghany Mountains themselves. Appealing to Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, for reinforcements, he wrote: "The critical situation of our affairs and the movements of the enemy make some further and immediate exertions absolutely necessary."

Anxious to avoid being caught between the Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, Washington started the march southward on November 21, posting his force at Newark within the next two days. Five days later this position was abandoned, and the Continentals resumed falling back before the pressure of the British host. That the pressure was being persistently applied is indicated by the fact that the enemy advance-guard entered Newark even while the American rear-guard withdrew.

Upon reaching Brunswick on November 29, the patriot army was joined by a small force under Brigadier General Lord Stirling, but the recruits for which Washington kept hopefully looking failed to materialize until the army reached Trenton, and at the latter point it was only a small detachment of New Jersey militia which "volunteered to assist the forlorn cause."²

After doing considerable damage to the bridge over the Raritan River, the Americans proceeded to Princeton, arriving on the morning of December 2 and pushing on almost immediately to Trenton where the army was posted the same day.

Cornwallis, reaching Brunswick, sought General Howe's per-

² Stryker, p. 18. This detachment included men from the Hunterdon and Middlesex brigades, under command of Colonel Isaac Smith and Colonel John Neilson, respectively.

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mission to press on and attack Washington before the Delaware could be crossed. But Howe delayed, and the British thus lost what was for them a rare opportunity to end the war at a stroke. Washington, indeed, attributed the success of the retreat to "nothing but the infatuation of the enemy."

Meanwhile the shores of the Delaware were being combed for boats. They were obtained in sufficient number, and on December 7 and 8 plied from one side of the river to the other, transporting the Continentals, gun and baggage, to the Pennsylvania shore.

Nor was the movement premature, for Cornwallis was already on his way to Trenton, being able, on December 9, to attempt a crossing, and meeting with failure only because the Americans by this time had obtained all the available boats and placed them, under a strong guard, on the opposite side of the stream.

THE RIVER CHECKS THE BRITISH

It was the river, in other words, which checked the British pursuit. Inertia and delay quite literally had permitted the patriots to escape from the clutches of General Howe. For the enemy, there remained nothing to do but wait until the Delaware should freeze sufficiently to permit a crossing. Joseph Galloway, a Tory, later stated that there was ample material in Trenton for the building of rafts, pontoons or boats, and that, just as Howe's men had failed to bring with them a single boat from the Raritan, so now there was no effort made to construct suitable craft.³

The British General, moreover, was quite content to halt operations for the winter. With this idea in mind, he ordered the formation of several cantonments, which Cornwallis proceeded to establish at Elizabeth-Town, Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton and Bordentown. Hessian troops were assigned to the latter points. And so, in addition to having a series of outposts sadly

³ Stryker, p. 37. See also Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (Longmans, Green and Co., 1903), pp. 21-2. "How provoking it is," remarked an experienced British officer, "that our army, when it entered the Jerseys, was not provided with a single pontoon! Unless the object was Philadelphia, entering the Jerseys was absurd to the last degree. If we had six flat-bottomed boats, we could cross the Delaware." Galloway's statement was made before the British House of Commons, June 18, 1779.

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lacking in coordination, the British had foreign mercenaries unfamiliar with the very language of the patriots stationed at the towns closest to the place where Washington and his army were quartered.

Three regiments of Hessian Infantry, a detachment of Artillery, fifty Hessian yagers and twenty light dragoons were stationed in Trenton under command of Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall. The infantry regiments were headed, respectively, by Rall, Von Knyphausen and Von Lossberg. The entire force numbered about 1,400 men.

Howe's plan called for the placing of 1,500 men at Bordentown, and, on December 11, Colonel Von Donop left Trenton with the advance detachment, progress being somewhat impeded, however, by operations of the militia in Burlington County.

No one knew better than did Washington that the American predicament called for action. Congress was depressed. So were the people. On December 18, the commander-in-chief wrote to his brother: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up. . . . You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them."⁴

But Washington, in whom the country had the utmost confidence in spite of current pessimism, did not for a moment weaken in his high resolve.

Throughout the week before Christmas there was much discussion of a proposed movement on the Hessian outposts at Trenton and Bordentown. Colonel Joseph Reed, adjutant general of the Continental army, was one of the first to urge a crossing of the Delaware, and soon there was general agreement that some such stroke was precisely the thing to bolster up American hopes.

"If you ever expect to establish the independence of these States," said Colonel John Stark at one of the staff meetings

⁴ Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. V, p. 109. "The trials of Washington," observes the historian Bancroft, "are the dark, solemn ground on which the beautiful work of the country's salvation was embroidered."

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on this weighty matter, "you must teach them to place dependence upon their firearms and courage."⁵

Washington, always quick to sense strategic wisdom, did not hesitate to gamble with fate.

"VICTORY OR DEATH!"

On Christmas Eve, detailed plans for the crossing of the Delaware and the attack on Trenton were formulated. The final council of war was held at the headquarters of Major General Greene. In addition to Greene and Washington, there were present Generals Sullivan, Mercer, Lord Stirling, Colonel Knox and other officers.

It was decided to make an ambitious three-fold offensive Christmas night. Washington was to cross at McKonkey's Ferry, some nine miles north of Trenton, and march down upon the Hessians with his force of approximately 2,400 men. General Ewing's division was to negotiate the stream at Trenton Ferry, directly opposite the village, with a view of cutting off Rall's retreat and preventing Von Donop from sending up reinforcements from his station at Bordentown. Ewing commanded a force of 92 officers and about 1,000 men. Cadwalader, with 1,800 men, was to cross somewhat further to the south and proceed directly against Von Donop. With Rall and Von Donop defeated and the Continentals in control of Trenton as well as the enemy cantonments in the vicinity of Bordentown, it was planned that the entire army should advance on the British strongholds at Princeton and Brunswick.

Christmas night was chosen for the attack by reason of the Hessians' well-known leaning toward unrestrained Yuletide celebrations. Hearty drinking and a momentary lapse of discipline were counted on, and not in vain, as the natural consequences of the Teutonic seasonal observance.

Marching orders for the descent on Trenton from McKonkey's Ferry were issued by Washington on Christmas morning. An express rider was dispatched to bring Dr. Shippen and sur-

⁵ Stryker, p. 85. An interesting popular account of the formulation of plans for the surprise attack on the Hessian outpost at Trenton is contained in Rupert Hughes' *George Washington, 1762-1777*, pp. 575-8.

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gical assistance, though subsequent events were to prove how little this medical aid was needed.

Early in the afternoon of Christmas day, the first regiment began to move, and within an hour all parts of the northern expedition were on their way to the Delaware. Unity of action had been facilitated by Washington's order that all officers should set their watches by his.

Each man had three days' rations and forty rounds of ammunition. In these respects, there was adequacy. As for clothing and footwear, shivering infantrymen and a bloody trail in the snow told a different story. "Sunshine patriots" could not have faced this ordeal.

"What a time to hand me letters!" exclaimed Washington, when, as he himself was about to swing into his saddle for the ride to the ferry, a note was given him with the information that General Gates had reported sick. To the commander-in-chief, it seemed that, at the zero hour of national destiny, the pen was scarcely mightier than the sword.



CROSSING THE DELAWARE, CHRISTMAS NIGHT, 1776

Rugged, horny-handed seafarers from Marblehead, Mass., had charge of the boats. They rendered yeoman service. With jagged cakes of ice floating swiftly along the Delaware channel, theirs was a difficult task. A severe snow and hail storm, accompanied by a biting wind, added to the arduous job of transporting the chilled but determined army to the Jersey shore.⁶

⁶ "Had not Colonel John Glover's splendid regiment of seafaring men from Marblehead, Mass., lent a willing and skilful hand, as he had promised they would," says Stryker, pp. 133-4, "the expedition would no doubt have failed."

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Washington had anticipated getting the force across before midnight, so that the attack on the drowsy Hessians could be made prior to the break of day. But on this dark, stormy night facility of movement was out of the question. It was four o'clock on the morning of December 26, 1776, before the Continentals were ready to start on their march along the Jersey shore toward Trenton. The last man had reached the eastern bank at three. During the latter part of the crossing venture, Washington, awaiting transport of his horse, had sat on a box once used as a beehive. What a background for high resolve and earnest meditation—blinding snow, piercing wind, the grunts of artillerymen with their cumbersome burdens, the stentorian shouts of Colonel Knox.

"Victory or Death!" had been given out as the password; the necessity for absolute silence, obedience and order had been impressed on the men. At length, four hours behind schedule, came the command, "Shoulder your firelocks!" The weary tramp along slippery roads began.



THE CONTINENTALS MARCHING ON TRENTON IN THE EARLY MORNING,
DECEMBER 26, 1776.

Neither the delay nor the weather could weaken Washington's grim purpose. Existing conditions, he later wrote, "made me despair of surprising the town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke. But as I was certain there was no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed on repassing the river, I determined to press on at all events."⁷

Meanwhile, General Ewing had found it impossible to get a boat launched at Trenton Ferry, and Colonel Cadwalader, after landing some 600 men on the Jersey side at Dunk's Ferry, a

⁷ Ford's *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. V, p. 132.

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few miles below Bristol, was confronted by an icy barrier which made further progress impossible. He therefore recalled those already across and bowed before the elements.

CONFIDENT REVELRY

If there was chill misery at McKonkey's Ferry, there was warm cheer in Trenton. The Hessians who were not required to remain on picket duty gathered around their fires, drinking and singing. Colonel Rall was no man to stand aside and watch others celebrate. He, too, was out to make a night of it.

Rall was full of confidence, despite the fact that a Continental advance on the Jersey shore of the Delaware was considered likely by his superior officers. On December 24, General Grant dispatched a letter to Von Donop at Bordentown, advising that he be upon his guard "against an unexpected attack at Trenton." And General Leslie, on the same day, sent a patrol to Trenton with word that an attack on either Trenton or Princeton was imminent.

"As the American officers had anticipated," says Stryker, "the Hessian troops at Trenton, carelessly confident in their own military strength, entered eagerly into the Christmas revelry as they did at home, and all day and far into the night they continued their merrymaking, with some feasting and much drinking with the people of the town."⁸

As late as Christmas morning, Colonel Rall received word from General Grant that a detachment under General Lord Stirling might be expected to attack the village sometime during the day. The advice was without foundation, but it should have sufficed to keep Rall alert. Instead, the confident Hessian, working on the theory that "these country clowns can't whip us," made a cursory inspection of some of the guards on the outskirts of town and then returned, late in the afternoon, to the house of Stacy Potts, on King Street, where he maintained headquarters.

Scarcely had the Hessian commander joined his genial host in a game of checkers when firing was heard. The village was immediately thrown into a state of alarm. The troops fell in.

⁸ *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 117.

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Rall marched his regiment to the junction of Pennington and Maidenhead Roads, but he soon received news from Captain Von Altenbockum that the Americans, who had attacked a picket on the Pennington Road, had been driven off and, after careful search, could not be found.

Rall was inclined to brush the incident aside as wholly trivial. Not so Major Von Dechow, who was impressed by the latent possibilities and urged upon Rall the desirability of sending out patrols to all the ferries and along all the roads. Certainly a more vigilant commanding officer than Rall would have done something besides permit officers and men to return to their drunken revels.⁹

The party which attacked the Pennington picket was a small detachment from Stephen's brigade which had been engaged, without Washington's knowledge or permission, in scouting through Hunterdon County. General Stephen, according to the commonly accepted version, was subsequently censured by Washington for allowing the rovers to operate in a way which came so close to warning the enemy against the imminence of a major attack. As a matter of fact, however, the episode was fortunate for the Continentals, by reason of Rall's inference that this was the movement which had been predicted by General Grant. Thus, far from being forewarned, the Hessians were lulled into a sense of security which proved to be their undoing.

After this flurry, Colonel Rall, instead of resuming his checker game with Potts, went to the home of Abraham Hunt, at the corner of King and Second Streets. Hunt was the rich merchant of the town and was always ready to welcome guests with bounteous good cheer. Whether, as some patriots then suspected, he had leanings in the direction of Toryism, Hunt cer-

⁹ Colonel Rall is seriously censured for negligence in the finding of the Hessian Court Martial, recorded by Stryker, pp. 411-19. Lack of prudence, underestimation of the fighting capacity of the Continentals and failure to designate alarm places are especially emphasized, but the conclusion is somewhat softened by the following remark: "Colonel Rall having been mortally wounded and died of the wounds received at the attack on Trenton he cannot be held to answer these charges, and a decision cannot be justly rendered against him." For almost six months, the Hessian court was in session intermittently at Philadelphia and New York, the final report being sent to the Prince of Hesse, September 23, 1778.

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tainly aided the Continental cause on Christmas night, 1776, for the merriment which he provided with open-handed generosity continued until early morning and served to get Rall so drenched with intoxicating beverages that he was in the poorest of condi-



COLONEL RALL DINING AT THE HOME OF ABRAHAM HUNT
CHRISTMAS NIGHT, 1776.

tions when Washington and his determined band finally stormed the town.

Even while the Hessian commander was making the most of his fool's paradise, another warning arrived—and it, too, was spurned. A Pennsylvania Tory came to Hunt's door to tell Rall of the movements of the American army. Refused admittance by a negro servant who was loath to interrupt the evening's jollification, the informant wrote a note which was duly delivered to the roistering Hessian leader. Without so much as reading the missive, Rall tucked it into his vest pocket.

Later, dying of wounds, Rall said of the note, "If I had read that at Mr. Hunt's, I'd not be here."

And so, drinking and card-playing continued to occupy the attention of the Hessian leader at the very moment when Washington's loyal army of cold and bleeding patriots was being organized for a stroke that was to mark the turning-point of the Revolution.¹⁰

PLAN AND CONDUCT OF THE BATTLE

Washington's carefully laid plans called for a separation of the Continentals into two divisions for the march toward Trenton. Upon being organized in column formation, the army pro-

¹⁰ A graphic picture of the contrasting situations of the patriot and Hessian forces is contained in excerpts from the diary of an officer on Washington's staff, set forth by Stryker, pp. 361-2.

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ceeded as a unit to Bear Tavern, about a mile from the river, and thence to Birmingham.¹¹ At this point, now known as Trenton Junction, "General Washington stopped for a moment, and partook of the hospitality of Benjamin Moore, while the column was halted, and the men made a hasty meal."¹²

Before reaching Birmingham, where the column was scheduled to divide, Captain John Mott informed Major General Sullivan that the storm was causing the priming powder to become damp.

"Well, boys," shouted the determined Sullivan, "we must fight them with the bayonet."

¹¹ The route of the Continentals from Bear Tavern has been subject to controversy. Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey has adduced considerable evidence tending to show that the army divided at Bear Tavern, Greene's division crossing from this point to the Scotch Road. There are those, on the other hand, who hesitate to brush aside too readily the theory which has given little Birmingham its fame. How explain away, they ask, the account of the march given by General James Wilkinson, who participated therein, and the version adopted by General Stryker, who was familiar with Washington's marching orders, and the Forrest diary which support the presumption in favor of Bear Tavern? Stryker prints these documents in an appendix to his history, yet he clearly states that the Continentals divided at Birmingham. Why? We can only surmise. One supposition is that, after crossing the Delaware, Washington learned of the short route that connected Birmingham with the Scotch Road, well-posted local guides giving him the information, and gladly took advantage of the opportunity to keep both divisions together, and thus avoid a surprise attack upon either between Bear Tavern and the village. The entry in Forrest's diary, argues the same side, may easily have been a slip of the pen, written with the original marching orders in mind. It is significant that General Stryker did not think it necessary even to explain away the documents and maps now advanced to establish a different theory. Again, if the so-called Pennington Road route had been followed, it would have carried Generals Washington and Greene with one division past the Ewing Presbyterian Church. Yet the church annals contain no reference to what would surely have been a choice bit of parish history, nor did the members of the congregation pass on to their descendants so striking and revered a legend. On the contrary, the Rev. Eli F. Cooley, whose pastorate began in 1823 and who spent many years in historical and genealogical research among the families of his charge, wrote a series of sketches upon Revolutionary incidents for the *State Gazette* in 1842-43, in which he deliberately described the division of the army at Birmingham. Persons interested in this issue will find Dr. Godfrey's argument thoroughly developed in a paper read before the Trenton Historical Society, March 20, 1924.

¹² Stryker, p. 141.

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Washington, also informed of the condition, sent his aide-de-camp to "tell the General to use the bayonet and penetrate into the town; for the town must be taken and I am resolved to take it."¹³

The column left Birmingham in two divisions, the first under Major General Sullivan along the River Road and the second under Major General Greene along the Scotch Road. General Washington accompanied Greene's division.

Sullivan was supported by the brigades of Brigadier General St. Clair, Colonel Glover and Colonel Sargent and the batteries of Captains Neil, Hugg, Moulder and Sargent; Greene, by the brigades of Brigadier Generals Stephen, Mercer, Lord Stirling and de Fermoy, Captain Morris' Philadelphia troop of light horse and the batteries of Captains Forrest, Bauman and Hamilton.

Birmingham is little more than four miles from Trenton, the distance by the River Road being somewhat less than that by the route of Greene's division.

Daylight appeared before the tattered Continentals, many of them without shoes, had covered half the distance from Birmingham. But their courage was kept at high pitch by Washington's reiterated, "Press on, press on, boys!"

Colonel Rall, about this moment, left the convivial scene at Abraham Hunt's, plodded to his headquarters, flung his clothes aside—the telltale note still tucked away in his vest pocket—and confusedly lunged into bed to dream of even better Yuletide celebrations in far-away Hesse.

A Hessian patrol ventured forth about five o'clock as far as Captain John Mott's house, on the present site of the New Jersey State Hospital, only to return with the report that the enemy was nowhere in sight. "An hour later and a march a mile farther," says Stryker, "would probably have changed the condition of affairs in Trenton at eight o'clock, and Washington would have found a foe ready to receive him."¹⁴

¹³ Stryker, p. 140. It is urged by those who believe the army marched as a unit until reaching Birmingham that this verbal exchange would scarcely have been feasible if the division of forces had taken place at Bear Tavern.

¹⁴ *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 146.

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Shortly before eight o'clock, the advance party of Greene's division came upon the Hessian picket post on the Pennington Road. Lieutenant Wiederhold's sentinels challenged the Americans, and when it was evident that the approaching force consisted of Continentals, the guards ran from the house, shouting, "The enemy! The enemy! Turn out! Turn out!"

Three volleys were fired by the Americans. Wiederhold was forced to retreat, and, though soon joined by Captain Von Altenbockum's company, came so close to being surrounded and cut down that a hurried withdrawal was necessary.

When a young Hessian officer fell, mortally wounded, during the retreat down the Pennington Road, Captain Samuel Morris, of the Philadelphia light horse, showed a desire to stop and aid



THE ATTACK ON TRENTON, DECEMBER 26, 1776.

his dying foe. A sharp order from General Greene checked the display of sympathy. This was no time for anything but a vigorous advance.

Shortly after Greene's division routed the upper picket, General Sullivan reached the Hessian outpost at the Hermitage, residence of General Philemon Dickinson, on the River Road at the outskirts of Trenton. Captain John Flahaven's detachment caused the Hessians stationed there to retreat, a movement in which they were forced on by Colonel Glover's brigade.

Meantime, the firing had proved to be an effective alarm for the force in town. The retreating pickets were being driven "pell-mell" into Trenton, and, as the Americans swept on, it became evident to the Hessian officers that there was no time for

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delay. All would be lost if defensive organization were not effected speedily.

Lieutenant Jacob Piel, attached to the Von Lossberg regiment, was quick to act when the firing was heard. He dispatched a detail to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, and then went directly to Colonel Rall's house. Awakened by the knocking at



THE OLD BARRACKS, WHERE THE HESSIAN YAGERS WERE QUARTERED AT THE TIME OF THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.

his door, Rall shouted from an upper window, "What's the matter?" Piel mentioned the firing. "I'll be out in a minute," said Rall. He had been on the street but a second or two when the American guns began to sweep the streets of the town.

Sullivan had reached Trenton ahead of Greene and Washington, and the commander-in-chief of the Continentals was greatly relieved thereby, as is shown in the following account by a member of his staff:¹⁵

General Washington's face lighted up instantly, for he knew that it [the boom of a cannon] was one of Sullivan's guns. We could see a great commotion down toward the meeting-house, men running here and there, officers swinging their swords, artillerymen harnessing their horses. Captain Forrest unlimbered his guns.

Washington gave the order to advance, and we rushed on to the junction of King and Queen Streets. Forrest wheeled six of his cannon into position to sweep both streets. The riflemen under Colonel Hand and Scott's and Lawson's battalions went upon the run through the fields on the left to gain possession of the Princeton road. . . .

It was on the spot where the Trenton Battle Monument now stands that Captain Forrest's six-gun battery and the second company of the Pennsylvania artillery unit began combing Queen Street, while the New York artillerymen, commanded by

¹⁵ Stryker, p. 363.



THE OPENING OF THE BATTLE OF TRENTON AT THE "FIVE POINTS," DECEMBER 26, 1776. FROM A PAINTING BY WILLIAM E. PEDRICK.

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young Alexander Hamilton, sent volley after volley down King Street.

General Washington took up a position on the high ground at what is now Princeton Avenue. This point gave him an excellent opportunity to watch developments and to direct the course of the engagement. Tradition has it that his chestnut sorrel horse was severely wounded and that another animal had to be procured.¹⁶

The various units of the Hessian forces were formed, meanwhile, more or less successfully, but the attack of the Americans had been so much in the nature of a surprise, and Colonel Rall was in so befuddled a condition, that it was quite impossible to secure coordination in the defending ranks.

Poor Rall was unable even to give intelligent replies to subordinate officers coming to him for instructions. "Forward! Forward!" he exclaimed repeatedly without himself having a very clear idea as to where or for what purpose.

"These are the times that try men's souls," the onrushing Americans are said to have shouted, taking a certain ironical delight in thus adapting to military purposes the clarion call coined by Thomas Paine.

THE ENEMY LOSE CONFIDENCE

Rall's men lost confidence in their leader. They lost confidence in themselves. They began falling back in confusion, unable to stand against the deadly shots of the Americans who had wisely found vantage places in houses and cellars where their powder could be kept dry and their firing directed with uncanny accuracy.

With General Sullivan's division rapidly taking possession of the southern part of the town, the regiments of Rall and Von Lossberg withdrew to the low ground known as "The Swamp," between what are now Stockton and Montgomery Streets, north of Perry.

"Forward march!" cried the confused Rall. "Attack them with the bayonet!"

The Hessians momentarily responded, but soon they were in

¹⁶ Stryker, p. 160.

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disorderly retreat. Despite the fact that their colors had been displayed, their ranks re-formed, the band forced to play and order brought, for the moment, out of chaos, the Teutonic mercenaries could not face the withering fire of the American rifles.

It was under such discouraging conditions that Colonel Rall fell, frightfully wounded by two Continental shots. Leaderless, his troops virtually abandoned the fray and retreated to the apple orchard at the eastern edge of the village.¹⁷

In the southern part of town, the Von Knyphausen regiment was making a futile attempt to escape by way of the bridge over the Assunpink Creek which already had proved to be a safe avenue of retreat for some of the Hessians. But General Sullivan, anticipating such a move, had blocked the way with well-placed infantry and cannon, so that the Hessians, hemmed in on all sides, finally engaged in a parley with their aggressive antagonists and surrendered.

Rall had been shot from his horse on Queen Street in front of the house of Isaac Yard. After reclining on the ground momentarily and suffering much pain, he was assisted by two soldiers into the Methodist Church, at Queen and Fourth Streets.

In the meantime, the Rall and Von Lossberg regiments could see from their position in the orchard that they were virtually surrounded by the excited and determined Americans. Lieutenant Colonel Scheffer and Major Von Hanstein received one of Washington's aides-de-camp, probably Lieutenant Colonel Baylor, and at last decided to recognize the inevitable and lay down their arms. Standards were lowered, guns grounded, and officers' hats placed on the points of swords as an indication of surrender.

"The patriot troops," according to Stryker, "tossed their hats in the air, and a great shout resounded through the village, as the surrender was made, and the battle of Trenton closed."¹⁸

As defeat came swiftly to his soldiers, so death came with

¹⁷ See Trevelyan's *The American Revolution*, pp. 108-9, for a stirring description of the brilliant futility displayed by Rall's brigade during this final attempt at recovery.

¹⁸ Stryker, p. 185.

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anything but laggard steps to Colonel Rall. The proud Hessian commander lay in the Methodist Church until after the surrender. Then he was placed on a bench and carried to headquarters on King Street, the house of Stacy Potts. Here, while being disrobed, Rall saw the note which he had tucked away and which brought forth his well-known remark of regret.

Generals Washington and Greene called on the mortally wounded Rall, conversed briefly with him and took his parole of honor. In response to a request from Rall, Washington assured him that the prisoners would receive kind treatment. Rall died the following evening, December 27, 1776. German records tell of his burial in the Presbyterian churchyard, East State Street, but the exact location of his grave is unknown.¹⁹

FRUITS OF VICTORY

"This is a glorious day for our country, Major Wilkinson," General Washington remarked to this gallant young officer when informed of the Hessian surrender. And indeed it was a glorious day. What had been a well-nigh hopeless cause was transformed by a remarkably executed stroke into one which commanded confidence.

As modern battles go, the losses on neither side were great. The Americans went virtually unscathed, two officers and two privates wounded being the official report of Washington. Reports of the Hessian casualties vary slightly. In the *New Jersey Archives*,²⁰ the number of men and officers killed is given as 35; wounded, 60; captured, 948. Washington placed the total number killed, wounded and captured at 918, but his return was made out the day after the battle and hence could scarcely have been as accurate as later compilations.

However, it was not in point of enemy troops put out of

¹⁹ Colonel Rall was born in 1725. He served with distinction in the Seven Years' War and performed creditably in some of the earlier engagements of the Revolutionary War, including the Battle of Long Island and the capture of Fort Washington. He was a lover of colorful military display, but was, nevertheless, a man of marked personal bravery. "His memory has been cursed by German and English soldiers, many of whom were not fit to carry his sword," said Captain Johann Ewald, the one Hessian writer who fails to hold poor Rall up as an object of censure.

²⁰ Second series, Vol. IV, p. 450.

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action that the first Battle of Trenton contributed so markedly to the American cause. Serving as a patriotic tonic, it did much to revive the hopes of the army and to give Congress and the people generally a revitalized vision of better days to come. At a single stroke, a poorly clad, ill-fed mob of discouraged campaigners had been changed into a confident band which justified the spreading confidence that the cause of national independence was far from a state of collapse. The battle proved, moreover, that the highly touted German mercenaries were by no means invincible, and that Continental tradesmen and merchants who could shoot were infinitely more effective in battle than gaudily uniformed professionals who could drill. In addition, the justifiable feeling spread that George Washington was an able strategist and that in point of leadership the American Army need not bow its head before any foreign band.²¹

The rebirth of patriotic ardor inevitably had an effect upon enlistments, sorely needed by Washington in view of the fact that the army had just about reached the point of dissolution through expiration of terms. Word winged its way throughout the Colonies that a glorious victory had been won in Trenton. And, as in the case of Connecticut, men began flocking to the colors by the hundreds, anxious to participate in this revived burst of national zeal.

Truly it was a turning-point in the fight for freedom. Coming when and as it did, there is no doubt whatsoever that the first Battle of Trenton opened the way to ultimate victory.

INTERLUDE

"In justice to the officers and men," said General Washington, in his report to the Continental Congress, "I must add that their behavior upon this occasion reflects the highest honor upon them."

It was no exaggeration. And, not only did the Continentals behave well in battle but they behaved well in victory. The Hessians in New Jersey had won for themselves a reputation for barbaric conduct.²² They had seized personal property and were

²² cf. Trevelyan, pp. 119-20. If the Hessians had earned their evil repu-

²¹ Stryker, p. 222.

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accused on all hands of conduct unseemly if not actually criminal. It would have been natural for a conquering American army to bear down upon them without mercy. Instead, the Hessians were treated with every consideration, both by the military and civil conquerors into whose hands they had fallen through that "unfortunate affair" on the eastern shore of the Delaware.

The battle over, Washington without undue delay ordered the prizes collected, the troops lined up and the march back to the ferry begun, soon after the middle of day. In contrast with the grim body that had tramped the nine miles some six hours earlier, it was indeed a joyous host.

At McKonkey's Ferry, the prisoners of war were sent across first. Nor was the crossing much easier than it had been the night before. One boatload of German officers came near being lost and it was only after a hard battle with the icy current that the Pennsylvania shore was reached.

After the whole detachment had returned to their former camps and barracks, headquarters for the army were established near Newtown, to which point the enlisted men of the Hessian army were marched at once. On December 28 the American officers entertained the Hessian commanders at dinner, and pleasantries were exchanged with good feeling predominant on both sides.²³

The Hessian prisoners at Newtown signed a parole of honor, and Washington more than made good his promise to Rall by allowing them to keep their personal baggage without examination.

Soon after giving their parole, the Hessian officers were sent to Philadelphia, the enlisted men following afoot on December 30. They were all treated hospitably, as was the case, also, after they were scattered throughout the western counties of Pennsylvania and parts of Virginia. Many of them preferred to remain in America when the war was over, settling in the German communities of the Keystone State.

tation for brutality, they were sufficiently mild and docile in captivity to win the hearts of their conquerors. "They had been poor soldiers at Trenton," is the dry comment of Trevelyan, "but they made most excellent prisoners."

²³ Stryker, pp. 208-9.

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Receiving word from Adjutant General Joseph Reed to the effect that Trenton was deserted, Washington resolved to recross the Delaware and reestablish himself in New Jersey. General Greene, with 300 men, took the town, and Washington himself followed on December 30 in advance of the main body.

Upon reaching Trenton, Washington established headquarters at the home of Major John Barnes, a loyalist, on Queen Street near the Assunpink Creek bridge, where he remained until January 2. He then moved to Jonathan Richmond's tavern to the south of the bridge.

During these days, while Trenton was again the scene of intensive military activity, General Cornwallis was in New York busily planning a return trip to England for the purpose, in part at least, of informing the King of the great success being attained by the British army in New Jersey. But he was to receive a rude awakening.

General Howe, informed of the "unhappy affair" at Trenton, quickly ordered the prospective voyager to resume command of his forces. Cornwallis promptly cancelled his arrangements and, on January 1, joined General Grant at Princeton, the latter already having moved with his force from Brunswick, leaving about 600 men to guard the supplies.²⁴

Washington, meanwhile, had received extraordinary powers from the hands of Congress, in session on December 27 at Baltimore. His position now was not only that of commander-in-chief of the Continental army but also that of virtual dictator. "Happy it is for this country," read the letter informing Washington of the Congressional resolution, "that the General of their forces can safely be entrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty nor property be in the least degree endangered thereby."

"Instead of thinking myself freed from all civil obligations, by this mark of confidence," Washington wrote to the Congressional notification committee, penning his letter from the Richmond Inn, Trenton, January 1, "I shall constantly bear in mind, that as the sword was the last resort for the preserva-

²⁴ Stryker, p. 247.

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tion of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside, when those liberties are firmly established."

II. The Second Battle

IT WAS a motley army which made ready, on the high ground at the south side of Assunpink Creek, to meet the anticipated advance of the British. Experienced soldiers who had become accustomed to the smell of powder were not only diminished in-number but quite exhausted as a result of the rigors of recent campaigning. The green troops, recruited in the flush of victory over the Hessians, were lacking in discipline though determined in spirit and ready to render the fullest measure of service to the American cause.²⁵

THE BRITISH FORCES MARCH FROM PRINCETON

The British forces, divided into three columns, started the march from Princeton before daybreak on January 2. General Cornwallis was in command. General Leslie's brigade was ordered to remain at Maidenhead, and Grant's brigade, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, was left in Princeton as a rear-guard, with the understanding that it was to proceed to Trenton on January 3. After making these precautionary arrangements, Cornwallis had about 5,500 men for the expected engagement with Continental troops in Trenton.

On the first day of the new year, Washington's forces had been augmented, as a result of orders from headquarters, by the divisions of General Cadwalader and General Mifflin. The two bodies had joined at White Horse Tavern and advanced as a unit to Trenton.

Washington had sent scouting parties to obtain the position and, if possible, the intentions of the enemy. With the desired information at hand, he ordered out a detachment under Briga-

²⁵ "His army," says Trevelyan of Washington's force at the second Battle of Trenton, "was a medley of unequally sized and very dissimilar fragments, of which the best were the smallest." *The American Revolution*, p. 129.

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dier General de Fermoy for the purpose of taking a position somewhat to the south of Maidenhead and offering at least temporary resistance to the British advance.

Before the detachment came in contact with the redcoats, General de Fermoy himself returned to Trenton, but Colonel Edward Hand, assuming command, decided to fall back on the town as slowly as practicable and endeavor to impede the British in every possible way. In this, he achieved marked success with his able regiment of Pennsylvania riflemen. So persistently did the Americans dispute the territory at one point that the enemy battalions of Von Linsingen and Block were drawn up in order of battle, fully convinced that the major engagement which they had anticipated was about to begin.

The condition of the roads was another factor which contributed to a fulfilment of Washington's plan that the British be delayed all day. Mild weather had caused the ground to thaw, and the heavy mud was an obstacle of serious proportions for Cornwallis and his heavily equipped army.

Finally falling back upon the town in their battling retreat, the Americans offered another bit of stiff resistance at the ravine which led down to Assunpink Creek. Here earthworks and a number of guns enabled the Virginia troops, commanded by Captain William Hull and reinforced by General Greene, to hold out against the British until about five o'clock in the afternoon.

Washington was well pleased with the hindrance and delay which had been forced on the approaching enemy, and when Cornwallis's main column began marching down Queen Street, the American commander was prepared to meet the onslaught from the strategic position in which the main Continental army was posted to the south of the Assunpink.²⁶

It was well after five o'clock, and growing darker moment

²⁶ Warren Street at the time did not extend below Front Street. The Assunpink was bridged only at King (Broad) Street, and this single-arched crossing was "scarce sixteen feet wide," so that not without difficulty were the American skirmishers, who had helped all day to check the enemy's progress, able at the last moment to crowd through the passage, their retreat being protected under cover of friendly fire from the south bank of the creek. See also Stryker, p. 261.



THE SECOND BATTLE OF TRENTON. REPULSE OF THE BRITISH AT THE ASSUNPINK BRIDGE, JANUARY 2, 1777.

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by moment, when the British line reached the bridge and made its first futile effort to storm the span and gain the other side.

Continental batteries, under Captains Moulder, Forrest and Read, together with infantry fire from the American positions to the east and west of the bridge, proved sufficient to stave off three British advances. In the dusk, accurate firing was extremely difficult, but the Continentals had a great defensive advantage in being able to concentrate on the bridge and keep up withering volleys, throwing out a screen of shot and shell which the redcoats were quite unable to penetrate.

General Washington, meanwhile, is said to have remained on horseback at the American end of the bridge, ignoring personal exposure, as he also did later at Princeton, in order to encourage his men.²⁷

Hessian troops made a vigorous attempt to cross the stream at a point somewhat to the west of the bridge, but Colonel Hitchcock's brigade, which had thrown up temporary breastworks on the Bloomsbury farm, checked the movement abruptly by means of a well-directed curtain of lead.

Commenting on the failure of the British to make other similar efforts, Stryker says:²⁸

It will always appear singular that the invaders did not attempt to cross the creek at some of the many fording-places on the east of the town, such as Henry's Mill or Phillips Ford, the one a mile, the other two miles, above the mill-dam at the bridge. It was impossible for General Washington to protect the whole stream, and had the British forced the American right and driven them toward Trenton Ferry and the river, nothing could have saved the entire army. A determined advance along the line and a half hour's fight would have decided the battle. The American army would have been well-nigh annihilated, and with it the fate of America and the hopes of freemen.

The rapid approach of darkness and Cornwallis' conviction that the American forces were bottled up in such a way as to prevent escape may have been responsible for this singular tactical omission, as well as for the British General's neglect,

²⁷ Stryker, p. 264. This fact in itself indicates the importance which Washington attached to holding the bridge against the British and thus staving off a fight to the finish with Cornwallis' formidable force.

²⁸ *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 268.

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later that night, to send out patrols and scouting parties and to establish picket-lines on the Continentals' exposed flank.

That he would "bag the old fox" in the morning was the confident forecast of Cornwallis.

"If Washington is the General I take him to be, his army will not be found there in the morning," was the cautious rejoinder of Sir William Erskine, Baronet, Colonel and aide-de-camp to the King.²⁹

HEAVY BRITISH LOSSES

It is hard definitely to estimate the British losses at the bridge over the Assunpink. The official reports make no mention of them, though authentic statements by a number of eye-witnesses picture them as being very heavy. The American losses are known to have been slight.

General Washington's official report contains the following description of the engagement:

After some skirmishing the head of their column reached Trenton about four o'clock, whilst their rear was as far back as Maidenhead. They attempted to pass Sampink Creek, which runs through Trenton, at different places, but, finding the fords guarded, they halted and kindled their fires. We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situation we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their fieldpieces, which did us little damage.

"We kept possession of the bridge," said Captain Thomas Rodney of Delaware, "although the enemy attempted several times to carry it but were repulsed each time with great slaughter."³⁰

As to the importance of the second Battle of Trenton in relation to the patriot cause, it is unquestionably true that this later engagement, sometimes known as the "Battle of the Assunpink," was of even greater moment than the surprise attack on the Hessians the week before. Had the forces of Lord Cornwallis been successful in their attempts to storm the bridge, Washington might have found his army split asunder and the struggle for national independence brought to a sudden, unfavorable end.

Most historians of the Revolutionary period have slighted

²⁹ Stryker, p. 268.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 266, note.

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the event,³¹ despite the fact that there is an abundance of available evidence which tends to elevate the second Battle of Trenton to a plane of major significance.

In the *Connecticut Journal* of January 22, 1777—published less than three weeks after the engagement—appears the following graphic description :

Immediately after the taking of the Hessians at Trenton, on the 26th ult., our army retreated over the Delaware, and remained there for several days, and then returned and took possession of Trenton, where they remained quiet until Thursday, the 2nd inst., at which time, the enemy having collected a large force at Princeton, marched down in a body of 4,000 or 5,000, to attack our people at Trenton. Through Trenton there runs a small river, over which there is a small bridge. Gen. Washington, aware of the enemy's approach, drew his army (about equal to the enemy) over that bridge, in order to have the advantage of the said river, and of the higher ground on the farther side. Not long before sunset, the enemy marched into Trenton; and after reconnoitering our situation, drew up in solid column in order to force the aforesaid bridge, which they attempted to do with great vigor at three several times, and were as often broken by our artillery and obliged to retreat and give over the attempt, after suffering great loss, supposed at least *one hundred and fifty killed*.³²

This, it will be noted, indicates that the number of British killed was nearly five times as great as the casualty list for the first Battle of Trenton.

AN EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT

Another account which lends emphasis to the memorable fight at the Assunpink bridge was written by an eye-witness and printed in the *Princeton Whig* of November 4, 1842:

When the army under Washington, in the year '76, retreated over the Delaware, I was with them. At that time there remained in Jersey only a small company of riflemen, hiding themselves between New Brunswick and Princeton. Doubtless, when Washington reached the Pennsylvania side of the river, he expected to be so reinforced as to enable him effectually to

³¹ This is doubtless due, in large part, to the dearth of official records as to killed and wounded. It should be remembered, however, that the battle took place toward dusk, that Washington and his army left for Princeton during the night and that Cornwallis hurriedly withdrew early the next morning to pursue the Continentals. Under these circumstances, detailed casualty lists are scarcely to be expected. What probably happened is that the British dead were left where they fell, the exigencies of the moment preventing either identification or enumeration.

³² Quoted in the *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey*, Barber and Howe, pp. 299-300.

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prevent the British from reaching Philadelphia. But in this he was disappointed. Finding that he must achieve victory with what men he had, and so restore confidence to his countrymen, it was then that the daring plan was laid to recross the river, break the enemy's line of communication, threaten their depot at New Brunswick, and thus prevent their advancing to Philadelphia; which was only delayed until the river should be bridged by the ice. But Washington anticipated them. I was not with the troops who crossed to the capture of the Hessians. It was in the midst of a December storm, that I helped to reestablish the troops and prisoners on the Pennsylvania shore. The weather cleared cold, and in a few days we crossed on the ice to Trenton. Shortly afterward a thaw commenced which rendered the river impassable, and consequently the situation of the army extremely critical.

In the morning of the day on which the battle of the Assunpink was fought, I, with several others, was detached under the command of Captain Longstreet, with orders to collect as many men as we could in the country between Princeton, Cranbury, and Rhode Hall, and then unite ourselves with the company of riflemen who had remained in that neighborhood. We left Trenton by the nearest road to Princeton, and advanced nearly to the Shabbaconk (a small brook near Trenton), when we were met by a little negro on horseback, galloping down the hill, who called to us that the British army was before us. One of our party ran a little way up the hill, and jumped upon the fence, from whence he beheld the British army, within less than half a mile of us. And now commenced a race for Trenton. We fortunately escaped capture; yet the enemy were so near, that before we crossed the bridge over the Assunpink, some of our troops on the Trenton side of the creek, with a field-piece, motioned to us to get out of the street while they fired at the British at the upper end of it. Not being on duty, we had nothing to do but choose our position and view the battle.

Washington's army was drawn up on the east side of the Assunpink, with its left on the Delaware River, and its right extending a considerable way up the mill-pond, along the face of the hill where the factories now stand. The troops were placed one above the other, so that they appeared to cover the whole slope from bottom to top, which brought a great many muskets within shot of the bridge. Within 70 or 80 yards of the bridge, and directly in front of, and in the road, as many pieces of artillery as could be managed were stationed. We took our station on the high ground behind the right, where we had a fair view of our line, as far as the curve of the hill would permit, the bridge and street beyond being in full view. The British did not delay the attack. They were formed in two columns, the one marching down Green-street to carry the bridge, and the other down Main-street to ford the creek, near where the lower bridge now stands. From the nature of the ground, and being on the left, this attack (simultaneous with the one on the bridge) I was not able to see. It was repelled; and eye-witnesses say that the creek was nearly filled with their dead. The other column moved slowly down the street, with their choicest troops in front. When within about 60 yards of the bridge they raised a shout, and rushed to the charge. It was then that our men poured upon them from musketry and artillery a shower of bullets, under which however they continued to advance, though their speed was diminished; and as the column reached the bridge, it moved slower and slower until the head of it was gradually pressed nearly over,

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when our fire became so destructive that they broke their ranks and fled. It was then that our army raised a shout, and such a shout I have never since heard; by what signal or word of command, I know not. The line was more than a mile in length, and from the nature of the ground the extremes were not in sight of each other, yet they shouted as one man. The British column halted instantly; the officers restored the ranks, and again they rushed to the bridge; and again was the shower of bullets poured upon them with redoubled fury. This time the column broke before it reached the center of the bridge, and their retreat was again followed by the same hearty shout from our line. They returned the third time to the charge, but it was in vain. We shouted after them again, but they had enough of it. It is strange that no account of the loss of the English was ever published; but from what I saw, it must have been great.³³

In addition to these weighty bits of evidence, C. C. Haven, Trenton historian who was a faithful and earnest student of local Revolutionary lore, quotes General Wilkinson, John Howland, Major General Greene and one A. Cuthbert, son of a Revolutionary officer, all of whom lay stress on the magnitude of the military action at Assunpink bridge.³⁴

Howland, who participated in the battle and who subsequently became president of the Historical Society of Rhode Island, made the following observation:

Night closed upon us, and the weather, which had been mild and pleasant through the day, became intensely cold. On one hour—yes, on forty minutes,

³³ Barber and Howe, pp. 300-1.

³⁴ Haven, *Thirty Days in New Jersey Ninety Years Ago*, pp. 35-47. For additional comment on Mr. Haven, see Chap. XV, below. An interesting article on this man who contributed so much to a more complete understanding of the second Battle of Trenton was written by John J. Cleary and published in the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser* of November 11, 1923. In the article appear several verses of a poem, probably written by Edward S. Ellis, once superintendent of the Trenton public schools, which show the esteem in which Mr. Haven was held. Three of the verses follow:

Now tier on tier our patriots ranged themselves upon the ridge,
And now again the redcoats charged upon Assunpink bridge;
Three times Cornwallis' hosts, with ringing shout and shell,
Came rushing down upon us like the very hosts of hell!

But artillery and musketry we poured in deadly rain,
And often as they yelled and charged, we beat them back again,
Until the victory was ours! All hail our Washington!
Assunpink's battle has been fought, Assunpink's battle won!

And honor the historian whose patriotic pen
Has told these deeds with vivid power, unto his countrymen;
Whose four-score winters with their frosts have only fanned the flame,
And with our Country's good and true we proudly link his name.

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commencing at the moment when the British troops first saw the bridge and creek before them—depended the all-important, the all-absorbing question, whether we should be Independent States or conquered rebels! Had the army of Cornwallis, within that space have crossed the bridge or forded the creek, unless a miracle intervened, there would have been an end of the American army.³⁵

When these descriptive and interpretative statements are considered in the aggregate, it becomes plain that the second Battle of Trenton was, for the Continental army, a defensive operation of vast import. Whereas in the surprise of the Hessians Washington was the aggressor engaged in attacking what was at best a mere outpost, in the clash at the Assunpink he was defending against a formidable British army under the most competent leadership. That he was able to emerge victorious may be said, without any exaggeration, to have been a saving factor for the patriot cause.

WASHINGTON'S POSITION STILL PRECARIOUS

But in spite of the success of the moment, Washington's position was decidedly precarious. To face the foe on the morrow would be almost suicidal. To retreat toward Bordentown would assure ultimate defeat. Here was a situation to test the capacity of a commander and to call forth all the shrewdness which some of the British leaders were by this time attributing to the Continental chief.

The shrewdness asserted itself. Washington called a council of war at the house of Alexander Douglass, headquarters of Brigadier General St. Clair, the General's own quarters at the Richmond tavern having been abandoned because of the proximity of the enemy. Before this gathering of Continental leaders, Washington outlined his plan of strategy.³⁶

³⁵ Haven, *Thirty Days in New Jersey Ninety Years Ago*, p. 39.

³⁶ An illuminating account of this and attendant events was given by Counsellor William J. Backes before the Caliphs on December 28, 1915, and was reported in the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser* of January 2, 1916. The Douglass House stood on the site of the present German Lutheran Church, South Broad Street. It has since been sold and removed to Mahlon Stacy Park. Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey delivered an accurate and informative address on the second Battle of Trenton before the Caliphs on January 2, 1919. It was at this meeting that steps were taken to form the Trenton Historical Society. An account of the proceedings, together with Dr. Godfrey's address, was published in the *State Gazette* of January 3, 1919.

The Two Battles of Trenton

This plan, one of the boldest strokes in military history, called for a decamping movement, a forced march that night through the woods around Trenton and a surprise attack on Princeton, from which point, as already noted, most of the British forces had been withdrawn for the purpose of moving on Trenton. The virtue of the scheme lay not only in the possibility it offered for avoiding a finish fight with the splendidly equipped army of Cornwallis but also in its appearance as an offensive drive rather than as a hopeless retreat. Washington well knew that his inexperienced troops needed encouragement and a taste of victory if they were to maintain their spirits. The proposed attack on Princeton was exactly the right medium.

Orders to this effect, therefore, were given, though men and subordinate officers below the rank of Brigadier General were not informed as to the end in view, the element of secrecy being so effectively obtained that some of the Continental officers who had gone to the rear for much needed rest were left behind and forced to find their commands as best they could the following day.³⁷

Camp fires were kept burning on the high ground along which the Continentals were posted. Throughout the night, these fires were visible from the British positions, and the sound of earth-works being thrown up to the south of the creek added to the realistic effect of the camouflage. At the bridge and at various fording places, American guards paced to and fro. If ever an army was completely fooled, it was this army of the complacent Cornwallis.

ON TO PRINCETON

Under cover of darkness, the flank movement began. The heavier guns and surplus supplies were sent out under General Stephen, who, with a strong guard, was to take them to Burlington by way of Bordentown. Not long after midnight, the main army began to move, headed by an advance party under Major

³⁷ Trevelyan, p. 133. Referring to Chapter XV of General Stryker's classic work, Trevelyan says: "The account there given of Washington's flank-march is illustrated by the local knowledge of a neighbor, and the oral traditions accessible to the member of an old Revolutionary family."

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Isaac Sherman, of Connecticut, and including the brigades of Brigadier General Mercer and General St. Clair. Washington and his staff accompanied the latter division.

The route lay along the Sand Town Road, near what is now Hamilton Avenue. Much care was exercised lest the enemy should hear the movement and become alarmed. The wheels of the gun carriages were wrapped with pieces of cloth; the need of absolute silence was impressed upon officers and men. Before reaching Sand Town, a small group of houses at the present location of Mercerville, the army veered to the north and crossed Miry Run, a stream running in a westerly direction into Assunpink Creek. From this point, the route was north by east across Quaker Bridge and thence due north to Clarksville, across Stony Brook, where three brigades under General Sullivan split from the main army that they might enter Princeton from the east.³⁸

A fortunate change in the weather facilitated the movement. Whereas Cornwallis in his march on Trenton had been impeded by the mud, Washington's forces were benefited by a drop in the temperature which froze the roads and made it comparatively easy to transport even the artillery. But the wooded sections through which the troops were forced to pass were something of an obstacle, for the Continentals suffered "many a fall and severe bruise," according to John Howland, of Colonel Lippitt's Rhode Island regiment, in their encounter with the trees.³⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, meanwhile, started for Trenton with the 17th and 55th Infantry and fifty light horse. Upon approaching Stony Brook, the British discovered the advancing forces of Washington and immediately attacked a detachment of several hundred men under General Hugh Mercer as the latter was carrying out Washington's orders to destroy the bridge at Worth's Mill in order to thwart the anticipated pursuit by Cornwallis.

In this engagement, which took place in an orchard, General

³⁸ See map, Stryker, p. 279. The Sons of the Revolution have marked this Trenton-Princeton route with granite obelisks, out Hamilton Avenue, through Greenwood Cemetery and via the Quaker Creek road.

³⁹ Stryker, p. 276.

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Mercer received numerous wounds from British bayonets.⁴⁰ His men were momentarily demoralized, but soon Washington and Greene came up with the main army, and, with their commander-in-chief personally waving them on to victory, the Americans made their superior numbers felt and forced the British to retreat. As the redcoats fell back upon the town there was some additional fighting, a final stand being made in Nassau Hall, where, it is said, an American cannon-ball entered the building and crashed through a portrait of George II. Before the structure itself was badly damaged, the British showed a white flag at one of the windows and the Battle of Princeton was brought to a close.⁴¹

Cornwallis awoke at Trenton only to discover that the "old fox" had escaped. Not much time was lost sizing up the situation, and early in the morning the British commander had his men on the way back to Princeton, "running, puffing and blowing, and swearing at being so outwitted."

After getting control of the town, Washington wisely decided to leave Princeton at once and to head north toward the desirable position at Morristown. His men were too tired, as a result of steady campaigning, to risk an attack on the British base at Brunswick.⁴² And to delay at Princeton would be to face the necessity of meeting Cornwallis and the strong force at his disposal. Even with quick action, however, Washington's rear-guard was still within sight of Princeton as the advance detachments of British Infantry were approaching the southern

⁴⁰ Suffering intensely, General Mercer lived until Sunday, January 12. Death came in spite of the efforts of an American surgeon, sent by special order of Washington and allowed to pass through the British lines by Lord Cornwallis.

⁴¹ See "The Battle of Princeton," an address delivered by Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker, of Princeton University, at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, N.J., October 31, 1928. This admirable address has been published in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, New Series, January 1929, Vol. XIV, No. 1.

⁴² "For two nights and a day," says Stryker, "they had had no sleep, and many of them had carried their arms without intermission for nearly forty hours on the march and in battle. . . . General Washington declared that if he had had but 800 fresh troops, he could have made a forced march, destroyed their stores and magazines, taken their money-chest, and possibly have put an end to the war." *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 300.

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entrance of the town. Nevertheless, Washington was able to reach Somerset Court House unmolested and to continue on to Morristown without another clash of arms.

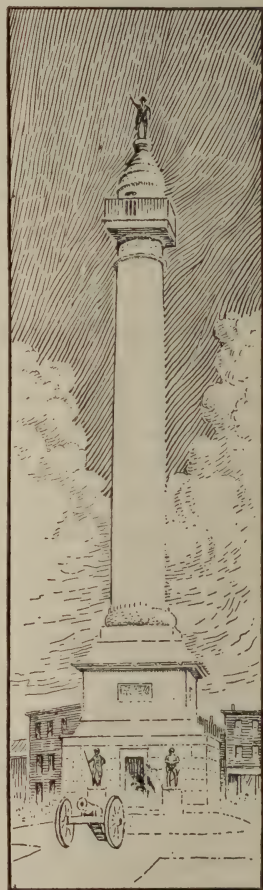
"THOSE WONDERFUL DAYS"

To say that the Battles of Trenton, culminating in the brilliant stroke at Princeton and the march to Morristown, marked a turning of the tide of war in favor of the Continental cause is to state what must be admitted by the student of "those wonderful days in New Jersey." Never was a military outlook more discouraging than that which Washington faced toward the end of the year 1776. Never was a military recovery more successful than that finally written into the record with the dawn of the year 1777.

When Washington and his army retreated from New York to their vantage point across the Delaware from Trenton, the great city of Philadelphia was threatened with Hessian pillage and destruction. When, a few weeks later, the patriots reached Morristown, the Quaker City was safe.

When the British mercenaries were strongly encamped in a line running from Amboy to Bordentown, New Jersey at large was quite helplessly ensnared in the enemy mesh. When the winter campaign of 1776-77 ended, the Colony, with the exception of the British posts at Brunswick and Amboy, was free from hostile control.

When the Continentals were fleeing before the well-equipped host from Europe, the English cause gained in vigor while that of the patriots inevitably suf-



THE TRENTON BATTLE
MONUMENT AT THE
"FIVE POINTS."
DEDICATED 1893.

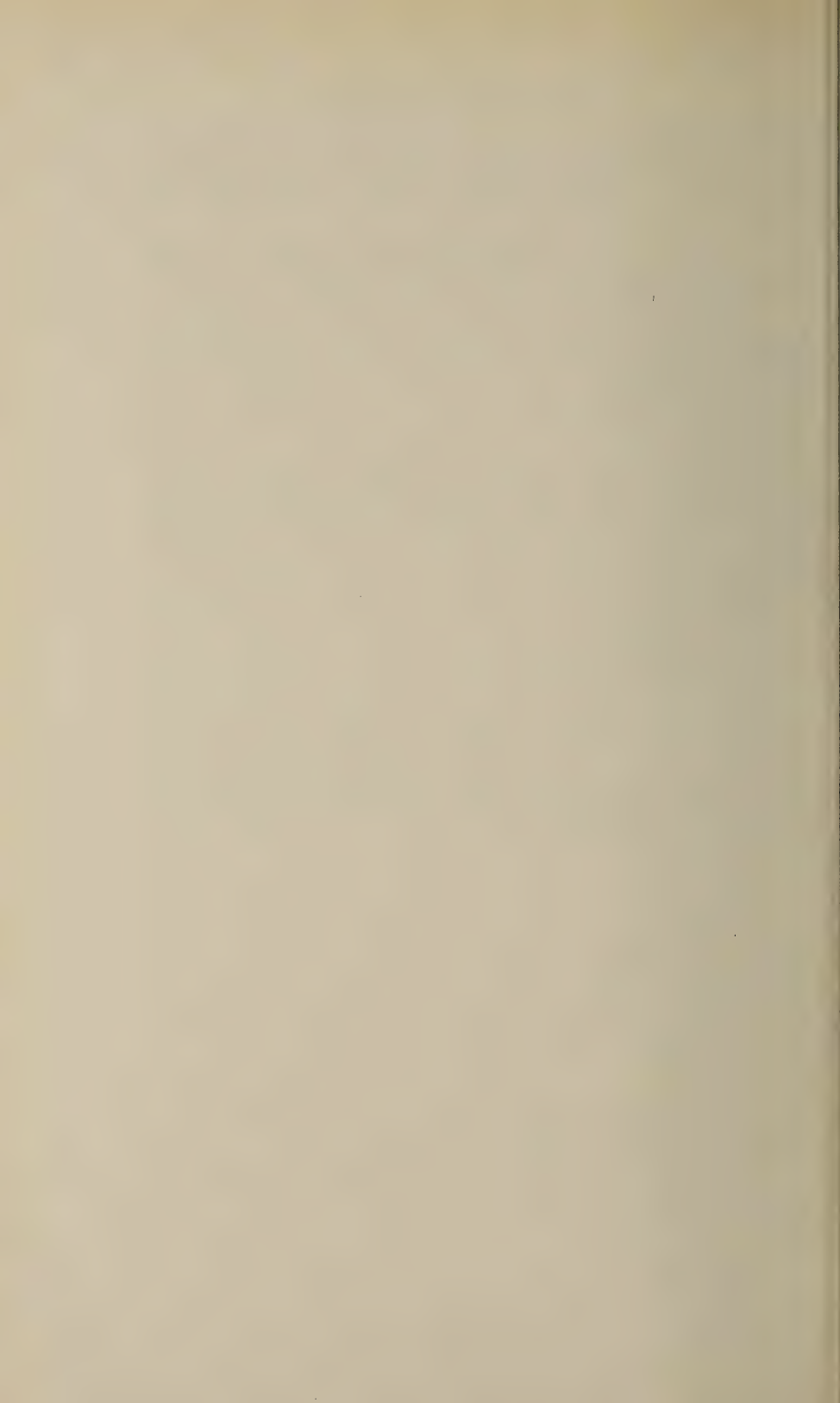
The Two Battles of Trenton

fered from the blight of defensive discouragement. But with the close of the campaign, these conditions were quite reversed, and the psychological advantage lay with the Americans by virtue of "two lucky strokes."

As for the effect of the campaign upon the military prestige of George Washington, it was Lord Cornwallis himself, who, after the capitulation at Yorktown, remarked: "When the illustrious part that your Excellency has borne in this long and arduous contest becomes matter of history, fame will gather your brightest laurels rather from the banks of the Delaware than from those of the Chesapeake."⁴³

⁴³ Trevelyan, p. 143. "At that moment, and before that audience," adds this British commentator, "Washington's generalship in the Chesapeake campaign must have represented an exceptionally high standard of comparison."

Henry Cabot Lodge in *The Story of the Revolution*, pp. 146-7, library edition, 1919, Charles Scribner's Sons, makes the following significant comment: "With a beaten and defeated army operating against overwhelming odds, he had inflicted upon the enemy two severe defeats. No greater feat can be performed in war than this. That which puts Hannibal at the head of all great commanders was the fact that he won his astonishing victories under the same general conditions. There was one great military genius in Europe when Washington was fighting this short campaign in New Jersey—Frederick of Prussia. Looking over the accounts of the Trenton and Princeton battles, he is reported to have said that it was the greatest campaign of the century. The small numbers engaged did not blind the victor of Rossbach and Leuthen. He did not mean that the campaign was great from the number of men involved or the territory conquered, but great in its conception, and as an illustration of the highest skill in the art of war under the most adverse conditions."



CHAPTER IV

Some Notable Events of Post-Revolutionary Times

BY MARY J. MESSLER

I. Proposal to Make Trenton the Federal Capital

AFTER a few years of comparative quiet, following the Battles of Trenton in 1776 and 1777, Trenton again came into prominence in 1783, due to the controversy over the location of the federal capital. The part that Trenton played in that controversy has been carefully studied and presented by Dr. Hall in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton* and by Dr. Godfrey in his history of the Mechanics Bank, and forms a most interesting episode in the history of the city.¹

THE PERIPATETIC CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

During the Revolution, the Continental Congress had met in various places, depending upon the fortunes of the war and the wishes of its members. In June 1783, when the Congress was sitting at Philadelphia, a number of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line, exasperated by the delays in settling their claims, set out for Philadelphia to lay the matter before the authorities and demand a redress of their grievances and a settlement of their accounts. The State of Pennsylvania took no action in calling out the militia, and on the twenty-first of June a party of about thirty armed men marched to the State House where the Executive Council was in session. A message was sent in to that body that if the demands of the mutineers were denied, they would let the soldiers in upon the Council. The members of the Council rejected

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. Godfrey's account for several citations from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. The other quotations used throughout the chapter have been made directly from the sources quoted.

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the terms proposed, but a special meeting of Congress was immediately called to determine upon a course of action. It was late in the day before a quorum could be obtained, and by that time the mutineers numbered some three hundred men. The members of Congress were panic-stricken, and immediately adopted a resolution declaring that they had been grossly insulted and authorizing President Elias Boudinot "to summon the members of Congress to meet on Thursday next at Trenton or Princeton in New Jersey in order that further and more effectual measures may be taken for suppressing the present revolt and maintaining the dignity and authority of the United States."²

No sooner had Vice-President John Cox³ of the New Jersey State Council received President Boudinot's letter of the twenty-third, informing him of this decision of Congress, than he "summoned a meeting of the inhabitants of Trenton and the vicinity; who being justly alarmed at the daring insult offered to the Supreme Government of the American Union, and being desirous of testifying their zeal in support of the dignity and privileges of Congress," immediately passed the following resolutions:⁴

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Trenton, and vicinity, at the French Arms⁵ on Tuesday the 24th June, 1783.

Having been informed, from undoubted authority, that a most gross and

² *New Jersey Gazette*, July 9, 1783.

³ John Cox was Lieutenant Colonel, Philadelphia Associators, and took part in the expedition which resulted in the Battle of Trenton. General Stryker, in his account of Washington's reception in 1789, thus describes the event: "Colonel Cadwalader immediately sent out scouts and adopted such a course as the information gained might warrant. Adjutant General Joseph Reed with Lieutenant Colonel John Cox and Major Joseph Cowperthwaite went towards Bordentown in search of the Hessian pickets, but of course found their post deserted."

In 1781-82 Cox was a member of the Legislative Council. He was also a prominent churchman and a member of the vestry of St. Michael's Church 1785-90. Before the Revolution, John Cox was a merchant in Philadelphia, but he removed to Trenton to improve the condition of his health. In 1790 he returned to Philadelphia and died there April 28, 1793. He was a man of highest character and abilities and his home at "Bloomsbury" was the scene of numerous social functions. His wife and two of his daughters participated in the reception to Washington in 1789. See Schuyler, *History of St. Michael's Church*, p. 91.

⁴ *New Jersey Gazette*, July 16, 1783.

⁵ This famous tavern stood on the southwest corner of King (now

Notable Post-Revolutionary Events

daring insult has been offered to Congress, the Supreme Government of the American Union, by a number of lawless people in arms, assembled at the State-House in Philadelphia on Saturday last:

Resolved unanimously, That we think it our immediate duty to express our resentment and indignation at so flagitious a proceeding.

Resolved unanimously, That we look upon tyranny and anarchy with equal abhorrence; and as we have, at the risque of everything, opposed the former, we are determined, at the same risque, not to be wanting in our efforts to suppress the latter, on whatever occasion or under whatever form it may present itself.

Resolved unanimously, That we consider the support of civil government and the majesty of the laws as one of the first of social duties, and riotous citizens who disturb the publick order and violate the dignity of the Union as the worst of enemies.

Resolved unanimously, That we feel the utmost cheerfulness in pledging our lives and fortunes to the government under which we live, in whatever way our services may be required, whether in resisting foreign invasion or quelling intestine tumults.

Resolved unanimously, That we would deem ourselves highly honored by the presence of Congress, and by an opportunity of testifying our zeal in support of their dignity and privileges, should they in their wisdom, think proper to adjourn to, or fix their residence in this State.

Signed by order and in behalf of the inhabitants,

JOHN COX
DAVID BREARLEY
PHILEMON DICKINSON
SAML TUCKER
WM C. HOUSTON
SAM. W. STOCKTON

} Committee.

These resolutions, together with the report of a sub-committee, composed of Moore Furman, Stacy Potts, and Benjamin Smith, which stated that "sixty Persons, or upwards can be accommodated here,"⁶ were forwarded to President Boudinot the following day by the chairman of the meeting. As they did not reach him until after his decision had been made to withdraw Congress secretly from Philadelphia to Princeton late on the twenty-fourth of June, 1783, nothing further was

Warren) and Second (now State) Streets. From April 1, 1780, to February, 1781, it was called the Thirteen Stars, but when John Cape became proprietor in 1781 he changed the name to the French Arms, which name was retained until January 4, 1785, when the tavern was leased to Francis Witt. He had been the proprietor of a tavern on North King Street, called the Blazing Star, and merely transferred the sign to his new establishment. The name was again changed, this time to the City Tavern, in April 1789, when Henry Drake became its proprietor.

⁶ *Papers, Continental Congress*, Vol. XLVI, p. 87.

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done in regard to them until Congress reconvened in Princeton on the first of July. The following day, when the resolutions were laid before Congress, it was unanimously:⁷

Resolved, That the President inform Mr. Cox, that Congress entertain just sentiments of the respectful manner in which the inhabitants of Trenton and its vicinity express themselves in their resolve of the 24th of June last, with regard to Congress.

That Congress highly applaud the proper resentment the citizens of Trenton and its vicinity have discovered against disturbers of the public peace and violators of the dignity of the Union.

The above resolutions, together with a personal letter from President Boudinot, were forwarded to John Cox, July 3, 1783. Congress also sent a resolution to His Excellency William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, expressing its "high sense of the spirit and attachment of the citizens of New Jersey to the federal union," but informing his excellency "that events have rendered the call of the citizens into service unnecessary."⁸

In the meantime, in view of the resolutions of Congress passed June 4, 1783, officially informing the executives of the several States of its intention to consider propositions for selecting a "permanent residence" for Congress on the first Monday of the following October, the Legislature of New Jersey, on June 19, 1783, agreed to offer to the United States jurisdiction over any district within the State to the extent of twenty miles square, and to grant £30,000 in specie for the purchase of lands and the erection of buildings. The resolutions also invited the inhabitants of New Jersey desiring the national capital in their particular locality to transmit their proposals to their representatives in Congress before the time limited for consideration. The inhabitants of Lamberton⁹ in Nottingham township, south

⁷ *Journals of Congress*, July 2, 1783.

⁸ *New Jersey Gazette*, July 16, 1783.

⁹ During the period of which we are writing, the district which we now call Trenton consisted of the city of Trenton north of the Assunpink Creek and the districts known as Lamberton, Mill Hill and Bloomsbury, south of the creek. Lamberton was named for Thomas Lambert who settled there about 1679. It was annexed to Trenton in 1856. The locality immediately adjoining the Assunpink on the south was in early times called Kingsbury, and afterwards Kensington Hill, but when it came to be a considerable manufacturing place the name was changed to Mill Hill. In 1840, Mill Hill was incorporated with Bloomsbury, which had been established by Alex-

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of the Assunpink Creek, were among those who presented to Congress the advantages of their specific locality.¹⁰

On October 6, 1783, when Congress took up the question "in which State buildings shall be provided and erected for the residence of Congress; beginning with New-Hampshire and proceeding in the order in which they stand," each State was successively negatived. On the following morning, a motion was made by Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, "that buildings for the use of Congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware near Trenton, or of the Patowmack, near Georgetown, provided a suitable district can be procured on one of the rivers as aforesaid, for a federal town." Amendments left only the names of the rivers and it was finally resolved that the site should be "near the falls," that is, near Trenton on the Jersey side, or in Pennsylvania on the opposite side. Congress further resolved "that a committee of five be appointed to repair to the falls of the Delaware, to view the situation of the country in its neighborhood and report a proper district for carrying into effect the preceding resolution."

A QUARREL BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

The question now resolved itself into a quarrel between the North and the South. New England favored Trenton, whereas the Southern States felt that in the selection of any site north of Mason and Dixon's line their claims for recognition were being slighted, and their interests sacrificed to New England's commercialism. Accordingly, on October 8, 1783, the Southern members supported a motion to reconsider the proceedings of the previous day "in order to fix on some other place that shall be more central, more favourable to the union, and shall approach nearer to that justice which is due the Southern States."¹¹

This motion failed, as did other amendments, and the selection of Trenton or its immediate vicinity appeared to be an

ander Chambers as a port for ships, to form the Borough of South Trenton. This borough was annexed to Trenton in 1851.

¹⁰ *Papers, Continental Congress*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 35, 39, 43, 49.

¹¹ *Journals of Congress*, October 6, 7, 8, 1783.

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accomplished fact. On the thirteenth of October, 1783, Madison wrote to Randolph: "Trenton was next proposed, on which question the votes were divided by the river Delaware. . . . The vicinity of the falls is to become the future seat of the Federal Government, unless a conversion of some of the Eastern States can be effected."¹²

The continued opposition of an influential minority led, however, to a compromise, proposed by Elbridge Gerry, and adopted by Congress October 21, 1783, that Congress should have two residences to be occupied alternately, the one to be on the Delaware, as already determined, and the other on the Potomac, at or near Georgetown. A further resolution, which was also adopted, provided "that until the buildings to be erected on the banks of the Delaware and Patowmack shall be prepared for the reception of Congress, their residence shall be alternately at equal periods of not more than one year, and not less than six months in Trenton and Annapolis."¹³ This Act was the occasion of a humorous publication by Francis Hopkinson, of Bordentown, entitled "Intelligence Extraordinary," in which he described the new mechanism of government as a "miraculous pendulum" vibrating "between Annapolis on the Chesapeake and Trenton on the Delaware, a range of about 180 miles."¹⁴

During the course of these discussions the citizens of Trenton were active in their support of Trenton as the site of the federal city. Upon learning that the members of the Continental Congress were considering leaving Princeton because of the poor accommodations afforded, a town meeting was held at the French Arms to "formulate attractive conveniences" to induce the members of Congress to adjourn to Trenton. Rooms and board were offered to the members of Congress by many of Trenton's most influential citizens, and "Good Hay in any quantity" was promised.¹⁵ In spite of these inducements, Congress adjourned from Princeton, November 4, 1783, to meet at Annapolis on the twenty-sixth of the same month. At Annapolis the question of

¹² *Madison Papers*, Vol. I, p. 576.

¹³ *Journals of Congress*, October 21, 1783.

¹⁴ Hopkinson's *Works*, Vol. I, p. 178.

¹⁵ *Papers, Continental Congress*, No. 78, Vol. XXII, pp. 283-6.

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the federal capital was again reopened, but no definite action was taken.

Further evidence of Trenton's interest in the location of the capital was shown by the will of Dr. David Cowell, "a physician of respect, and extensive practice," who died December 18, 1783. He bequeathed "one hundred pounds to the United States of America, to be thrown into the fund for erecting public buildings at Lambertton," which the *New Jersey Gazette* of December 23, 1783, states "is the first legacy we recollect to have been given to the United States and is respectable for a person of middle fortune."

On the third of June, 1784, Congress adjourned from Annapolis to meet at Trenton on the thirtieth of October following. One can imagine the joy with which the citizens of Trenton greeted the news of this honor which they had twice sought without success the preceding year.

The New Jersey Legislature, then meeting at New Brunswick, on August 25, 1784, passed a resolution empowering James Ewing, Moore Furman and Conrad Kotts, as commissioners, to procure a "Dwelling House" for the President, "and also a House for Congress to sit in for the dispatch of public Business."¹⁶

Accordingly, on the twenty-second of September, 1784, the commissioners leased the frame homestead of Stacy Potts on King Street, later known as the City Hotel, and now the site of the Rectory of Saint Mary's Cathedral, for the official residence of the president of Congress. The house was occupied by Colonel Richard Henry Lee from November 30, 1784, until his departure for New York on January 5, 1785. Before his election as president, Colonel Lee occupied a room in the house of Micaiah How on the east side of King Street below St. Michael's Church.¹⁷

The French Arms tavern, on the southwest corner of King and Second Streets, then kept by Jacob G. Bergen, and the largest building in the city at that time, had already been leased by the commissioners for the use of Congress while in Trenton,

¹⁶ *Votes of General Assembly of New Jersey, 1781-84.*

¹⁷ Ballagh, *Letters of Richard Henry Lee*, Vol. II, pp. 296, 321.

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and in October 1784 extensive preparations were begun to furnish the Long Room of the tavern suitably for the use of its members. The walls were repapered, the floors recarpeted and a platform erected in the center of the south side of the room between the two fireplaces. Thirteen new tables covered with green cloth and forty-eight new windsor chairs were also provided.¹⁸



FRENCH ARMS TAVERN, 1730-1837, SOUTHWEST CORNER OF STATE AND WARREN STREETS. KNOWN ALSO BY SEVERAL OTHER NAMES.

The Continental Congress assembled in Trenton on Monday, November 1, 1784, with but seven members present. In the absence of a quorum, it was unable to proceed with business until the thirtieth of the month, when "a quorum of the States being represented, they proceeded to the choice of a President, when the Hon. Richard-Henry Lee, Esquire of Virginia, was elected. This is the gentleman who is said to have originally made the motion in Congress for declaring the States of America inde-

¹⁸ Godfrey, *The Mechanics Bank*, pp. 25-6.

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pendent, in the year 1776." On December 3, the Hon. Peter Van Berckel, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Netherlands, arrived in Trenton to confer with the officials of the Continental Congress. He probably returned to his legation in Philadelphia the following day.¹⁹

TRENTON FAVORED

The question of the location of the federal capital was among the first business taken up by the Congress. On December 10 South Carolina moved for adjournment, and every effort was made to have the alternate sessions at Trenton and Annapolis repealed. Due to the opposition of the Northern members, these measures failed and on the twentieth of December it was resolved to take measures for procuring "suitable buildings" for national purposes, and a sum, not exceeding \$100,000, was appropriated for that object. On the twenty-third of December, an ordinance was introduced providing for the appointment of three commissioners, "with full powers to lay out a district of not less than two nor exceeding three miles square on the banks of either side of the Delaware, not lower than Lamberton nor more than six miles above it, for a Federal town." Unsuccessful efforts were made to substitute Georgetown for Lamberton, but in spite of the continued opposition of the South the ordinance was finally adopted that the commissioners should "without delay" have the federal city laid out in some district "not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls of the Delaware," and "enter into contracts for erecting and completing in an elegant manner, a federal house for the accommodation of Congress," and houses for the President of Congress and principal officers of the government, with a "due regard" to the "accommodation of the states with lots for houses for the use of their Delegates respectively; that on the 24th of December instant Congress stand adjourned to meet at the city of New York on the 11th day of January following," and to continue to meet there until the buildings were ready for their reception. The immediate expenditures of the commissioners were not to exceed \$100,000.

¹⁹ *New Jersey Gazette*, December 6, 1784.

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Congress adjourned on the day following this decision, after acknowledging the attentions of the Legislature of New Jersey "in providing accommodations for their reception," and "the exertions of the inhabitants in accomplishing the intentions of their Legislature."²⁰

The next step toward making Trenton the federal capital was taken on February 8, 1785, with the election of the three commissioners provided for in the ordinance of December 23, 1784. The commissioners chosen by Congress were Philip Schuyler of New York, Philemon Dickinson, of the "Hermitage," Trenton, and Robert Morris, the "patriot financier" of the Revolution. When General Schuyler declined to serve, John Brown of Providence, R.I., was elected in his place. On May 19 he too declined the office.

The landholders of Trenton were fully aware of the material advantages which would accrue from the location of the federal capital near their city and the *New Jersey Gazette*s of the period contain a number of advertisements offering valuable land situated near Trenton or Lamberton "where it is expected the Federal town will be built." The following passage from a letter written by Moore Furman, a prominent citizen of Trenton, and the first mayor of the city in 1792, also expresses the general sentiment of the times:²¹

I have lately bartered some land in the country for a piece here; the spot the Federal Town is to stand on, and if you have an inclination to make sure of some near me believe me it may now be had reasonable. . . . Should it ever happen that Congress fix here it will be very valuable indeed.

Soon after the appointment of the commissioners the personal influence of General Washington was brought to bear on the members of Congress to crush the Trenton capital plan. On February 8, 1785, he wrote from Mount Vernon to Richard Henry Lee, president of Congress:²²

By the time your Federal buildings on the banks of the Delaware, along the point of a triangle, are fit for the reception of Congress, it will be found that they are very improperly placed for the seat of the empire, and will have to undergo a second erection in a more convenient one.

²⁰ *Journals of Congress*, December 23, 24, 1784.

²¹ *Letters of Moore Furman*, p. 77.

²² Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IX, pp. 95-6.

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On the fifth of April, 1785, the first appropriation to the commissioners was called for by the Committee of Supplies—"Federal buildings, \$30,000." William Grayson, of Virginia, moved its refusal, but he was overruled. On motion of Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, that vote was reconsidered and the report recommitted. Nothing further was done until the twenty-second of September, when the appropriation of \$30,000 coming before the House, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, moved to make it the whole sum of \$100,000. As none of the States except Massachusetts and New Jersey voted for it, the item, upon motion of Samuel Hardy of Virginia, was entirely stricken out of the bill.²³ This was a virtual repeal of the ordinance and the death blow to Trenton's hopes of becoming the capital of the United States.

The project was not yet abandoned, however, for in 1787 the convention of New Jersey which met to ratify the Constitution of the United States passed a resolution suggesting to the New Jersey Legislature that in view of the provision in the new Constitution implying that the seat of government should be placed in a district not exceeding ten miles square, they "should offer a Cession to Congress of a district, not exceeding ten Miles Square, for the Seat of the Government of the United States, over which they may exercise exclusive Legislation."²⁴ This the Legislature did by a bill passed September 9, 1788, offering the requisite territory.

A further attempt to make Trenton the federal capital was made by Mr. Boudinot in the House of Representatives, September 7, 1789, when he proposed "the banks of either side of the river Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls." His motion failed by a vote of four to forty-six.²⁵

QUESTION FINALLY SETTLED BY COMPROMISE

The question of the location of the capital was finally settled by a compromise between the North and the South. As the

²³ *Journals of Congress*, September 22, 1785.

²⁴ *Minutes of the Convention of State of New Jersey*, December 20, 1787.

²⁵ *Annals of Congress*, September 7, 1789.

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northern States were anxious for the assumption of State debts by the general government, and the southern States were opposed to the measure, an agreement was reached whereby the South agreed to vote for the assumption of the debts provided the North voted for the location of the capital on the Potomac. This scheme is said to have originated with Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton and to have been consummated at the dinner-table of Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State. Thanks to this scheme, in July 1790 it was determined to have the seat of government on the Potomac, and in 1791 Washington selected the spot which now bears his name. According to the terms of this Act, Congress remained in Philadelphia until December 1800.

The final attempt to have Trenton made the seat of the national government was undertaken December 2, 1801, when the Legislature of New Jersey unanimously resolved

That the members representing the State, in the Congress of the United States, be and they are hereby requested, if Congress should resolve to move, for the purpose of better accommodation from the city of Washington, to use their best efforts to procure their removal to the city of Trenton, and they are hereby authorized to proffer, in the name of this State, the State House and other public buildings belonging to the State for the use of Congress and their officers, for any length of time that the Congress shall wish to occupy them and that his excellency the governor, be requested to transmit a copy of this resolution to the members of Congress from this State, to be used by them as occasion may offer.²⁶

II. Ratification of the Constitution by the State of New Jersey

IN SEPTEMBER 1787, the constitutional convention completed its work on the Constitution of the United States and the document was submitted to the several States for ratification. On the first of November, the Legislature of New Jersey authorized a convention of the people of New Jersey to accept the new organic law of the nation. In pursuance of this resolution, on the eleventh day of December, 1787, thirty-nine dele-

²⁶ *Journal of Proceedings of Legislative Council of New Jersey*, December 2, 1801.

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gates, three chosen from each County in the State, assembled at the Blazing Star, formerly the French Arms, tavern in Trenton, for the purpose of ratifying the Constitution. The sessions of the convention were public and each was opened with prayer by the Rev. James Armstrong, pastor of the Presbyterian Church.

Meeting at ten o'clock and again at three, the delegates discussed the Constitution, section by section, for six days. After a fourth reading of the famous document, the work was considered complete and on Tuesday, December 18, 1787, the convention "unanimously for and on behalf of the people of the said State of New Jersey" agreed "to ratify, and confirm the same, and every Part thereof." The following day, duplicate parchment copies of the Constitution, together with the Form of the Ratification, "one for the Congress of the United States and the other to be deposited among the Archives of the State," were signed by the delegates. After the signature of the president, John Stevens, each of the thirteen County delegations signed in the order of the age of the Counties, from Bergen the oldest, to Sussex the youngest. At one o'clock the same afternoon, the members of the convention went in procession to the Court House where "in the Hearing of the People," the secretary, Samuel Witham Stockton, read the ratification of the new Constitution by the Convention of New Jersey.²⁷ The reading was received with applause by the large multitude which had gathered to witness the proceedings and thirteen rounds, together with one more for the State of Delaware and another for Pennsylvania, were fired by the militia who were present. New Jersey was the third State to ratify the Constitution, being preceded by Delaware on the seventh, and Pennsylvania on the twelfth of December. At the conclusion of the ceremonies at the Court House, the delegates returned in the same procession to the tavern in order "to complete the great and important business of their appointment." The following morning, the convention was dissolved, after which the delegates with the principal inhabitants of Trenton and its neighborhood dined at Mr. Van-

²⁷ *Minutes of the Convention of State of New Jersey*, December 18, 1787.

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degrift's tavern, "in which company the most perfect harmony presided."²⁸

III. Washington's Reception by the People of Trenton, 1789

ONE of the most pleasing celebrations ever held in Trenton was the reception to Washington in 1789, when he passed through the town en route to New York to be inaugurated the first President of the United States. This event received considerable notice in the press of the day, and has also been graphically and accurately presented by the late William S. Stryker in his monograph entitled *Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1789*, which was published in 1882.

On the sixth day of April, 1789, Congress, then sitting in New York, declared General Washington to have been elected the first President of the United States. On the fourteenth of April, Mr. Charles Thompson presented to him at Mount Vernon the official notice of his election. Knowing well that the urgency of the public business required the immediate attendance of the President at the seat of government, Washington hastened his departure; and on the second day after receiving notice of his appointment, he took leave of Mount Vernon.

MANY DEMONSTRATIONS OF AFFECTION

Although Washington looked forward to a quiet journey from Mount Vernon to New York, he soon found that it was impossible to prevent the demonstrations of affection which the people of the towns along his route eagerly bestowed upon him. On the twentieth of April he reached Philadelphia, where he was received with great enthusiasm. The following morning, the military paraded at ten o'clock to accompany Washington to Trenton, but "being obliged on account of the weather to proceed in his carriage, he declined the honor, for he could not, he said, think of riding under cover while his friends were exposed to the rain on horseback."²⁹

²⁸ *New Jersey Journal and Political Intelligencer*, January 2, 1788.

²⁹ Griswold, *Republican Court*, p. 128.

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It was about two o'clock . . . when the carriage arrived at the old stone ferry house at Colvin's Ferry, now Morrisville. Here Patrick Colvin, the owner of the ferry, took charge of the Presidential party and personally ferried them over the Delaware river. . . . A troop of horse, commanded by Captain Carle, and a company of infantry commanded by Captain Hanlon, compleatly equipped, and in full uniform with a large concourse of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the town and neighborhood, lined the Jersey bank of the Delaware, to hail the General's arrival. As soon as he set foot on shore, he was welcomed with three huzzas, which made the shores reecho the chearful sounds. After being saluted by the horse and infantry, he was escorted to town, in the following order: A detachment of the horse. The Light Infantry. His Excellency, on horseback, attended by Charles Thomson, Esquire, and Colonel Humphreys. The troop of horse. The gentlemen of the town and neighborhood on horseback.³⁰

While the gentlemen of the town were meeting "their beloved General with peals of thunder" and honoring him "with all the pompous parade of war," it remained for the ladies of Trenton to meet "their defender with sentiment and touch the tender feelings of the Hero's heart." At the bridge over the Assunpink Creek, the most prominent matrons of the town had planned a testimonial "as new as it was pleasing," in memory of General Washington's heroic deeds at the Battles of Trenton in 1776 and 1777, and as an expression of their gratitude for the successful culmination of the Revolutionary struggle.

On the north side of the bridge an arch about twenty feet high was raised, supported on one side by seven and on the other by six pillars. The arch was nearly twenty feet wide and about twelve feet in length. Each of the thirteen pillars was entirely covered with masses of evergreens and wreaths of laurel, and the arches above were closely twined about with the same material, and festooned inside with long ropes of laurel and the flowers of early spring. On the south side of the archway, the side which first appeared to the presidential party, an inscription in large gilt letters on a blue ground was fastened, and beautifully ornamented with flowers:

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS WILL BE THE PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

Above this arch was a circlet of laurels and flowers, wreathing the dates of those two events just referred to:

December 26, 1776—January 2, 1777.³¹

The summit of the dome displayed a large sun-flower, which, always pointing to the sun, was designed to express this sentiment, or motto, "To you alone," as emblematic of the affections and hopes of the People being directed to him in the united suffrage of the millions of America.³²

³⁰ *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 1, 1789; Stryker, *Washington's Reception*, p. 4.

³¹ Stryker, *Washington's Reception*, p. 6.

³² *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 1, 1789.

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The framework of the arch had been erected the previous day by workmen in charge of Benjamin Yard, but it had been decorated by the ladies of Trenton with their own hands.

The weather had cleared during the day, and as Washington came to the high ground on Mill Hill³³ the sun lit up the beautiful arch through which he must pass. "But as he passed through the archway with uncovered head a still more lovely sight greeted him. On the one side of the arch he saw six little girls dressed in white, carrying baskets of flowers; on the other side, thirteen young ladies to represent the several States, who were dressed in similar style, and also had baskets filled with flowers." Behind them stood twenty-two of the most prominent matrons of the town.

As Washington rode beneath the arch, the choir began to sing a beautiful ode, which had been written for the occasion by Major Richard Howell, afterwards governor of New Jersey. The song, which was rendered "with exquisite sweetness," was as follows:³⁴

Welcome, mighty Chief! once more
Welcome to this grateful shore!
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

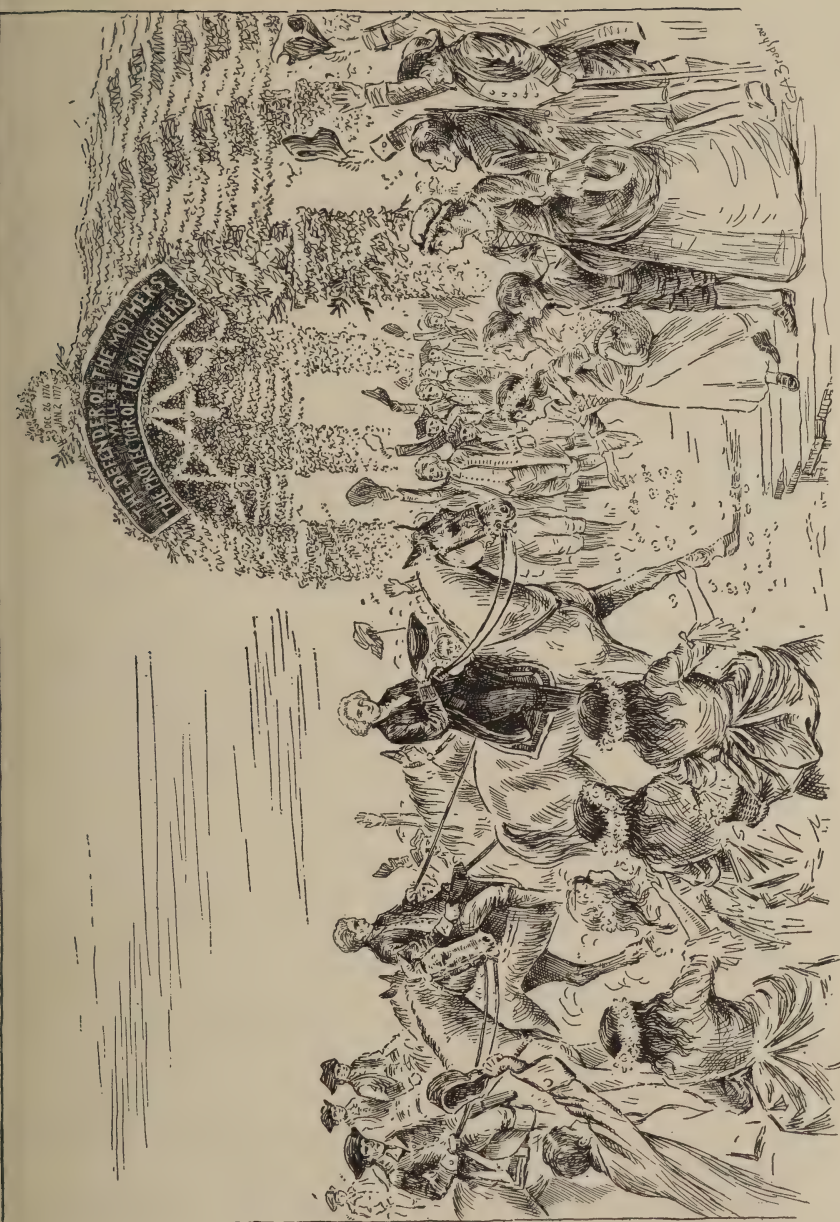
Virgins fair, and Matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your Hero's way with flowers!

Extensive research on the part of Dr. C. E. Godfrey has established the fact that this sonata was sung to the tune of "See the Conquering Hero Comes" from Handel's "Judas Macabaeus."³⁵ According to General Stryker, "The first four lines were sung by both matrons and young ladies, the young ladies sang the fifth line, the matrons the first part and the young ladies the last part of the sixth line, then both sang the two next lines, the matrons the ninth, the young ladies the tenth line."

³³ See note 9, above.

³⁴ Stryker, *Washington's Reception*, p. 7.

³⁵ *Trenton Sunday Advertiser*, December 29, 1912.



GENERAL WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION BY THE CITIZENS OF TRENTON, APRIL 21, 1789, ON HIS WAY TO NEW YORK TO BE INAUGURATED AS FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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While the ode was being sung, General Washington bared his head and listened "with deepest emotion." In commenting upon this occasion, Irving, in his life of Washington, says:

We question whether any of these testimonials of a nation's gratitude affected Washington more sensibly than those he received at Trenton.

From information "obtained from one of the participants in this reception who was living in the year 1850, from one who died in 1864, and another in 1871, from others who remember to have seen it, and from tradition in the families of Trenton," General Stryker has been able to identify all of the ladies of Trenton and vicinity who took part in this reception.

The ladies who planned the celebration and who met Washington at the bridge were Mrs. Susannah Armstrong, wife of Rev. James F. Armstrong, Mrs. Mary Borden, Mrs. Susannah Calhoun, Mrs. Elizabeth Chambers, Mrs. Esther Cox, Mrs. Mary Dickinson, Mrs. Elizabeth Ewing, Mrs. Sarah Furman, Mrs. Susannah Gordon, Mrs. Mary Hanna, Mrs. Sarah How, Mrs. Keziah B. Howell, Mrs. Mary Hunt, Mrs. Esther Lowrey, Mrs. Sarah Milnor, Mrs. Ann Richmond, Mrs. Mary Smith, Mrs. Rachel Stevens, Mrs. Ann Stockton, Mrs. Catherine Stockton, Mrs. Jane Tate and Mrs. Grace Woodruff.

The thirteen young ladies who represented the several States were Miss Eleanor Armstrong, Miss Elizabeth Borden, Miss Elizabeth Cadwalader, Miss Catherine Calhoun, Miss Esther Cox, Miss Mary Cox, Miss Mary Dickinson, Miss Maria Furman, Miss Mary C. Keen, Miss Mary Lowrey, Miss Maria Meredith, Miss Sarah Moore and Miss Margaret Tate.

The six little girls who strewed flowers in front of Washington as he passed under the arch were Sarah Airy, Jemina Broadhurst, Sarah Collins, Sarah How, Sarah B. Howell and Elizabeth Milnor.

WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO THE LADIES OF TRENTON

After the reception at the arch, General Washington proceeded up Queen Street, now Broad, to the City Tavern, formerly the French Arms, on the southwest corner of Second and King Streets, where he dined with the principal citizens of the town. During the afternoon, before he left for Princeton in the company of his friend, the Rev. James Armstrong, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, a copy of the song which had greeted him at the bridge was given to him, and that evening he handed to Mr. Armstrong the following letter:³⁶

General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his

³⁶ Stryker, *Washington's Reception*, p. 19.

General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments, to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so noble & grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment. — The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot. The elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion — and the innocent appearance of the White-robed Choir who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them will never be effaced. —

51
Trenton April 21
1789

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acknowledgments, to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensation he experienced in that affecting moment.—The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the white-robed choir who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them, will never be effaced.

Trenton April 21st, 1789

This letter was read the following afternoon at a gathering of ladies at the home of Dr. Isaac Smith on King Street, and was later printed and a copy distributed to each lady who aided in the reception. The original note was preserved in the family of Dr. Smith, and later was presented to Chief Justice Ewing by Miss Lydia Inlay, an adopted daughter of Judge Smith. Judge Ewing placed the letter "in a handsome frame" and for many years it was "preserved by his family as a most gracious relic." In 1927, the letter was placed in the permanent custody of the Free Public Library by William E. and Caleb S. Green.

The arch was preserved on the premises of the Misses Barnes on King Street, near the Episcopal Church, until 1824, when it was placed in front of the State House to grace the reception to General Lafayette. A portion of it was again used on May 10, 1855, on Chancery Lane, upon the occasion of a firemen's parade given in honor of a visit of the Phoenix Hose Company, of Easton, Pa. Later it came into possession of Mrs. Armstrong and Dr. Francis Ewing. In 1876, it was exhibited at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and later deposited in Independence Hall, where it remained until 1897, when it was returned to Trenton and placed in the Battle Monument. Recently it was transferred to the Old Barracks, where it now occupies a place of honor on the wall of the armor room.³⁷

About a month after the reception to General Washington, on May 25, 1789, Mrs. Washington, with her grandchildren, Eleanor Custis and George Washington Custis, spent a night in Trenton, while en route to New York to join her husband. The following year, on September 1, 1790, Washington and his family stayed over night at the City Tavern, while travelling

³⁷ Podmore, "Washington Arch," *Trenton*, February 1928.

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from New York to the southward. "Beside the President and Mrs. Washington, the travelling party comprised . . . the two grandchildren of Mrs. Washington, Major William Jackson, Thomas Nelson, two maids, four white and four black servants and sixteen horses."³⁸

IV. Trenton Made the Capital of New Jersey, 1790

ALTHOUGH Trenton was unsuccessful in its attempts to become the federal capital of the United States, it was honored by being selected, in 1790, as the capital of the State of New Jersey. As early as September, 1776, Governor Livingston, in his message to the House, had recommended that the capital of the State of New Jersey be located "in some convenient and plentiful part of the State," but in spite of the suggestion no definite action was taken. During the Revolution, the Assembly and Council met at such places as convenience and safety required, occasionally visiting Perth Amboy, the old capital of East Jersey, and Burlington, the old capital of West Jersey. With the establishment of peace, interest in the subject was revived, due partly to the presence of Congress in Trenton and partly to the efforts of Trenton to become the seat of the federal government.

As in the case of the location of the federal capital, the North and the South were on opposite sides of the question. A conservative spirit desired the retention of both Burlington and Perth Amboy, while other members were equally active on behalf of Woodbury and New Brunswick. The convenience of Trenton's location on the route of the "flying machines," as the stage coaches which ran between New York and Philadelphia were modestly called, finally outweighed all other considerations, and on November 25, 1790, "An Act for fixing a permanent seat of government in this State" was enacted, providing:

That Trenton, in the county of Hunterdon, shall henceforth be considered as the seat of government; and that the first meeting of the Legislature,

³⁸ Baker, *Itinerary of Washington*, Vol. II, p. 194.

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after the next, and every further annual election for the members thereof, shall be at Trenton, in the County of Hunterdon.³⁹

The following year, "An Act to provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of the Legislature and public offices of the State" was introduced and finally passed November 22, 1791, in spite of renewed efforts to have New Brunswick and Woodbury inserted in place of Trenton. In pursuance of the Act, Joseph Cooper, Thomas Lowery, James Ewing, Maskell Ewing, George Anderson, James Mott and Moore Furman were appointed commissioners with power to purchase or accept a suitable tract of land for the erection of buildings for the use of the State. The tract secured was located where the present Capitol building now stands and consisted of three and three-quarters acres, purchased from Joseph Britain, George Ely and Mrs. Mary McCall at a cost of £250 5s. The erection of the State House was immediately begun and by 1794 the Legislature was able to hold its sessions there. The total cost of the building was £3,000, which was raised by State appropriation, by a subscription of £300 from the inhabitants of Trenton and by the sale of articles belonging to New Jersey.⁴⁰

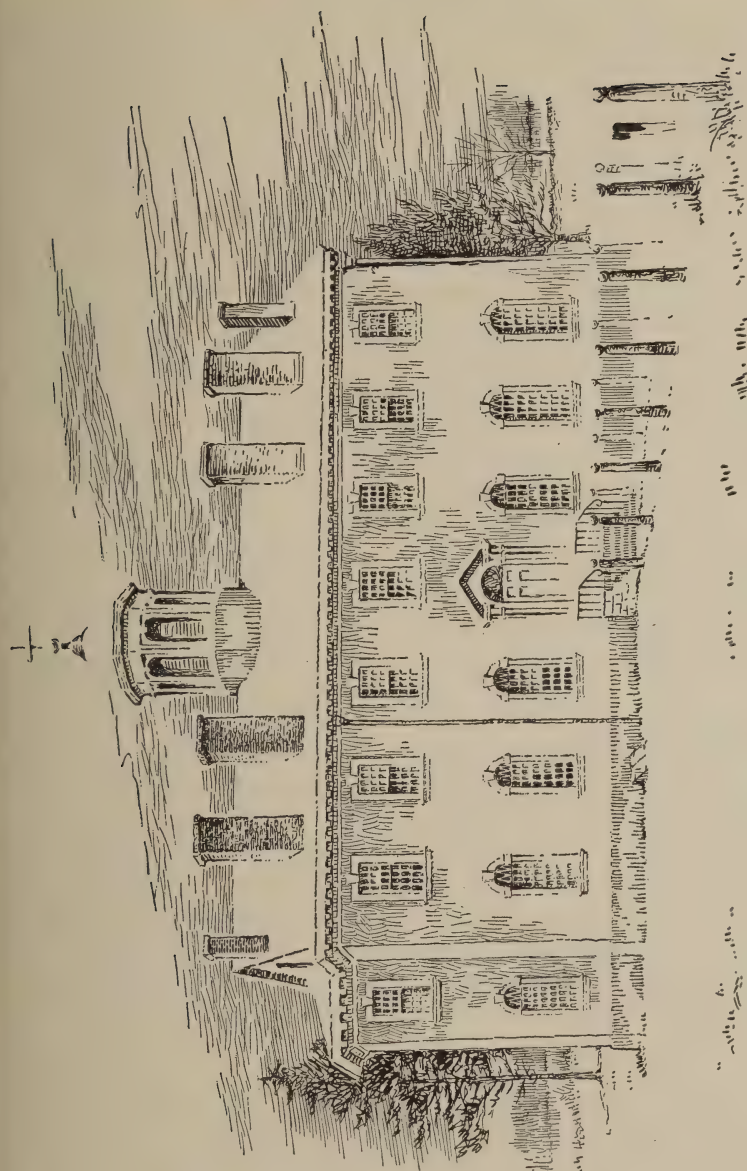
THE ORIGINAL STATE HOUSE

The original State House was a quaint-looking building, sixty by one hundred feet, with a bow at either end containing rooms for the Assembly and for the Council. It was rough-cast, of a bluish color, and had a cupola which, in 1806, was provided with a bell which was used for announcing the hour of meeting of both Houses and occasionally for giving an alarm of fire in the town.

By an Act of the Legislature, passed March 3, 1795, a building was erected for the quarters of the secretary of state and for the preservation of the public records. About this time, Second Street, now State Street, was extended westward a short distance and a gravel walk laid from Chambers corner, now State and Willow, to the Capitol building. In 1798, the lot was en-

³⁹ *Laws of the State of New Jersey*, November 25, 1790.

⁴⁰ *True American*, June 25, 1897.



FIRST STATE HOUSE, BUILT 1794, WEST STATE STREET. PRESENT CAPITOL OCCUPIES SAME SITE.

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closed with a fence, and, in 1799, a brick pavement was laid around the building.

At first, the use of the State House appears to have been permitted for other purposes than for the accommodation of the Legislature and State officials, but on November 3, 1803, it was resolved by the General Assembly "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the cause and conduct of a mob assembled in Trenton in the month of February last, and also by whose direction or approbation the State House was occupied as a ball room on the 4th of July." This inquiry led to the appointment of a custodian of the State House and also to the decision that the building was not "to be occupied for any other purpose than for the accommodation of the constituted authorities for which it was erected."⁴¹

Numerous repairs were made to the State House from time to time, and some attempt was made to beautify the grounds around the building. Several small office buildings were erected adjoining the main building, and in 1848 very extensive additions were made to it. At that time, the rough-casting was removed and a rotunda was added.

After the erection of the State House, it was thought desirable to have a permanent residence for the executive of the State, and consequently on the ninth of March, 1798, the Legislature passed an Act appointing James Mott and John Beatty commissioners to contract for and purchase a house and lot of land for the residence of the governor. A sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for this purpose and on March 12, 1798, the commissioners purchased a house and lot from Moore Furman, located on Second Street, a block or so east of the Capitol. A letter of Moore Furman's, dated April 4, 1798, shows that the house was occupied by the governor the following month.⁴²

Trenton April 4th 1798.

DEAR SIR,

. . . I have sold my house for \$10,000 and conveyed it to our present Governour [Richard Howell] and to his successors forever. . . . I am moving in the Storm to a new house, a few doors to the westward of the house

⁴¹ *Votes and Proceedings of General Assembly of New Jersey*, November 3, 10, 1803.

⁴² *Letters of Moore Furman*, pp. 108-9.

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I sold, and . . . the Governour is fixing himself and family in the Government house.

Most of the subsequent governors, however, appear to have preferred to live in their own homes and rent the house provided for them. Consequently, whenever the question of repairs to the house came before the Legislature, a commission was appointed to inquire into and report the propriety of selling the same. On November 12, 1801, a committee of both Houses of the Legislature reported:

That convinced of the propriety of having the governor as well as the heads of departments to reside at the seat of government, the convenience which will necessarily result to persons having business in chancery, the immediate access which the executive at all times have, and the frequent necessity of recurring to the public documents, are of such importance, and we trust so obvious, that the Legislature will at all times, hold out the inducement of a good and convenient house for the immediate accommodation of the governor. . . . For the above reasons it is the opinion of your committee it would be inexpedient to sell the same at present.^{42a}

In spite of this and similar reports, other attempts were made to sell the house, and in 1824 commissioners were appointed to sell part of the government lot, commencing on the southwest corner and extending twenty feet to the east, the money received from the sale to be applied to the school fund.

On March 1, 1830, a resolution was adopted, that in case the governor saw fit to make the government house his residence, the treasurer should be authorized to put it in proper repair, and in February 1833 two commissioners were appointed to repair the dwelling-house, carriage-house, and fences, at a cost not exceeding \$300.

The house was finally sold, in 1845, to John A. Weart, Joseph C. Potts and Dr. John McKelway for the sum of \$10,000. About 1862, the house was considerably enlarged and reopened as the State Street House. In 1903, the house was thoroughly remodelled and refurnished throughout, and on January 1, 1904, it was reopened as the Hotel Sterling, which name it still bears. The part of the building that abuts State Street is the original governor's mansion, the governor's reception and sitting-room now serving as the hotel office.

^{42a} *Journal of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of State of New Jersey*, November 12, 1801.

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V. Lafayette's Three Visits to Trenton

THE most distinguished visitor received by the Continental Congress while in session in Trenton in 1784 was General Lafayette, who on the sixth of December wrote to President Lee that he would wait upon Congress the Friday following, and in taking leave of that body would be "happy to receive what Commands they may please to lay upon one of their Most Affectionate and devoted servants."⁴³ On the ninth of December, the matter was referred to a congressional committee, consisting of Messrs. Jay, Williamson and Hardy, which immediately reported that "the merit and services of the Marquis renders it proper that such an opportunity of taking leave of Congress be afforded him." A special committee, consisting of one member from each State, was then appointed "to receive the Marquis and in the name of Congress to take leave of him," and also to prepare a letter commending him to the favor and patronage of his Most Christian Majesty, the King of France.⁴⁴

THE FIRST VISIT

On Friday afternoon, December 10, General Lafayette arrived in Trenton and on the following day, immediately after the close of the congressional session, was formally received by John Jay, chairman of the special committee, and his fellow-members, in the Long Room of the French Arms tavern. The resolution of the ninth of December assuring him "that Congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions," and that they would not "cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity" was then communicated to him.

Lafayette then replied to Congress in the following terms:⁴⁵

SIR:

While it pleases the United States in Congress so kindly to receive me, I want words to express the feelings of a heart which delights in their present situation and the bestowed marks of their esteem.

⁴³ *Papers, Continental Congress*, No. 19, Vol. II, p. 253.

⁴⁴ *Journals of Congress*, December 9, 1784.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, December 13, 1784.

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Since I joined the standard of liberty, to this wished for hour of my personal congratulations, I have seen such glorious deeds performed, and virtues displayed by the sons of America, that in the instant of my first concern for them, I had anticipated but a part of the love and regard which devote me to this rising empire.

During our revolution, sir, I obtained an unlimited indulgent confidence, which I am equally proud and happy to acknowledge; it dates with the time, when an unexperienced youth, I could only claim my respected friends paternal adoption. It has been most benevolently continued throughout every circumstance of the cabinet and the field; and in personal friendships, I often found a support against public difficulties. While, on this solemn occasion I mention my obligations to Congress, the State, the people at large, permit me also to remember the dear military companions, to whose services their country is so much indebted.

Having felt both for the timely aid of my country and for the part she, with a beloved king, acted in the cause of mankind, I enjoy an alliance so well rivetted by mutual affection, by interest, and even local situation. Recollection insures it. Futurity does but enlarge the prospect; and the private intercourse will every day increase, which independent and advantageous trade cherishes, in proportion as it is well understood.

In unbounded wishes to America, sir, I am happy to observe the prevailing disposition of the people to strengthen the confederation, preserve public faith, regulate trade, and in a proper guard over continental magazines and frontier posts, in a general system of militia, in foreseeing attention to the navy, to insure every kind of safety. May this immense temple of freedom ever stand a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! and may these happy United States attain that compleat splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessing of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders.

However unwilling to trespass on your time, I must yet present you with grateful thanks for the late favors of Congress, and never can they oblige me so much as when they put it in my power, in every part of the world, to the latest day of my life, to gratify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States.

LAFAYETTE.

At the conclusion of the formal ceremonies, President Lee handed to General Lafayette an autograph letter containing his personal congratulations and farewell, together with a sealed envelope, which he requested the Marquis to deliver personally to the Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to France.⁴⁶ This packet also contained the congressional letter to the French King commending the Marquis to his royal favor in recognition of the invaluable services which he had rendered to this country during the Revolution.

⁴⁶ *Papers, Continental Congress*, No. 16, p. 315.

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On the same day that Lafayette was received by Congress, he was also received by the Legislature of New Jersey, then sitting in Trenton. An address was presented to him by order of the Council and House, expressing "fervent wishes" for his welfare and prosperity, and assuring him that "the citizens of New Jersey will ever retain an excellent sense of your disinterested friendship and important services." To which the Marquis replied that his heart felt "deeply interested in the warmest wishes for the particular welfare of the State of New Jersey," and that he wished to present them "with the most grateful acknowledgements and affectionate assurances" of his respect.⁴⁷ The following Monday morning, Lafayette left Trenton for Elizabeth-town and New York, and on Thursday, December 15, he sailed on *La Nymphe* for France.

LAFAYETTE RETURNS IN 1824

In 1824, Lafayette returned to the United States for his fourth and farewell visit. As soon as it was known that he would visit Trenton, preparations were begun for his reception. On August 17, 1824, the citizens of Trenton assembled at the City Tavern, formerly the French Arms, and passed resolutions providing ways and means for the entertainment of the General and his party, which comprised his son, George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary, Auguste Le Vasseur. At this meeting, it was "Resolved, That Charles Ewing, Pearson Hunt and William Halstead, junior, esquires, be a committee of the citizens to cooperate with the committee appointed by the Corporation to make and carry into effect the arrangements required by this interesting occasion."

The committee of the Corporation, which had been appointed the previous day, consisted of Evan Evans, David Johnston and Charles Burroughs.⁴⁸ These two committees entered upon their work with great enthusiasm, so that by the time of Lafayette's arrival on the twenty-fifth of September everything was in readiness for his reception and the whole city in holiday attire. An account of the celebration in the *True American* for

⁴⁷ *New Jersey Gazette*, December 27, 1784.

⁴⁸ *Trenton Federalist*, August 23, 1824.

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September 25, 1824, shows the excitement prevailing in the city: "In this city, ordinary business is suspended, the common affairs of life are forgotten, and one general feeling of enthusiasm prevails in favor of La Fayette. . . . We can say no more but run to mingle with the enraptured multitude."

General Doughty had been selected by Governor Williamson to command the escort that met Lafayette at the State border and conducted him across the State. A medal, bearing on one side the likeness of Washington and on the other that of Lafayette, was issued by the State and worn by those who participated in the march.

On the twenty-fifth of September "the Committee of Arrangement from Trenton, with a corps of cavalry, met the General [at Princeton] to conduct him to Trenton. He was accompanied by the Governor and suite, and followed by a train of Citizens on horseback and in carriages. The General rode in an open Barouch, drawn by four white horses." The parade ground on the Brunswick Road was reached about two o'clock, and there the military of Hunterdon, Somerset, Burlington and Gloucester, consisting of about 2,000 men, were reviewed by the famous General. Immediately afterwards, a procession was formed in the following order: Cavalry, infantry, marshal, committee of the citizens, Governor Williamson and his suite, marshal, General Lafayette and his companions, officers of the Army and Navy, visitors of distinction, clergy, members of the bar, physicians, societies, citizens, marshal. The "arrival of the Procession at the head of Warren Street was announced by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. The bells continued to ring until the procession arrived at the State House."

At the head of Warren Street the procession passed under an elevated arch, "irradiated with stars and bearing the name of Lafayette stretched across the street. Its whole upper surface was mantled with verdure and beneath its curvature, the whole width of the intercolumniation was beautifully festooned with intertwined wreaths of flowers and laurel. From its central summit, as also from the lateral arches on the right and left, sprang each a living cedar, their greenness studded over with flowers of various hues."

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The procession moved down Warren Street, passing under another decorated arch that stood near the corner of Warren and State Streets, to Bloomsbury Street (now South Warren), thence through Market Street to Greene Street (now Broad), up Greene Street to Perry Street, down Perry to Warren, down Warren to State, and up State to the State House. The streets were thronged with spectators from all parts of the adjacent country, and "there was one universal burst of feeling throughout the city." A Philadelphia newspaper of the period notes that "such was the immense crowd that mail from Philadelphia had to pass around the city and enter the east street and the carrier had to lug the bag on his head and shoulders a distance of about 200 yards."

THE WASHINGTON ARCH USED ONCE MORE

As Lafayette stepped from his barouche in front of the State House and advanced through an aisle formed by the military and the citizens, he was greeted by a sight of the Washington arch which had been erected at the gateway to the Capitol. At the arch, he was met by a group of twenty-four young women, representing the States of the Union, each bearing the name of the State she represented on a white belt which encircled her waist. As Lafayette advanced under the arch, thirteen members of the group, each representing one of the thirteen original Colonies, stepped forward and sang the following lines:

A welcome gallant chief
From Gaill'as sunny clime,
To glad our grateful hearts
Still spared by heaven and time,
Ten million voices raise
Their grateful notes today
Accept our feeble lays—
All we can pay.

The spirit of our sires
Still burns as free and bright
As burned its vestal fires
In the battle's stormy night,
It taught us to be free,
And ne'er will we forget
It bade us honor thee
Love La-Fayette.

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Lafayette listened closely to the "dulcet notes of this interesting choir" and when the song was ended, replied: "Young ladies, I thank you very much." Later, upon being introduced to the young ladies of the choir, he remarked that he had never seen the States so handsomely represented.

The General was next escorted into the Assembly Room, which had been converted into a bower of beauty for the occasion. Here Lafayette was received by the mayor of Trenton, Robert McNeely, and Common Council, convened for the purpose of welcoming the distinguished visitor. The exercises were opened by an address of welcome by the mayor, expressing the joy it afforded the citizens of Trenton to receive Lafayette as their guest. The General returned a "feeling and appropriate answer," and after receiving a number of the citizens of the town, was conducted with great pomp to the Trenton House, on North Warren Street, where lodgings had been provided for him, and where a sumptuous banquet was served to a distinguished gathering of about one hundred guests.

In the evening, Lafayette attended a "handsome Entertainment ordered by the New Jersey Society of Cincinnati at the City Tavern." Most of the night was spent there in conversation with his brother officers of the Revolutionary Army. Trenton was all aglow and the arches were illuminated with lanterns.

The next morning being Sunday, General Lafayette attended service at the Presbyterian Church. Upon his entrance, the congregation rose in a body, and remained standing until he took his seat in the mayor's pew. At the close of the services, Lafayette was the guest of Mayor McNeely at his home on North Warren Street. In the afternoon, Lafayette rode to Bordentown, to visit Joseph Bonaparte, but returned to his apartments in the Trenton House the same evening. The following morning, under military escort and accompanied by the governor and a number of prominent citizens, he left Trenton for Philadelphia.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The full account of this celebration, from which the above quotations have been taken, may be found in the *Trenton Federalist* of September 27, 1824, and in the *True American* for October 2, 1824.

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LAFAYETTE'S THIRD VISIT TO TRENTON

The third and last visit of Lafayette to Trenton was on Saturday, July 16, 1825, when he breakfasted at the City Tavern, before proceeding to the home of Joseph Bonaparte at Bordentown, whence he went to Philadelphia.⁵⁰ It was at this time that he presented to Joseph Justice, of Trenton, the stamp which he had used to frank his correspondence during his visit to the United States in 1824, a privilege which had been granted him by special Act of Congress. Mr. Justice was then postmaster of Trenton, and editor of the *True American*, and had been a member of the reception committee at the time of Lafayette's visit of the previous year.⁵¹

VI. Other Interesting Celebrations and Distinguished Visitors

THE citizens of Trenton were very active in the matter of celebrations in these early days and the newspapers of the period contain detailed descriptions of many of these festive occasions. On October 27, 1781, the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown was celebrated by the inhabitants of Trenton "with every mark of joy and festivity." The day was ushered in with the beating of drums, and at eleven o'clock the governor, Council and Assembly attended a service at the Presbyterian Church conducted by the Rev. Elihu Spencer. In the evening the town was brilliantly illuminated.

The following year an event of state and national importance occurred at the French Arms tavern in celebration of the birth of a Dauphin and heir to the Crown of France. The birth was formally announced to Congress on May 2, 1782, and by Congress to the governors of the States. It was celebrated in Trenton May 24, 1782, when the "town artillery paraded at the market-place" and a dinner was attended by the officers of the State at the French Arms. The *New Jersey Gazette* for May 29, 1782, comments upon "the joy and satisfaction manifested

⁵⁰ *Trenton Federalist*, July 18, 1825.

⁵¹ Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts*, Vol. II, p. 217. There is a facsimile of this stamp in the Trentoniana collection of the Free Public Library.

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on this occasion” and adds that “the liberal principles of the alliance, the generous aids offered to these States in consequence of it, and the great end it has been instrumental in securing, must ever interest us in the happiness of a nation whose character and conduct is the laudable reverse of that of our enemies.” It was in connection with this celebration that the first American flag definitely known to have been hoisted in Trenton was unfurled to the breeze from the French Arms tavern.

A year later, on April 15, 1783, the citizens of Trenton held a gala celebration incident to the ratification of the “glorious peace” lately concluded with Great Britain at Versailles. About eleven o’clock in the morning, His Excellency Governor Livingston, the vice-president of the State, members of the Legislature, judges of the Supreme Court and other public officials, together “with a great number of the inhabitants of the town and vicinity,” including the trustees, teachers and students of the Academy, met at the tavern of Rensselaer Williams on upper King Street, and from there went in procession to the Court House, where the governor’s proclamation, declaring a cessation of hostilities in pursuance of the proclamation of Congress of April 11 was read, after which thirteen cannon were fired, succeeded by the cheers of the people. At noon divine service was attended, the discourse being delivered by Dr. Elihu Spencer, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. At three o’clock entertainments were held in the French Arms, the Blazing Star⁵² and Royal Oak taverns in King Street, where numerous toasts were drunk. At seven o’clock the houses of the town were illuminated, and the festivities of the day closed with a ball given in the French Arms.

In striking contrast to these festive occasions was the public commemoration of Washington’s death which was observed by the town on the fourteenth of January, 1800, just one month after his death at Mount Vernon. In the morning, an oration

⁵² This tavern was located on North King Street and was kept by Francis Witt. When he leased the French Arms, on the southwest corner of King and Second Streets, in January 1785, he transferred the name Blazing Star to that tavern. The former Blazing Star tavern was later known as the Indian King.

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was delivered by Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of the College of New Jersey, in St. Michael's Episcopal Church, of which the Rev. Henry Waddell was rector, and at half-past ten a procession was formed in Warren Street, opposite the church. As the bier, on which was deposited the General's hat, gloves and sword, was brought out of the church, preceded by the clergy and followed by the mayor and Common Council in deep black, it was received by the assembled troops with presented arms. Accompanied by the tolling of the bells, the procession moved off to the State House, where the ceremonies were performed. At a certain stanza in one of the elegiac songs, "eight beautiful girls, of about ten years of age, dressed in white robes and black sashes, with baskets on their arms filled with sprigs of cypress, rose from behind the speaker's seat" and strewed the cypress on the mock coffin.⁵³

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

A number of distinguished visitors passed through Trenton during the early years of the nineteenth century and practically all of them, with the exception of Thomas Paine, were warmly received and entertained. The latter rode up to Trenton from Bordentown, February 28, 1803, to take the stage for New York. Refused a seat in the stage, he set out in his own chaise, but "a mob surrounded him with insulting music and he had difficulty in getting out of the town." The author of those ringing lines, "These are the times that try men's souls," showed neither fear nor anger, and "calmly observed that such conduct had no tendency to hurt his feelings or injure his fame, but rather gratified the one and contributed to the other."⁵⁴

Early in November 1798 General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Ambassador to France, visited Trenton and was tendered a reception at the City Hotel, on north King Street, which was attended by the mayor, other city officers and heads of the government departments, and on January 18, 1806, a public dinner was given to Captain (afterward Commodore) Bain-

⁵³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, pp. 206-7.

⁵⁴ *idem.*, p. 210.

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bridge, upon his return from Barbary. President Monroe, who was wounded in the Battle of Trenton, arrived in the city on Saturday, June 7, 1817, and the following morning attended service at the Presbyterian Church. On November 27, 1824, De Witt Clinton, governor-elect of the State of New York, who was in Trenton to demonstrate the practicability and utility of the proposed Morris Canal, was presented with an address by the vice-president of the Council, and later entertained at the City Tavern by a large number of the members of the New Jersey Legislature.

In 1799,⁵⁵ Trenton had the honor of becoming the seat of the federal government for a few weeks, while President Adams and his Cabinet were meeting in the city. Due to the prevalence of yellow fever in Philadelphia the public offices of the government were removed to this city on the twenty-sixth of August, and on the twenty-ninth, Benjamin Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy, wrote to President John Adams, who had already gone to Quincy, Mass., to escape the epidemic, that "the offices are now at this place and not badly accommodated" and urged the President to come to Trenton before the departure of the envoys to the French Republic.

The President was most reluctant to come to Trenton, however, and replied to Stoddert that for him "to spend two or three months at Trenton with unknown accommodations cannot

⁵⁵ Accounts differ as to just when the public offices were removed to Trenton. Raum, in his *History of Trenton*, says that "in September 1793 the yellow fever made its appearance in Philadelphia and as a precautionary means to prevent the fever spreading among the inhabitants should it make its appearance here, the Common Council of the city appointed Messrs. Axford and Howell a committee to procure a house for travellers and for poor persons who might be taken ill of that malignant fever. The public offices of the United States government were removed here during the prevalence of the fever in 1793." The *History of Philadelphia*, by Scharf and Westcott, states that in 1797 "the office of Secretary of State was opened at Trenton, New Jersey, and the heads of the State and Post-Office departments went to the same town," while other histories refer to the removal of the offices to Trenton in 1798. As the yellow fever was prevalent in Philadelphia during all these years, it is probable that the offices were removed here upon several different occasions. From a study of the letters of President Adams, we conclude that he did not come to Trenton until 1799.

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be very agreeable. Alone, and in private, I can put up with anything; but in my public station, you know I cannot."

In spite of Adams' reluctance, the members of his Cabinet, who were opposed to the French mission, continued to urge the desirability of his presence in Trenton, and on the second of September the President wrote to Stoddert that he would be at Trenton by the tenth or twelfth of October but that Mrs. Adams would not accompany him. Regarding accommodations he wrote:

I can and will put up, with my private secretary and two domestics only, at the first tavern or first private house I can find.

President Adams arrived in Trenton on the tenth of October, and the next day was greeted with fireworks. He found "the inhabitants of Trenton wrought up to a pitch of political enthusiasm that surprised him" in the expectation that Louis XVIII would soon be restored to the throne of France.

All of the Cabinet members were in Trenton, with the exception of the Attorney-General, who was in Virginia, and for six days, from October 10 to 15 inclusive, the President was employed in conference with them, either at his own apartments in the Phoenix Hotel, which stood on Warren Street where West Hanover now joins Warren, or at their respective offices. An agreement on the French mission was finally reached and, on the fifth of November, the commissioners sailed for France. By the middle of November it was considered safe to return to Philadelphia and the offices were removed there.⁵⁶

SOME CONTEMPORARY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CITY

From the writings and journals of the travellers who passed through Trenton in these early days it is possible to get some idea of the appearance of the town. Trenton had been incorporated as a city in 1792 and, being on the stage route between New York and Philadelphia, had developed into quite a thriving place. The celebrated French naturalist, François Michaux, who passed through Trenton in 1802, says that "among the other small towns by the road side, Trenton seemed worthy of attention. Its situation upon the Delaware, the beautiful tract of

⁵⁶ *Works of John Adams*, Vol. IX, pp. 18, 19, 33, 252-3.

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country that surrounds it, must render it a most delightful place of abode." The beautiful surroundings of the town impressed more than one traveller, and James Flint, in his *Letters from America* in 1818, notes that "Trenton is beautifully situated at the head of the tide-water of the river Delaware. The orchards are luxuriant and the pasture grounds richer than any that I have hitherto seen in the country."

As most of these travellers spent only one night in Trenton, their comments are largely confined to the general appearance of the town and the condition of the taverns, which were "much dearer on this road than in Massachusetts and Connecticut."

An English tourist, Henry Wansey, writing in 1794, says of the town: "The houses join each other and form regular streets, very much like some of the small towns in Devonshire. The town has a very good market, which is well supplied with butcher's meat, fish and poultry. Many good shops are to be seen there, in general with seats on each side of the entrance, and a step or two up into each house." Isaac Weld, Jr., a native of Ireland, who passed through Trenton in July, 1796, writes that "the streets are commodious, and the houses neatly built."

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, writing in 1797, says that the houses of the town were mostly wooden, those on the high street being best, "but very modest in appearance." He comments, however, upon the "number of handsome villas which greatly enrich the landscape" in the environs of the town.

In 1825 the Duke of Saxe-Weimar describes Trenton as a "very handsome place," with a "remarkable bridge crossing the Delaware." This bridge was begun in 1804 and on January 30, 1806, the completion of the span was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies. Gordon, in his *Gazetteer of New Jersey*, describes it as "a span of 1100 feet, having a double carriageway and footpaths resting on the chords of, and suspended from, a series of five arches, supported on stone piers. This structure has been much admired for its lightness, grace, and strength."

In 1834, according to Gordon's *Gazetteer*, Trenton proper contained:

425 dwellings, 13 taverns, about 30 stores, among which are 3 bookstores, and 3 silversmith shops; 3 printing offices . . . a public library . . . and a

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lyceum or literary association. . . . The Philadelphia steam-boats ply daily, and sometimes several times a day, one from Lambertton, and others from Bloomsbury;⁵⁷ and stages run 3 times a day by the rail-road to New York and Philadelphia.

Gordon adds that "for some years past Trenton has not been in a very thriving state, but the late improvements have given new life to business and enterprise, and much prosperity is anticipated."

⁵⁷ See note 9, above.

CHAPTER V

Transportation

BY WILLIAM J. BACKES

I. River Navigation

IT IS obvious that the growth of any community is inextricably bound up with the growth of its means of transportation. Natural waterways, ferries, bridges, roads, canals, railways—all enter as vital factors into the expansion of a community from a village into a modern industrial center. Trenton's rise among the cities of New Jersey provides but one more proof of this fundamental economic principle.

The great natural highway of commerce and travel in this section is, of course, the Delaware River. When New Jersey and Pennsylvania were unopened territory, wholly in the control of the Indians, the sole means of travel on the river was the canoe. Later came the bateau, a flat-bottomed boat tapering at the ends, in which it was possible to carry heavier and more bulky loads than in light birch-bark canoes. These boats lent themselves to short, quick water hauls, but they were quite ineffective on long trips or in river traffic above the Falls, where the problem of the rapids had to be met.

The Delaware has never especially favored transportation over its course. Between Easton and the head of the tidewater at Trenton there are no less than twenty-five rapids or falls, the head of the rapids at Bixler's Rift (the first of the rapids) being 160 feet above low tide at Trenton. Those who travelled the river in the 1800's found it difficult to follow the channel not only above the Falls, but below Trenton as well. From Trenton down, the river was dotted with islands, shoals and mud flats; a detritus deposit of many centuries made the channel a treacherous one.

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GREAT FLOODS ON THE DELAWARE

It was due to the presence of this accumulation of silt that the Delaware often froze during the winter and choked the channel with ice, making any sort of navigation impossible. There were, too, the freshets, which now and again swept down the Delaware, leaving ruin in their wake. The earliest recorded freshet at the Falls was the "great land flood and rupture" of May 29, 1687, which brought about the separation of Vurhultsen's (Delaware Works) Island from the Pennsylvania mainland at Morrisville. Five years later, on February 27, occurred "the great flood at Delaware falls," which suddenly descended upon the many Indian families settled in the lowland along the Delaware in this section, sweeping men, homes and cattle away. Between 1692 and the terrible river flood of October 10, 1903, there were 43 freshets in the Delaware, the more disastrous ones occurring on January 8, 1841, and June 6, 1862. These freshets—and now we speak of abnormal rises in the river—came at no particular season of the year. At times we find a series of them occurring yearly over a long period. They made river travel a hazardous thing, and swept away many of the boats, wharves, and other river-front property.

EARLY WATER TRAFFIC

Of the larger craft commonly used in river traffic in the eighteenth century, the wind-propelled vessel was probably the first to appear on the Delaware. The first ship to come some distance up the Delaware was the *Shield*, which brought Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Lambert, Thomas Potts and others from Hull, England, to Burlington, on December 10, 1678. Most of the larger sail-rigged ships followed the example of the *Shield* and ventured up the river only as far as Burlington, fearing the shallows in the channel beyond. The few that did come up to Trenton were probably of smaller draught.

The shallop and the sloop made the reputation of Lambertton and Bloomsbury (earlier known as Kingsbury) as ports. We find these small sailing vessels on the Delaware in the early days of navigation on that river. The Swedish traveller, Kalm, men-

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tions the "Trenton yachts" in his account of his trip here (1748). The inhabitants of this section, petitioning George II for a corporate charter back in 1746, set out the favorable location of Trenton and stressed the fact that it was at the head of sloop navigation. Located between New York and Philadelphia, at the head of the tide on the Delaware, close to the iron, timber and coal fields of north Jersey, and surrounded by fertile countryside, Trenton enjoyed advantages such as no other small, aspiring town of this section might boast. In the years to come these advantages were to tell heavily in Trenton's favor and make her one of New Jersey's greatest industrial and commercial centers.

The popularity of the sloop in river traffic grew with every passing year, and is mirrored in its constantly increasing use. These boats were very common in this section after the Revolution, especially during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. They carried the great bulk of the goods shipped between Trenton and Philadelphia; their activity made the fortune of many a family in Bloomsbury and Lamberton, among them those of General John Beatty, Alexander Chambers and Benjamin Fish.

It was Robert Lettis Hooper who foresaw the success of the river front south of the creek as a center of transportation. Hooper had large land holdings in that section; in 1759 he set them out in lots for a town. His project, planned in view of the contemplated growing river trade, was described as beginning at Trenton Ferry, being the head of navigation

... where there is a considerable trade extended from the city of Philadelphia, and great parts of the counties of Hunterdon, Morris, Middlesex, Somerset and Bucks, in Pennsylvania, deliver their produce and rafts of timber, boards, staves, headings, &c., come from 120 miles up the river.¹

During most of the eighteenth, and for at least three decades of the nineteenth century, then, the sloop practically monopolized the upstream trade between Philadelphia and Trenton. Against the current, the value of the raft, the ark and the Durham boat was almost nil. It was in downstream transpor-

¹ *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 31, 1758; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XX, p. 273.

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tation and, what is more important, in transportation on the upper Delaware along a channel filled with falls and rapids, that these boats proved their worth.

The raft put in an early appearance on the Delaware; in 1764 we find David Skinner navigating the first one over the 200-mile run extending from Cocheton, 40 miles above Port Jervis, to Philadelphia. This raft was made of six 70-foot pine tree logs, strung on poles, or spindles, which passed through holes bored in the ends of the logs. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, Skinner was given the freedom of the city and created "Lord High Admiral of the Delaware." He sold the six logs of his raft for masts.

Rafts were used almost exclusively in getting timber from upstate and New York State down to the Philadelphia markets. The construction of these craft was simple; logs or timbers were laid side by side and lashed together; sometimes, as in the case of Skinner's raft, holes were bored through timbers of approximately the same length and a connecting rod slipped through the holes, thus forming a rigid frame. The passage of the raft from the upper reaches of the Delaware down to Trenton was accomplished in swift and easy fashion. The current carried the raft down through the falls and rapids in short order, the raftsmen using their long poles merely to give a proper direction to the craft and to keep it off the rocks. Below Trenton the matter was not so simple; here the current was slower and the raftsmen had to push on their poles in order to hasten matters along. When the destination was reached, the rafts were taken apart and sold. Sometimes there was, also, a supercargo of barrel staves, hogsheads, and the like, but the practice of sending these down the river on rafts was decidedly risky and therefore uncommon.

Inhabitants of this region in the latter part of the eighteenth century and for the first half of the nineteenth were accustomed to the sight of long strings of rafts floating past Trenton on their way downstream. In some strings there were as many as thirty to forty rafts. The raftsmen invariably made an over-night stop in Lambertton, mooring their long files of rafts at the eddy just below the site of the American Bridge Company plant. There

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were several inns in Lamberton frequented almost exclusively by these rivermen; of these, the "Red Tavern" (later known as the Delaware Inn and still standing) below Landing Street, and the Raftsman's Inn, on the site known as "the prairie" south of Cass Street, were the most popular. When the raftsmen rose in the morning to continue their trip downstream, it was a common sight to see the river completely blocked by the rafts which had been moored in it the night before.

Rafting in this region reached its height just before 1845. In the spring of 1828 as many as one thousand rafts, containing fifty million feet of lumber, passed by Trenton. A great percentage of this footage was hemlock. The rafts were usually floated downstream during the four weeks of the spring freshet season and in the autumn. The great problem of the raftsmen was, of course, to avoid the numerous shoals below Trenton and to gain the channel in which the swiftest current flowed. At the height of the rafting era in the '40's, the rafts were usually towed down the river in long strings by the Lenox Towing Company, a firm managed by the Lenoxes of Lamberton who were well known among the river people of that time. The Lenox family also owned a wharf and storehouse just above Lalor Street.

The rapid depletion of the forests on both sides of the upper Delaware, and the growth of railroad transportation facilities, put an end to the practice of rafting lumber to the Philadelphia markets. The raft had been an ingenious device whereby lumber practically transported itself from one place to another, and when the supply of timber waned the raft, too, ceased to be.

Another river conveyance in common use on the Delaware at one time was the so-called "ark." Like the raft, it was invented to fill a special need—to carry the anthracite coal, which had just been discovered in the Lehigh fields, to the markets on the lower Delaware. The first ark, an experimental affair, was built by William Trumbull in 1806 at Lausanne, Pa. In that year it carried ten tons of coal down the river to Philadelphia, but when it arrived there, it was found that there was hardly any demand for the fuel. A good deal of the cargo was thrown away into the streets.

It was not until 1814 that transportation of coal in arks began

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in a practical way. The usual ark was a rectangular box, often pointed at one end, and made of heavy pine planks, 16 feet long, 2 feet wide, and half an inch thick, planed to a fair smoothness. Like the raft, it too was guided by means of long oars, or poles, placed at either end. Its dimensions were, roughly, 16 to 18 feet wide and 20 to 25 feet long. The arks, singly or in strings of eight or ten, were guided down the Lehigh and into the Delaware, past Trenton to Philadelphia. It was a common occurrence for two or three arks out of every string to have their bottoms staved in before they had even reached the mouth of the Lehigh. Yet, despite frequent loss of both arks and cargos, coal operators found the ark the most economical way of carrying their coal to market. On arriving at Trenton, or Philadelphia, the coal, ark and all were sold; the coal usually brought two dollars a ton and the ark was thrown into the bargain. Shipments by ark continued until the opening of the Lehigh and Delaware Division Canals in the '30's; after that, coal was shipped in canal boats over the canal route.

THE DURHAM BOATS

The Durham boat,² known to history because it figured so largely in Washington's Christmas Night crossing of the Delaware, was the first of the tide-propelled freight craft to appear on the river. The boat was used by the Durham Iron Company as early as 1727, to transport the product of the Durham forges to Trenton and Philadelphia and to bring back necessary provisions and supplies. The usual Durham boat was flat-bottomed and had vertical sides which ran parallel to each other up to a point 12 or 14 feet from the end, where they began to taper. It was constructed of sturdy inch-and-a-quarter oak planks, and measured 60 feet long, 8 feet wide, and 42 inches deep. Its draft was 3½ inches when light and 28 inches loaded; it could carry 150 barrels of flour or 600 bushels of corn. Downstream it was possible to load it with as much as 17 tons, but 2 tons was the limit upstream. It took three men to direct its progress. In going downstream they made every use of the current and employed their 12- to 18-foot "setting-poles," shod with iron, merely for

² John A. Anderson, *Navigation on the Upper Delaware*, p. 16.

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steering. Going upstream, the poles were used for propelling the boat, the men walking back and forth on "walking boards" built on the sides of the Durham boat, the better to gain a maximum effect from the application of their strength at the ends of the poles.

The Durham boat was used extensively in carrying flour, whiskey, meat and iron products from Trenton and points north along the river to the markets lower down on the Delaware. The men who guided the heavy boats downstream made Trenton, or more specifically, Lamberton, their main stopping place.

WHARVES AND WAREHOUSES

The wharves and warehouses used in local transportation were located almost exclusively in Bloomsbury and Lamberton. References to them are so few that one cannot hope to reconstruct the scene of a century ago with any degree of completeness. The more ancient landings were situated in Lamberton.

Of the first two wharves to be built in Bloomsbury, one was located about 400 feet south of the lower bridge site and the other on the site of the municipal terminals at the foot of Ferry Street. The first-mentioned landing was built in 1803 by Alexander Chambers, to whom the historian, Hall, refers as the first man to establish Bloomsbury as a port for sloops.³ Chambers owned and operated several sloops on the route between Trenton and Philadelphia. The wharf near the foot of Ferry Street seems to have been the "steamboat landing" referred to in many advertisements of the time. It was probably built about 1809, to accommodate the steamboat *Phoenix*.

Adjoining the steamboat wharf and running north for 200 feet along the river front and for the same distance on Bloomsbury Street in the rear, was a lot owned by J. R. Smith and E. Evans, on which there was a wharf. It was probably built after the steamboat wharf was erected. In 1833 it was owned by Smith alone. To the north of it was the wharf owned by Benjamin Fish, who was a prominent figure in river transportation in the early decades of the last century. To this landing came his three sloops. His warehouse was located in the rear of the wharf, on the lot next to the southwest corner of what was Ferry and Fair (now Bloomsbury) Streets. Fish kept a store near his wharf where he took orders for the stove coal which the arks brought to his wharf direct from the Lehigh fields. This store, with its goods and groceries, was offered for sale in 1823.⁴ Abraham Mershon also had a landing in this section, a few hundred feet north of the

³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton, N.J.* (rev. ed.), p. 96.

⁴ *Federalist*, June 16, 1823.

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Trenton Ferry landing at the foot of Ferry Street. There were other landings nearby, but their owners and the years of their erection are unknown.

The first mention of a wharf in Lamberton is found in an advertisement⁵ published in 1764. There was a storehouse attached to the landing. William Richards had a landing in Lamberton near the foot of Landing Street during the Revolution; from it ran his schooner, the *Lamberton Packet*, which carried passengers and goods to and from Philadelphia.⁶ Very early in the 1800's Philip H. Howell built a wharf in Lamberton near the steamboat landing. The wharf, along with his lumberyard, house and stores, was advertised to let in 1819.⁷ Howell's warehouse was opposite Benjamin Fish's storehouse on Fair Street. Several other wharves existed below the steamboat landing. Among them may be noted the two docks at the foot of Lalor Street, one immediately below the line of the street and the other just to the north of it. There was a wharf situated on the river bank several hundred yards above the latter landing. At one time it belonged to the Lenox family of Lamberton, along with a warehouse of fair size. Both wharf and warehouse were destroyed in the ice freshet of 1852. Recent excavations have unearthed evidences of old warehouses and docks below Lalor Street, but who owned them is unknown. Elijah Bond had a small landing on his tract below the present site of Riverview cemetery, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The only record of a wharf north of the Falls is that referring to the one owned and operated by John Rutherford, the owner of Beatty's ferry, of which further mention will soon be made. In an advertisement appearing in 1806,⁸ Rutherford speaks of his large wharf as the only one above Trenton Falls for the Easton and Durham boats trading there. In an earlier day there were wharves in Little River, the stream which flowed between Gravel Island and the mainland. They were situated along the present-day Mahlon Stacy Wall, back of the State House.

STEAM NAVIGATION

The eighteenth century, then, depended on the tide, the wind, and human energy to move its boats. The century was almost done when John Fitch came along with the first practical application of steam to the moving of a vessel. Fitch's invention preceded Fulton's *Clermont* by a round score of years. It is not until recently that he has received due credit for the part he played in the invention of the steamboat.

Fitch was born in what is now South Windsor, Conn., on January 21, 1743 (O.S.). As a boy he was apprenticed to a

⁵ *The Pennsylvania Journal*, May 10, 1764; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 361.

⁶ *New Jersey Gazette*, September 9, 1778; *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II, p. 414.

⁷ *Federalist*, January 19, 1818.

⁸ *ibid.*, September 29, 1806.

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watchmaker; from this he turned to following the sea, but it, too, failed to hold him for long. Back home, he stumbled into an unfortunate marriage, and this, coupled with his father's tyranny, drove him into leaving Connecticut forever. Fitch wandered down to Trenton in 1769, and was taken in as an apprentice by Matthew Clunn, a tinsmith and maker of brass buttons. This was in May. During the summer he worked under James Wilson at silversmithing, but in September he took to peddling brass and silver buttons around the neighboring countryside. As a member of the Continental army during the early years of the Revolution, Fitch managed a gun shop here in which he employed as many as 60 men in turning out work for the New Jersey troops. When the British came into this section, Fitch, along with many Trentonians, crossed the river into Bucks County. In 1780, and in the three or four years following, he made several trips into the territory now known as Kentucky; on one of these excursions he was captured by the Indians, turned over to the British, taken to Canada, and finally sent back to New York in an exchange of prisoners.

It was after his return home to Bucks County that he conceived the idea of applying steam to navigation. The date is usually indicated as April 1785. By August he was exhibiting his first boat—a small, crude affair, propelled by paddle wheels run by a tiny engine—to the provosts of the University of Pennsylvania and to the authorities at Princeton College. Later in the month he petitioned Congress for aid in completing his invention, “adapted especially for the waters of the Mississippi,” but the application was never reported out of committee.

JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT

In September Fitch rigged up another model, fitted with long paddles on either side, moving on two endless chains running from stem to stern. Several weeks later he petitioned the Virginia Legislature for assistance, and then the Pennsylvania and Maryland Legislatures. None gave him aid. Perhaps the most bitter disappointment experienced by Fitch at this time came at the hands of Benjamin Franklin, the dean of American science, or natural philosophy, as it was then called. Most of the

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evidence comes from Fitch. He writes that he approached Benjamin Franklin for a certificate testifying to the merits of his invention, and though Franklin praised his endeavor, he evaded giving him a certificate. Instead, he made Fitch an offer of charity, which Fitch refused. In this connection, it is interesting to note a letter written by Franklin from Philadelphia in 1788:

We have no philosophical news here at present, except that a boat, moved by a steam-engine, rows itself against tide in our river, and it is apprehended that the construction may be so simplified and improved as to be generally useful.

Franklin, it would seem then, was impressed with the possibility of Fitch's invention, but not with the crude plan which he presented to him. There were refinements to be made, plans to be modified, before he could testify to the practical and efficient qualities of the boat.

It was shortly after this meeting with Franklin that the New Jersey Legislature granted Fitch the exclusive franchise for 14 years

. . . of constructing, making, using and employing, or navigating, all and every species or kind of boats, or water craft, which might be urged or impelled by force of fire or steam, in all the creeks, rivers, etc., within the territory of this State.

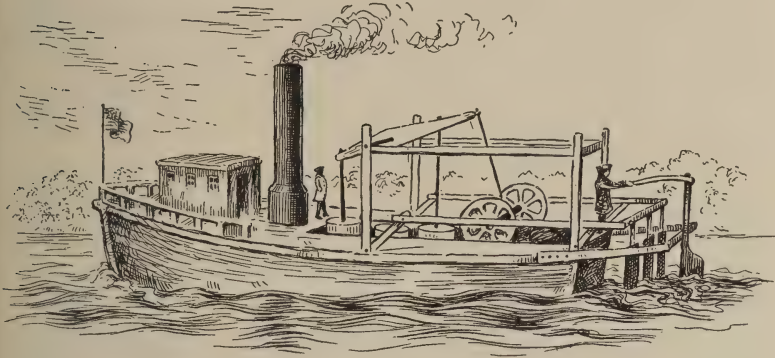
Stacy Potts, Isaac Smith, Robert Pearson, Jr., Samuel Tucker, Abraham Hunt, Rensselaer Williams, John and Edward Clunn, and others of Trenton, lent their names to the petition for the franchise.

With this encouragement, Fitch went about the organizing of a company. Stacy Potts was among those who subscribed to the initial fund of \$300. The builder of the boat, Henry Voight, of Philadelphia, received stock of the company for his work. The boat was a small one, with an engine possessing a single cylinder of 3-inch bore. The first trials on the Delaware, held July 20, 1786, were unsuccessful. Fitch had experimented with several methods of propelling the boat; the plan that succeeded was that in which the side paddles were moved by cranks worked by an engine. The first boat in America to be propelled successfully by steam moved on the Delaware on July 27, 1786. It was an enthusiastic Fitch who wrote to Stacy Potts from

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Philadelphia the next day. "We have tried every part, and reduced it to as certain a thing as can be, that we shall not come short of ten miles per hour, if not twelve or fourteen. I will say fourteen in theory and twelve in practice." Fitch's fond belief never materialized, even in the most efficient of his models. His first successful boat made several trips on the river near Philadelphia in the autumn of 1786.

In need of further funds, Fitch applied to the Pennsylvania Legislature the same year, but he was unsuccessful. Delaware,



JOHN FITCH'S STEAMBOAT, THE FIRST STEAM VEHICLE EMPLOYED IN THE BUSINESS OF TRANSPORTATION. IT MADE TRIAL TRIPS IN 1788, AND REGULAR TRIPS BETWEEN TRENTON AND PHILADELPHIA IN 1790.

however, confirmed his right to his invention. In February 1787, Fitch's shareholders agreed to advance additional capital for the building of a 45-foot vessel, equipped with an engine containing a single 12-inch cylinder. Lacking skilled workmen, Fitch had to depend upon fumbling blacksmiths in the manufacture of this new engine. Their faulty work was the cause of many accidents and delays. Finally the boat moved on the river in full view of practically the entire Continental Convention (August 22, 1787). Fitch thought it an appropriate time for once again petitioning the Continental Congress for aid; this time the bill was reported out of committee, but died on the floor of the House.

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The new boat traversed the Philadelphia-Burlington route for the first time in July 1788. At the end of the run, the boiler burst and the ship had to be floated back to Philadelphia. A new boiler was installed and on October 16 Fitch ran his steamboat, on which were a company of prominent guests, up the Delaware to Burlington, and then on to Trenton, returning to Philadelphia the same day.

In order to cut down the time on the Philadelphia-Trenton run to five hours, an auxiliary company was formed to finance the building of a new 18-inch cylinder engine. During 1789 the boat made several trips to Burlington and Trenton, but regular service could not be maintained because of the unreliable machinery. This steamboat was the last of Fitch's boats and the most successful one. It made its last trips on the Delaware in 1790. An advertisement which appeared on June 14 of that year informed the public that :

The Steam Boat Is now ready to take Passengers, and is intended to set off from Arch Street Ferry in Philadelphia every *Monday, Wednesday and Friday*, for *Burlington and Trenton*, to return on *Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays*.—Price for Passengers, 2/6 to Burlington and Bristol, 3/9 to Bordentown, 5/ to Trenton.

This craft was the first steam vessel anywhere to be employed in the business of transporting passengers and freight. The boat made more or less regular trips up and down the river during the summer and fall of 1790. Those who travelled on it placed its speed at eight miles an hour.⁹

Congress granted Fitch letters patent on his invention in April 1791. When Fitch visited France, Louis XVI granted him a patent, but the French Revolution put an end to whatever use Fitch might have intended to make of this right. Fitch's plans, left behind in France, are commonly supposed to have furnished Fulton with ideas for his successful *Clermont*.

Tired and embittered, Fitch withdrew from a world that had shown him little kindness. He settled on his tract at Bardstown, Ky. There he died on July 2, 1798, the circumstances of his death pointing to suicide. His grave was soon forgotten, but in recent years the John Fitch Chapter of the Daughters of the

⁹ *Watson's Annals*, Vol. II, p. 446.

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American Revolution found it again and removed Fitch's ashes to a new grave in front of the Bardstown Court House. The grave is marked with a monument. Fitch's genius is also commemorated by a bronze tablet in the Hartford, Conn., capitol building. John Fitch Way and the John Fitch memorial boulder and tablet are Trenton's tribute to the inventor. John Fitch Way runs from the municipal wharf along the river front as far as Assunpink Creek. It was formerly Commercial Avenue, but the name was changed by an ordinance passed early in 1921. The Fitch boulder was dredged from the river and set up at the lower end of John Fitch Way, near the municipal wharf. After an appropriate bronze tablet had been attached, it was dedicated on November 30, 1921.

OTHER EARLY STEAMBOATS

The work of Fitch and Rumsey and Fulton paved the way for the practical use of steam in river transportation. In 1809 we find a steamboat leaving Beatty's wharf in Bloomsbury for Philadelphia,¹⁰ every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and returning from that place the next day.¹¹ This steamboat was the famous *Phoenix*, built by John Stevens at Hoboken in 1808 for travel on New York waters. Fulton obtained an injunction against Stevens on the ground that his project would trespass upon Fulton's exclusive right to the use of the waters of New York State. Stevens thereupon sent the *Phoenix* from Hoboken down to Philadelphia under her own steam in 1808. A storm came up, the pilot boat became separated from the steamboat, and the *Phoenix*, long overdue at Philadelphia, was given up for lost. The *Phoenix*, however, rode out the storm and ended up in Barnegat Bay, from which place she proceeded on to Philadelphia. She was the first steamboat ever to travel upon any ocean.

The *Phoenix* belonged to the Swiftsure Line and was in the command of Captain Degraw. Her running time between here and Philadelphia was three hours running with the stream and five hours against it. The *Phoenix* was on this route until 1821, when she grounded on the mud flats at Kensington.

¹⁰ *Federalist*, August 7, 1809.

¹¹ *ibid.*, May 11, 1812.

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The presence of steamboats on the Delaware did not affect the extensive sloop trade to any marked degree at first. It was not until a decade later—about 1820—that their competition began to tell. In 1810 the sloop *Factor* set out regularly from its Bloomsbury landing every Monday during the milder season, and returned from Philadelphia on Thursdays.¹² Captain McKean was in charge. The sloop *Traveller*, too, maintained a regular packet service weekly on the same route.¹³ Like the *Factor*, it carried both freight and passengers. Its wharf was the "upper Bloomsbury landing," which Alexander Chambers had built back in 1803. This landing was also known as Beatty's landing and Bloomsbury landing, and was the most important landing in Bloomsbury. In 1812 we find the sloop *Try-All*, under the command of Captain Johnston, maintaining a regular packet service to Philadelphia. This sloop had once been owned by Alexander Chambers and General Beatty,¹⁴ but the partnership was dissolved in 1812 and Chambers became sole owner. Chambers' assignees advertised his landing, the *Try-All*, his storehouse and lot of ground along the Delaware, for sale in 1817.¹⁵

The Trenton sloops played an important part in rendering the British blockade at New York and Philadelphia during the War of 1812 for nought. These sloops transported all sorts of military supplies from Philadelphia to Trenton, where they were loaded on wagons and taken to New Brunswick, there to be carried forward to New York.

From 1810 to 1820 there were several steamboats on the Delaware between Philadelphia and Bordentown, among them the *Philadelphia*. This boat was in the command of Captain Jenkins of the Union Line, and it travelled the Philadelphia-Bristol route. Stages met the boat at the latter place and carried the passengers forward to Trenton and New Brunswick. Boats stopping at Burlington or Bordentown were also met by stages at these places. Nathaniel Shuff of Bloomsbury was the proprietor of one of these stage lines. His stage carried the passengers to Trenton and points as far beyond as New York.¹⁶

The *Philadelphia* was also known as *Old Sal*, probably because of the grotesque female figurehead which she carried on her bow. In 1815 we find her on the Trenton route, running from Philadelphia every Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 8 a.m. and returning to Trenton on the next day.¹⁷ The *Philadelphia* was on the Trenton route as early as 1814 and continued to make regular trips during the late spring, summer and autumn seasons until at least 1825.¹⁸

AN ERA OF KEEN RIVALRY

With the '20's a keen rivalry arose between the steamboat lines on the river, particularly between the Union Line and the Citizens' Line. In the decade before, the Citizens' Line had built the *New York* for service on the

¹² *Federalist*, May 10, 1810.

¹³ *ibid.*, July 8, 1812.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, March 9, 1812.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, September 15, 1817.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, August 6, 1810.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, April 17, 1815.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, August 9, 1824.

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lower Delaware. The Union Line countered with the *New Philadelphia*, which it put on the same route in 1815. The next move of the Citizens' Line was to build the *Pennsylvania*, about 1825, which ran from Philadelphia to Bordentown. The Union Line answered the challenge with the *Trenton*, running between Philadelphia and Trenton.

James A. Stevens, owner of the *Philadelphia*, did not permit this competition to pass unnoticed; he put the *Franklin* into the Trenton-Philadelphia service and lowered the fare to one dollar each way.¹⁹ The next year another firm put the *Congress* on the same route, making trips daily, except on Sundays. Carriages met the boat at the Bloomsbury wharf and carried the passengers up to the Trenton hotels gratis. This service was imitated by all the boats—the Stevens-owned *Philadelphia* and *Franklin*, and the *Trenton* of the Union Line. Philadelphia-bound passengers were called for at their hotels on the morning of their departure and carried to the wharves free of charge. The Union Line stages were especially efficient in this service; those wishing to be carried to the *Trenton* or the *Baltimore* (which was put into service in 1827) on the morrow had but to leave their names at Joseph Bispham's Trenton House, or at Aaron O. Shuff's Steamboat Hotel near the wharf in Bloomsbury, or at the Union Line office proper, which was located opposite the Trenton House on Warren Street, several doors below the Rising Sun Hotel.²⁰ In the period when competition was great (1825-30) the Union Line hacks called for the passengers at their homes and hotels, but in 1832, when the line was having things pretty much its own way on the river, the stages went direct from the Union Line office to the wharf, taking up only such passengers as presented themselves at the office.²¹

The Union Line Company, of which Benjamin Fish was the president, also carried passengers in its stages between the steamboat landing and Princeton, New Brunswick and New York, at fixed rates. A. P. Atkinson was the Trenton agent for the Union Line coaches. After the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company was incorporated, the various lines on the river, including the Union, Citizens' and Dispatch, were merged into the larger company. This company took over the Union Line Company's stages and Trenton hack service. Many of the sloop lines also found their way into the hands of this corporation.

Before this huge merging process took place there were a few changes in the list of river steamers. In 1827 came the Union Line *Baltimore*,²² mentioned above, and this was displaced in a few months by the steamer *Burlington*.²³ The Union Line added the *Marco Bozzaris* to its Philadelphia-Trenton route in 1828,²⁴ and in 1832 the line put the *Robert Morris* into the same service.²⁵ The *Emerald*, owned by the Dispatch Line, which had the backing of Cornelius Vanderbilt, is supposed to have been in the Trenton service at this time, but there is no corroborating record.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, August 9, 1824.

²⁰ *ibid.*, March 19, 1827.

²¹ *New Jersey Gazette*, October 20, 1832.

²² *Federalist*, March 19, 1827.

²³ *ibid.*, July 2, 1827.

²⁴ *ibid.*, August 11, 1828.

²⁵ *New Jersey Gazette*, October 20, 1832.

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In May 1841 the *Major Barnet*, a 110-foot boat, licensed to carry passengers, came to Trenton. Its owners intended it for the transportation of passengers and goods between Lambertville and Easton. The problem, of course, was to run the steamboat through the falls. Several unsuccessful attempts were made in the summer of 1841, but it was not until November that the *Major Barnet* achieved the upper Delaware. John H. Morris, a riverman, found the 22 inches of water necessary for navigating the boat, and steered it up through Trenton Falls to the foot of Wells Falls without difficulty. At Wells Falls it was necessary to use full steam, two men with poles, and men tugging at a rope which had been fastened to the rocks at the entrance to the falls, before the boat got through. It took the *Major Barnet* ten minutes to travel 110 feet, but it was done, and the boat was the first steamboat on the upper Delaware. She was active in the Easton trade, but the railroad put her out of business.²⁶

In 1840 the *Hornet* appeared on the Delaware and plied between Trenton and Philadelphia. The fare was 25c and persons leaving their name at the Rising Sun Hotel the night before would be called for by the omnibus the next morning. Abner Mershon's *Proprietor* was on the same route in 1843, but ran only a short time. On May 7, 1849, the *Edwin Forrest* made her first trip to Trenton. She ran daily except in winter between Trenton and Philadelphia for many years, being obliged to regulate her departure by the tide because of the shoals at Perriwig Island below. Her wharf was in the rear of Bloomsbury House. The boat was owned by Joseph and Benjamin McMackin.

As a matter of fact there were two *Edwin Forrests*, the first one a wooden steamboat and the second, which began to run in 1865, being of iron construction. The second one carried great quantities of freight and was well patronized by passengers, making the river trip for business or pleasure. Captain Joseph H. McIntyre succeeded Captain Benjamin McMackin and was on the bridge up to the time she was retired in 1895. Considering that there was an *Edwin Forrest* in service for forty-seven years, it is not surprising that many local memories are enshrined about the name.

All freight brought to Trenton by the sloops and steamboats during the first half of the century was transferred to heavy wagons and hauled to New Brunswick, where it was placed on ships to be carried to New York. Some of the goods were kept, for the time being, in the many warehouses along the river.

The steamboats which covered the Trenton-Philadelphia route in a later day included the *Twilight*, *City of Trenton* (which finally blew up because of a boiler explosion), *Pokonoket*, *Burlington*, *Columbia* and *John A. Warner*. During the 1910 decade, the Trenton Transportation Company operated the *Queen Anne* and the *Dolphin*. The landing for these boats was just below Lalor Street, and adjoining it was a warehouse.

TRENTON AS A PORT OF ENTRY

Trenton was created a port of entry by an Act of Congress, just before the Civil War. The official name was "Port of

²⁶ *Trenton Times-Advertiser*, March 28, 1909.

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Trenton, District of Burlington," and a Collector of Customs was appointed whose duty it was to register all vessels plying the Delaware River or the Delaware and Raritan Canal, between Trenton and Philadelphia. He also had to certify shipments of merchandise bought in foreign ports, and the license papers of every ship operating over the route just mentioned. Those who held the office of Collector of Customs were Captain Harry Ashmore, William Ashmore and Captain John A. Wilson. The office was later transferred to Camden and Philadelphia.

The ever-present obstacle to Trenton's becoming a large port was the lack of a channel of sufficient depth to insure the safety of vessels venturing up the river from Philadelphia. The present mayor of Trenton, Frederick W. Donnelly, has been largely instrumental in bringing about the necessary deepening of the channel.

DEEPENING THE CHANNEL

There had been previous attempts to have the Delaware cleared. By Act of General Assembly, passed December 21, 1771, a commission was appointed to receive subscriptions for clearing the river above Trenton Falls as far as Easton. The commissioners had power to clear, open, enlarge, straighten or deepen the river. The work was subcontracted out, Major Robert Hoops actually doing the work near Trenton Falls and completing the task in 1791.

It was in the period immediately preceding the coming of the railroad that a real interest was manifested in improving the Delaware. In 1811 the inhabitants of Burlington and Hunterdon petitioned the Legislature relative to removing the sandbar on Perriwig Island. The committee of the House was averse both to recommending a grant from the Treasury for financing the work or permitting a lottery to be raised locally. It did, however, recommend that the petitioners be allowed to present a bill which would authorize them to go upon Perriwig Island and remove the obstruction themselves. Nothing, however, was done in the matter.

On November 13, 1809, the Legislature had passed an Act authorizing the building of a lock in the river at Trenton, for

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the improvement of navigation. The purpose of this lock is indicated by the text of a like Act, passed February 9, 1815, authorizing Daniel W. Coxe, Samuel Wright, Jr., and Peter T. Smith to build a wing dam in the river opposite Market Street, "to have a lock in the same, where it crossed that part of the river on the east side of Yard's Island, of such size and dimensions that Durham boats of the largest size and other craft may pass up and through the same with ease and safety; the lock to be not less than twenty feet wide."

The work of deepening the channel from Philadelphia to Trenton was not started until the present century. On June 25, 1910, the federal government adopted the project for a channel 12 feet deep at mean low water, and 200 feet wide, from Alleghany Avenue, Philadelphia, to Lalor Street, Trenton, and for the construction of dikes at Biles Island, Bordentown, and Mud Island. The work was completed, except for the Mud Island dike, in 1913, at the cost of \$311,000. Annual maintenance was estimated at \$20,000. The greatest amount of dredging by far was done in the channel between Trenton and Bordentown.

The project for deepening the channel above Lalor Street as far as the railroad bridge was adopted by the federal government on July 25, 1912. The plan called for a 12-foot channel, 200 feet wide, and a turning basin at the site of the municipal wharf, 300 feet wide and 400 feet long. By the River and Harbor Act of June 5, 1920, Congress combined this project and the one of 1910 into a single project. Work on the municipal dock was begun May 6, 1915; the upper section of the united project, including the excavation of approximately 20,000 cubic yards of rock, was completed August 1921. The estimated cost of the entire improvement is \$825,000, with an estimated cost of maintenance of \$25,000 annually. The wharves, warehouse shed and other property at the municipal wharf alone cost \$280,000, while the additional land for John Fitch Way and contemplated future developments brought the total up to \$365,000.

The 12-foot channel has made Trenton an important commercial center, since it enables larger ships to come all the way up the river. The improvement of the channel, however, will con-

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tinue. The River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1925, adopted a new project providing for an increased channel depth of 20 feet at mean low water between Philadelphia and the Trenton municipal wharf, having a width of 200 to 300 feet. The estimated cost will be \$1,326,000. This project is being urged by the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, which was organized in Philadelphia in 1907 and whose main object is the creation of an intra-coastal canal, extending from New England to Florida. In 1928, vessels could navigate inland from Trenton to Beaufort, N.C., over a 12-foot channel. A waterway across New Jersey from Morgan, on Raritan Bay, to the Delaware River just above Bordentown will complete the inland chain from Boston to Beaufort. Further mention of this waterway will be made under the discussion of canals.

At present the Philadelphia-Trenton-Norfolk Steamboat Company is operating barges and tugs for carrying freight, as well as the passenger boat *William Penn* which runs during the summer, over the 12-foot channel. Sea-going barges of 1000-ton capacity frequently find their way up to Trenton.

The municipal wharf and warehouses were dedicated on May 11, 1919. The dock is 200 feet wide and extends inshore 250 feet. The steel warehouse shed, whose flat roof is used as a recreation center in the summer-time, is located at the upper end of the dock and measures 115 feet by 195 feet.

II. Roads and Highways

AT THE time that the *Shield* came up the Delaware, there were no roads in this vicinity. Only paths led from one Indian settlement to another. The path beginning at "Inian's Ferry" on the Raritan and leading to the "Falls of the Delaware" was the forerunner of the New Brunswick-Trenton road. This path is supposed to have been opened by the Dutch early in the seventeenth century. When William Edmundson, travelling minister of the Society of Friends, traversed this route in 1675 on his way southward, he found only a narrow path leading to the Falls. Of his trip he wrote:

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We travelled that Day, and saw no tame creature, at Night we kindled a fire in the Wilderness and lay by it, as we used to do in such Journies; next day, about nine in the Morning, by the good Hand of God, we came well by the Falls.²⁷

About seventy years later (1748), Kalm, the Swedish traveller, was to say of the same route:

On the road from Trenton to Brunswick I never saw any place in America, the towns excepted, so well peopled.

The book of minutes of the Supreme Court (1681-1709) provides us with interesting notes on the growth of the system of roads in this vicinity. The first overseers of highways in the first tenth were appointed May 22, 1683, and were John Woolston and John Shinn. February 20, 1690, saw the choosing of an overseer for the highways of Nottingham Township for the first time. John Lambert was the first overseer for Nottingham. The duties of this office must have increased by reason of the laying out of more roads, for in February 1692-93, two overseers were appointed to attend the roads in that township.

THE BURLINGTON ROAD

The grand jury of Burlington "presented" that County for not laying out and taking care of a lawful highway "where they are wanted—to ye ffalls," in May 1692. Here is the earliest mention of a road leading from Trenton to Burlington. In 1693, the court ordered Nottingham and Chesterfield to lay out a road to East Jersey. Where this road was, or whether it was ever laid out, is unknown.

At the February 1696-97 sessions of the Burlington County Court, Maidenhead Township was formed from that part of Nottingham Township lying north of the Assunpink. The next year the court ordered the constable of Maidenhead to call "twelve sufficient men" to lay out the King's Highway from a point on the Province line to the Assunpink. This minute in the court book is the first mention one finds of the path from "Inian's Ferry" to the Falls being designated as the King's Highway. The route of the present Lincoln Highway follows, approximately, that of the old King's Highway, which ran down

²⁷ *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, etc., of William Edmundson*, 2nd ed., p. 107.

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to the Assunpink along the present line of Broad Street. The constable returned the following description of the highway:

Beginning on ye s^d line at Yorke old Roade at ye Corner of Joseph Worth's land, thence to ye eight mile Runne thence through Jonathan Daviss his land Improved & Inclosed, thence over ye six mile Runn through Theophilus Philips land, thence over several mens lands and over Thomas Smiths land to ye five mile Runne thence over Mahlon Stacys land to Assanpink Creeke neare ye mill of Mahlon Stacy.

THE MAIDENHEAD ROAD

Dissatisfaction was widespread in Maidenhead in 1698 because of the existence of two roads running from the town down to the Assunpink. Accordingly, a precept was directed by the court to the constable to call the inhabitants together and put the matter to a vote, so that the "Road which shall be pitcht upon & approved of by the majority of votes shall be the Establisht road." Maidenhead Road, as it existed in 1699, is given by the following abstract to be found in the Supreme Court minutes:

Begins at the partition line; by marked trees to 8 mile run; to a white oak in land of Johannes Lawrence; by marked trees to a white oak before Ralph Hunts door by the run; by marked trees to bridge over 6 mile run to Robt Lannings Land; thence direct through Wm Acres land and Jasper Smith's land and Thos Smiths land to 5 mile run to a hiceree tree; by Samuell Mathews and Saml Stacy to Shabakunck Bridge; thence through Mahlon Stacy to mill as trees direct.

Mention is again made of the road leading from Burlington to the Assunpink in the Supreme Court minutes under date of the 19th of the twelfth month (February), 1702. On that day the inhabitants of Nottingham presented the following petition to the justices sitting at Burlington:

Whereas there has been for more than twenty years past a Highway Leading from the ffalls towards Burlington over Croswick Creeke through the plantation now of Samll Overton which Much Shortens the Journey as well as for the Convenancy of Travelers as also for ye Inhabitants of the township of Nottingham and Whereupon the Inhabitants at their Last towne meeting Were Unanimously Concentering and did there all Concenter and agree (Excepting the said Samll Overton) that the same should be so Continued and remaine as a free Bridle Stye and way for travelers and therefore humbly prays the Concurrence of the Court in Confirmation of the same.—Signed in Behalfe of the Town p. Willm Emley Clerk. Whereupon the Court Orders that it shall continue a Bridle Way.

The description of the Burlington Road as a "Bridle Way"

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incidentally indicates what most of the "roads" of that time actually were,—paths wide enough to permit of the passage of a man on horseback or a packhorse. These "roads" continued to be nothing more than bridle ways until 1716, when the Assembly passed an Act for the "Further establishment of Fees and Ferriages." It was not until almost 1800 that they were to become two-, four- and six-rod-wide roads.

The abstract set out above shows that the Burlington "Bridle Way" had existed as far back as 1682. In 1700, then, but two land routes of any importance existed in this section: the King's Highway and the path leading to Burlington. The King's Highway was variously known as the Old Yorke Road and the road to Maidenhead. The road to Burlington was sometimes referred to as the road to Crosswicks.

THE PENNINGTON ROAD

The proprietors, in order to encourage the building of roads throughout the Province, had been very liberal in their concessions. Thus, in 1676 the West Jersey proprietors agreed that:

We do also grant convenient Portions of Land for Highways, and for Streets, not under one Hundred Foot in Breadth, in Cities, Towns and Villages.

And for Wharfs, Keys, Harbours, and for publick Houses in such Places as the Commissioners for the Times being . . . shall appoint, and that all such Lands . . . shall be free and exempt from all Rents, Taxes and other Charges.

It will be noted that the proprietors were especially interested in having wider roads built than those in existence at the time.

In 1681 the General Assembly, in order to promote the building of roads and overcome the resistance shown by landowners through whose lands the roads were laid, directed that "reasonable satisfaction" be given "at the Discretion of the Commissioners" for land taken up for use as public highways. This is the first example of a law, directing that compensation be given for the taking of private property for public use, in the legal history of New Jersey. In 1683 it was enacted that all highways laid out in the Province of West Jersey should be maintained by "the respective Tenth's, wherein the same lye. . . ." In May of the following year, the General Assembly appointed Joshua

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Weight, Thomas Lambert, Percifall Towle, Godfrey Hancock, Elias Farre and John Woolston, commissioners for the laying out of highways in the first tenth. In March 1713-14, the Assembly provided that no action for waste would lie against those who cut and carried away timber standing within the limits of the highways of the Province, if it were used for making or repairing bridges and highways.

By 1750, apparently, the King's Highway had become a frequently travelled route. In 1745, John Dalley, a surveyor of Kingston, advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that he had just made a survey of the road leading "from Trenton to Amboy and set up durable markers every two miles and at each branching road."²⁸ As we shall see later, a stage had been running from Trenton to Philadelphia twice a week since 1737. The road must have become substantially wider and smoother to allow of this sort of travel, although there was still room for a great deal of improvement.

Our attention is narrowed down to the roads immediately in and around Trenton by the Minute Book of the Township of Trenton, containing the minutes of the annual meetings of the inhabitants from 1755 to 1816. At the first meeting, held March 11, 1755, the overseers of roads mentioned are: Alexander Chambers, "Overseer of ye roads"; Benjamin Hart, for "Rodger road"; John Burrows, for the "upper part of the Middle Road beginning a corner stone by David Howells & from thence up to ye Line of Hopewell." In 1756, a new office of overseer was created, John Howell being chosen overseer for the "River Road" at the annual meeting held March 9. At that time we find that "The Town of Trenton agrees to take the river Road as far as Joseph Warrill, esq^r's Gate before his doore of ye same to keep in repaire." The minutes of the annual meeting held March 8, 1757, mention a different classification of overseers: "Rich^d Green & Joseph Green, overseers of Rodgers roads; John Chambers for Trenton Roads; Benjⁿ Green for ye upper Roads."

At this point in the minutes we find a "Retorn of Penny-town

²⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 12, 1745; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 273.

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or Hopewell Road," made back in 1741. It is interesting because in it we find the first written mention of Penny-town (Pennington) Road.

To all whome these may come, know yee that whereas, there was a proper application made unto us the Subscribers, Surveyors for ye Counties of Hunterdon & Burlington, to alter & Regulate ye Roads commonly known by ye Name of ye Middle or Rodgers Road, by Severall of ye Inhabitants of ye said Road, Rendering for reasons as followeth (viz.) that there is a return found of Late of said Road, w^{ch} said Return is dated in ye year 1700, w^{ch} is so long Since, that many of ye Inhabitants would be much prejudist at this time, by the former Return. And wee therefore, by vertue of a Law of the province to us Committed & in Such Case made & provided, Do disanull all former Returns heretofore made weither they are Recorded or not, for as much of ye aboves^d Road, as followeth, from ye Lane w^{ch} Leads from said Road to Joseph Yard's mill to York road w^{ch} leads through Maidenhead to Trenton, to all intents & porposes as though there never had been a Return made, And wee do Lay out that Road as folllweth (viz.) four Rods wide Beginning at ye End of the Lane aboves^d & from thence by ye Severall Courses as ye Road now goes by custom or any other wise, till it comes to Land between Rober Laning & Joseph Greens then on ye Line between ye said Laning & Green as far as the s^d Laning's Land exstends & from thence by ye Severall courses as it now goes to the abovesade York Road, commonly known by ye Name of Maidenhead Road & along ye said Maidenhead road by ye East side of Joseph Higbey's and Benjamin Smiths down to ye Line of Division between hunterdon & Burlington given under our hands this twenty Eight day of December & in ye year of our Lord Seventeen hundred and fourty one. 1741.

This document also reveals the highly important information that the Pennington-Hopewell Road was then known as "ye Middle or Rodgers Road" in its several parts. It also definitely identifies the York Road as Maidenhead Road, the highway leading from Trenton to Lawrenceville (once Maidenhead). Middle Road, as we shall see, is the present-day Scotch Road, and Rodgers Road was soon to be known as Pennington Road.

The commissioners for the laying out and altering of roads for Hunterdon County laid out a road from Samuel Henry's grist mills to Maidenhead Road in May 1758. The description in the township minutes reads:

We do agree the Begining of ye said Road at the end of ye said Henry's Ditch, thence to run a Four Rod road on ye Line between ye said Henry & Moore Forman to a Stake from thence on a Straight Line Between Peter Hankinson & Wm Eley to Maidenhead Road. . . .

The present line of Mulberry Street approximately follows the

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line of this road. A survey made in 1774 established the course now followed almost exactly by that street.

THE SCOTCH OR "MIDDLE" ROAD

The minutes of the annual township meeting, held March 10, 1761, mention that Benjamin Green was chosen overseer "for ye Scotch or Middle Road." This is the first mention we find in the records of Scotch Road. In 1767 the minutes revert to the use of the old name of "Middle Road," but in later annual meetings, the name is definitely dropped for "Scotch Road." In the 1761 minutes one also finds the item that "Whereas there is a Road laid out to Sam^l Henry's Mill, it is therefore agreed by said town that the overseer of ye Roads have power to warn any of the Inhabitants of said township to work on said road." The roads in and about Trenton at this time were invariably repaired by the inhabitants, upon whom the overseers could call to contribute their share of manual labor to the completion of the task. The period when hired workers kept the roads in condition and were paid out of the money raised by taxes was still, in those days, a thing of the future.

"Shabicunk Road" is first mentioned in the township minutes of March 13, 1764. The road ran approximately along the route now followed by Prospect Street and continued north by east in the same line, across Shabakunk Creek.

Travel along the main highways during Colonial days was, at best, a very slow and uncomfortable experience. The roads were far from level, full of mire holes, rocks, stumps and pools of water. The bridges were not always in good repair; the roads wound this way and that, without any guide posts whatsoever to direct the traveller except in those cases where private enterprise had set up direction-posts and milestones. Private coaches rarely traversed the King's Highway leading northeast out of Trenton; only the stages, His Majesty's post, travellers on horseback or farmers carrying their produce to market on horses, used the route. In 1765 the General Assembly decided to act in the matter, and on June 20 passed the following Act:

Whereas the Shortening and Improvement of Roads will greatly facilitate the Conveyance of Letters by the Post, be of great Importance to His

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Majesty's Service, and to commercial Interest and general Convenience of the Inhabitants of this Province. . . .

BE IT ENACTED . . . That *John Berrien, Daniel Coxe, Azariah Dunham, Abraham Clark, junior and Ephraim Terrill*, Esquires, be and are hereby appointed Commissioners to view the Grounds, make a straight and perfect Survey from *Borden-town to Kingston*, and from *Trenton* as near as may through *Princeton, Kingston, New-Brunswick, Elizabeth-town* and *Newark to Second-River*. . . .

The commissioners were empowered to draw a lottery for such sums as they might deem necessary for carrying out the project, not to exceed the sum of £500 proclamation money of the Province.

The notices advertising this lottery appeared in the New York and Philadelphia newspapers in 1765. The straight roads project was, however, delayed by the Stamp Act agitation. In the *New York Journal or General Advertiser* for December 1766, the lottery is again advertised. Daniel Coxe, of Trenton, is mentioned among those in charge of the drawing of the lottery, and is also announced as manager and commissioner of the road from Newark and Elizabeth-town to Trenton and Bordentown, agreeable to the Act of the year preceding. The contemplated improvement is spoken of as the "first thing of the Kind that has been attempted on the Continent." The advertisement promised that the straightening of the road would lop 12 to 15 miles off the New York-Philadelphia route and would make the roads more passable in winter time.²⁹

Nothing came of the whole project in the end, for Governor Franklin, speaking before the Assembly in 1768 of this attempt to shorten the roads, said that "even those which lie between the principal trading cities in North America are seldom passable without danger or difficulty." At about this time, stages travelled the route three times a week, advertising that the trip would be made in one and a half days. In practice, however, two days were required. The mails, carried on horseback, travelled at a faster rate.

THE NEW BRUNSWICK-TRENTON ROAD

In this period, the New Brunswick-Trenton road was con-

²⁹ *The New York Journal or General Advertiser*, December 18, 1766; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXV, p. 256.

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sidered the main thoroughfare from New York to Pennsylvania. Five or six miles south of the Raritan River a road branched off from this highway and, sweeping away to the east, arrived at Burlington. The proprietors ran this road as an opposition road to the Trenton route in the hope of drawing people and trade to the seat of their government. As early as 1700, however, it was clear that the Brunswick-Trenton road was in greater favor with those travelling between New York and Philadelphia.

Shortly before the Revolution a road was opened leading from Trenton "to Pond Run Bridge and Allentown," as the road is designated upon a map drawn in 1789. This road was known as the road to Sandtown, and along it marched Washington's troops on their way to Princeton after the second Battle of Trenton. Hamilton Avenue follows the line of this road.

At the time of the Revolution, that part of the King's Highway below the Assunpink was known as Broad Street, Nottingham, or the road to Crosswicks. This highway is the South Broad Street of today, except for a slight shifting of the line of the street made when the Delaware and Raritan Canal was dug. At that time the road was shifted east for a short distance along its route. The road to Bloomsbury ran from this road down along the present line of Market Street, turning sharply to the left upon reaching the lodge-keeper's gate at the Bloomsbury tract, and then following the course of what is Union Street today.

What we know as Ferry Street was precisely the road leading from Crosswicks Road to Trenton Ferry. About 650 feet down along the line of this road, one came upon the road to Lamberton, running off the Ferry road to the left and down to the projected town of Lamberton.

PUBLIC HIGHWAYS

The most important statute in Colonial days upon the subject of roads was passed March 11, 1774. It designated all roads of four and six rods width as public highways, and made it unlawful for anyone to alter these roads in any way. The election of overseers and surveyors of the highways in each township

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was provided for and their duties and powers set forth. The method to be pursued in applying for the laying out of the new road was detailed, and each inhabitant was required, upon the order of any overseer, to contribute not less than one, nor more than three, days' labor annually towards the repair of the roads in his district. Such an inhabitant might send an able-bodied substitute, and if he provided a cart and horse, these were considered as equal to one man's labor. The overseer was to keep the roads in good repair and clear of obstacles and was to dig necessary ditches and drains. Any person found removing any post, road-mark or milestone already erected was liable to a £5 fine.

In 1775 the question arose as to what overseer was to be held responsible for the "new Road . . . laid out from Samuel Henry's Mill to Maidenhead Road." The surveyors of Hope-well, Maidenhead and Trenton townships had just laid out this road, whose course differed in several respects from the one laid out in 1758. Mulberry Street, as has been noted, follows the line established August 6, 1774.³⁰ In 1775 all the overseers joined in caring for this road, and £10 was voted for the purchase of timber for the repair of the roads. In 1776, the road was assigned to the "overseers of the Middle & Rodgers Road," who continued to attend to it until 1781.

The minutes of the township meeting in 1781 note that William Harcourt was chosen "overseer of Pennington Road." It was in this year, presumably, that the name "Rodgers Road" was dropped and the name "Pennington" substituted. At the meeting held in 1786 it was agreed that each part of the town "maintain their own Road In Every Respect for the Ensuing Year." In 1788 and 1789, £25 was voted for the repair of the roads; in 1790 £75 was needed. The money was ordered raised by a tax. At the annual meeting held April 11, 1791, an overseer "for the Town Spot" was chosen, and it was decided that thereafter roads in the district of the "Town Spot" were to be repaired by means of a separate tax, levied on the inhabitants of that district alone. £35 was ordered raised in this manner.

³⁰ *Road Records of Hunterdon County*, Book I, p. 92.

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THE RIVER ROAD

The River Road finds frequent mention in the township minutes. It had two overseers, one to care for the "upper part" and the other for the "lower part." The road ran from what is now Front and South Willow Streets, northward along the line of Willow to West Hanover Street (then Quarry Street), out along Hanover Street and past what used to be the estates of Rutherford and Colonel Dickinson, and thence in a northwesterly course through Trenton Junction to Bear Tavern. In 1782 Second Street was extended westward past Willow, and became, in that part, a four-rod road leading to Beatty's Ferry. In the fall of the next year, a forty-foot road was opened from Pennington Road to Beatty's Ferry. From Pennington Road to about the point where the Feeder now crosses under Calhoun Street, the road followed the present course of Calhoun Street (then Calhoun Lane), but from that point on it curved away to the right and ran down to the ferry landing.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, travel and cartage became so great that turnpike companies were chartered in all sections of the East. The present Brunswick Pike is the result of the chartering of the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company on November 14, 1804. The incorporators were James Ewing, Joshua Wright, John Neilson, James Schureman and Thomas Hill. The road was to be four rods wide from Trenton to New Brunswick. Subscriptions were two thousand shares, \$100 par value, five dollars to be paid down on each share upon subscribing. In 1807, the Princeton and Kingston Branch Turnpike Company was incorporated. It ran along the line of Princeton Avenue and up to Princeton, joining the old road at Kingston. In Revolutionary days Beakes Lane ran along the line of Princeton Avenue, from the Five Points site up to the Beakes plantation. The Pennington Road also became a turnpike road early in the 1800's as did the Allentown route. The first turnpike to be chartered in Burlington County was the Bordentown to Trenton route, November 24, 1808. Tolls were charged on all these turnpikes, of course, but after a period of years the tolls were eliminated.

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III. Stage Coaches

THE earliest method of land travel was by foot or on horseback. Where there were goods to be carried, packhorses were used. The roads, as we have just seen, were nothing more than paths. A traveller, journeying from New York to Philadelphia, proceeded to Elizabeth-town and followed the old Dutch road to New Brunswick, where the river was forded at low water. From there he continued on in an almost straight line to Trenton, where he and his horse forded the Delaware just above the Falls. Later, when the paths were widened and took on the semblance of roads, and ferries had been established along the river, the stage coach came into existence and travel became a less uncomfortable undertaking.

The earliest advertisement of a stage line on record appeared in the *American Weekly Mercury* for September 19-26, 1723. The notice ran:

If any Person or Persons may have occasion to pass or repass, or convey goods from Philadelphia to Trenton and backward, their Goods may be secured at the House of John Wollard at Trentown, in order for further Conveyance. Such Persons may enquire, or repair to the House of the said John Wollard in Trentown by the Mill there, or at the Crooked Billet in Philadelphia. Passengers may come, and Goods may be convey'd from Trentown, every Monday or Tuesday, and from Philadelphia, every Thursday or Friday.³¹

William Atlee and Thomas Hooton went into the stage business in 1738. Their notice appeared in the January 31-February 7, 1737-38 issue of the *American Weekly Mercury*:

To Accomodate the PUBLIC

There will be a STAGE WAGON set out from Trenton to Brunswick, Twice a Week, and back again during next Summer: It will be fitted up with Benches and Cover'd over so that Passengers may sit Easy and Dry and Care will be taken to Deliver Goods and Messages safe.³²

The first trip was made on Monday, March 27, 1737-38, the stage setting out from Atlee and Hooton's in Trenton. The stage ran every Monday and Thursday from Trenton, and every

³¹ *American Weekly Mercury*, September 19-26, 1723; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 75.

³² *American Weekly Mercury*, January 31-February 7, 1737-38; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 521.

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Tuesday and Friday from New Brunswick. The charge was 2s. 6d. the passenger.

The Atlee and Hooton stage ran during the summer of 1738 and was then discontinued. On April 10, 1740, the stage was revived: "The Stage-Waggon will be continued and go twice a Week certain, from *Trenton* Ferry every *Monday* and *Thursday*, and from Brunswick back again every *Tuesday* and *Friday*, during the Summer."³³ The "stage-waggon" used was a covered one, and the rate per passenger the same as before. Goods were carried at 2s. the hundred-weight. William Atlee and Joseph Yeates were the owners.

It will be noted that the Atlee stage ran only during the summer season. It was well-nigh impossible to traverse the roads during the winter or spring because of their miry condition or the accumulation of snow and ice. It was not until a quarter of a century later that the winter stage line was to put in its appearance. At this time Joseph Borden of Bordentown announced the opening of his line of stage wagons "between Perth-Amboy and Bordens-town," and a line of stage boats between Bordentown and Philadelphia. Borden was intent upon cutting off his growing rival, Trenton. The Trenton lines, like the Trenton-Brunswick road, were too popular with the travelers to be affected; in the end they won out in the uneven struggle for patronage.

Upon William Atlee's death, his widow and administratrix, Jane, advertised his "Waggon with five Horses, and Appurtenances, well fitted for a Stage-Waggon, a Servant Man's Time, for three Years, being us'd to drive said Waggon . . ." for sale.³⁴ William Willson, of New Brunswick, bought the wagon and reestablished the stage route which Atlee had so successfully managed. The stage ran twice a week as before, and on the same days. Persons sending goods from Philadelphia were asked to "direct them to the care of Thomas Hutton in Trenton, and those from New-York to William Willson in

³³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 10, 1740; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 21.

³⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 7, 1744; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 224.

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New-Brunswick, where care shall be taken to forward them speedily and in good Order.”³⁵

In 1753, Andrew Ramsay, of Long Island Ferry, took over the Trenton Ferry and announced that he would open a stage line between New Brunswick and Trenton and a stage boat service between Trenton and Philadelphia.³⁶ He promised to give notice of the days on which his stage would run, but no further announcement of his stage schedule is to be found. In all probability, the stage never ran.

A NEW YORK-PHILADELPHIA STAGE LINE

A Philadelphia to New York stage line, running via Trenton and Perth Amboy and covering the distance in three days, was announced in 1756. This was the first through service between these two large cities of the eastern coast. John Butler of Philadelphia was the owner.³⁷ The trip was made in three stages, passengers and goods out of Philadelphia being shifted to another stage at the house of Nathaniel Parker at Trenton Ferry, and again at New Brunswick, and yet again at the Blazing Star Ferry at Amboy, where they were transferred to a stage boat which ran to Powle's Hook on the New York side. In 1757 this stage ran twice a week, setting out from Philadelphia on Tuesdays and Fridays.³⁸

Jonathan Biles of Philadelphia established yet another Philadelphia to New York stage service in 1763. His stage wagons left Philadelphia every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, arriving at Trenton Ferry the same day. There the goods and passengers were transferred to other stage wagons to be carried to Brunswick, and from thence to Elizabeth-town or Amboy, as the passenger might choose. After October 1 and

³⁵ *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 7, 1744; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 229.

³⁶ *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, June 4, 1753; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XIX, p. 265.

³⁷ *The Pennsylvania Journal*, November 18, 1756; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XX, p. 78.

³⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1757; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XX, p. 116.

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during the winter, the stage ran only on Mondays and Thursdays.³⁹

In 1764, John Barnhill of Philadelphia purchased Biles's stage business and equipment and continued the stage wagon service between Philadelphia and Trenton Ferry. The stage set out for Trenton every Monday and Thursday.⁴⁰

Another Powle's Hook-Philadelphia stage appeared on the scene in 1765, and was operated by John Mersereau, William Richards, John Downey and John Barnwell. The stage left Philadelphia for Trenton every Monday and Thursday; the next day passengers were carried forward to New Brunswick by another stage. On the third day they were conveyed from that place to the Blazing Star Ferry in yet another wagon, taking the stage boat for Powle's Hook at once upon arrival at that point. Barnwell had charge of the Philadelphia-Trenton run. The stage from Powle's Hook to Philadelphia started out every Wednesday and Saturday. The charge was 4s. the passenger for each stage, or 12s. for the entire trip. Goods were carried at the rate of 3s. 6d. per hundred-weight.

In 1766, Barnhill, who had been running his Philadelphia-Trenton stage for two years, opened a stage line from Philadelphia to New York, announcing that his "flying machine" would perform the journey in two days from April 14 to November 14, and in three days during the other five months of the year. The stage set out from Philadelphia every Monday and Thursday "punctually at sun-rise," arriving at Princeton the same night. There the passengers were taken up by John Masherew, who conveyed them to the Blazing Star Ferry the next day while Barnhill returned to Philadelphia. The charge was 10s. for each stage, or 20s. for the entire distance, ferriage free. The rate per mile for persons travelling only a part of a stage was 3d. The wagon seats of the Barnhill stage were set on springs—an especial comfort in those days of travel.⁴¹ The stage line pros-

³⁹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 18, 1763; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 223.

⁴⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 7, 1764; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 376.

⁴¹ *Pennsylvania Journal*, February 13, 1766; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXV, p. 25.

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pered; a notice in the *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy* of May 9, 1768, announced that:

There will be but two Waggon, but four sets of fresh Horses, so it will be very safe for any Person to send Goods, as there are but two Drivers; they may exchange their Goods without any Mistake. Persons may now go from New York to Philadelphia, and back again in five Days, and remain in Philadelphia two Nights and one Day to do their Business in: The Public may be assured that the Road is much the shortest than any other to Philadelphia. . . .

Abraham Skilman set out to duplicate Barnhill's achievement in 1770. His route was the usual Powle's Hook-Philadelphia route, covered in two days "with a good neat covered WAGGON and Horses suitable." The rates were the same as Barnhill's, but the stage ran but once a week, setting out from Philadelphia every Friday morning, with Skilman driving the entire way. To attract patronage, Skilman advertised that "he would never chuse to carry above 8 Passengers at a Time, though there might be Room for 1 or 2 more on Occasion. . . ." ⁴² Barnhill saw through Skilman's attempt to establish an opposition line, and circulated an advertisement to that effect in Philadelphia, adding that Skilman's line would not, as did his, run in the winter. Skilman immediately gave the lie to this statement, answering that his stage would run both in winter and summer, as advertised, and that opposition on his part was impossible, since his stage left Philadelphia a day later (Friday) than Barnhill's. ⁴³

"FLYING MACHINES"

In 1772 John Mersereau (the Masherew in charge of the Blazing Star Ferry end of Barnhill's stage, sometimes called Mercerow, as in Skilman's answer to Barnhill, above) made the startling announcement that his "flying machine" would cover the New York-Philadelphia route in a day and a half, setting out from Powle's Hook every Monday, Wednesday and Fri-

⁴² *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, May 28, 1770; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVII, p. 163.

⁴³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 8, 1771; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 537-8.

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day. From November 1 to May 1 the trip was to take two days.⁴⁴ As before, Barnhill was in charge of the Philadelphia end of the run. The stage had been running on a two-day schedule.⁴⁵

Joseph Hart of Philadelphia, announced in July 1772 that his "PHILADELPHIA STAGE COACH, a very pleasant, easy and delightful Carriage," running between Philadelphia and New York, was about to open.⁴⁶ The fare was 30s.—10s. more than Barnhill and Mercereau charged. The coach, equipped to carry "very commodiously eight persons," set out from Philadelphia on Tuesdays, making the trip in two days and returning from Powle's Hook on Fridays.⁴⁷

The next year Charles Bessnot (Bessonett, in other advertisements) established a Philadelphia-New York stage which set out from Philadelphia before dawn every Tuesday and Friday, making the trip in two days. Passengers changed at Princeton. The fare was \$4 the passenger, half to be paid down at the time his name was entered on the books for the trip. Outside passengers were carried for 20s., and baggage weighing one stone or less was carried free. The charge was 2d. for every pound over.⁴⁸

At this time the Philadelphia-New York route ran out of Philadelphia to Bristol and on to the Pennsylvania side of Trenton Ferry. The crossing was made on the large, flat ferry boats, and the trip continued on the other side up the Ferry Road to the Eagle Hotel, located on the northwest corner of what is now Ferry and South Broad Streets. There the stage turned left and proceeded along the Crosswicks Road, across the Assunpink bridge and up Queen Street to the Old York Road, passing through Maidenhead, "Prince-Town," Kingston, Brunswick, Elizabeth and Newark to Powle's Hook.

⁴⁴ *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, January 13, 1772; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 23.

⁴⁵ *The New York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy*, January 14, 1771; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVII, p. 341.

⁴⁶ *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, July 13-20, 1772; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 189.

⁴⁷ *New York Gazette or Weekly Mercury*, July 27, 1772; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 204.

⁴⁸ *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 7, 1773; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 481.

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POSTAL SERVICE

While the stages competed with one another in trying to establish better time along the New York-Philadelphia route, the mail enjoyed a swifter service than ever the passengers. The first general postal service for the American Colonies was established by royal patent granted February 17, 1691, appointing Thomas Neale, Esq., of England, as its head, commissioned with authority to establish postoffices and post-routes "within the King's Colony and plantations in America." It was Neale who appointed Colonel John Hamilton, son of Governor Andrew Hamilton of New Jersey, deputy postmaster-general, about 1694. (The *New York Gazette* for July 31, 1732, speaks of the General Postoffice as having been established about thirty-eight years previously by Colonel Hamilton.) Some effort must have been made to have the mails go through to their destination on a regular schedule, but speed could hardly have been a factor in the days when roads were roads in name only. The post frequently was a week late because of the condition of the roads or the state of the weather.

The first postal route in this section was out of Philadelphia to Burlington, Amboy and New York. In 1720 the post left Philadelphia every Friday, arriving at New York Sunday night. It was not unusual for the post to be from one to three days late. Even this was an improvement over the service of a score of years before, when the mail, on one occasion, was a week behind, and this in the pleasant month of May.

The mails continued to run once a week between New York and Philadelphia until 1754, when Benjamin Franklin became superintendent of the mails and improved the postal service. In October of that year it was announced that the mails would leave the two cities three times a week regularly, at eight in the morning, and arrive at their destination on the next day at five in the afternoon. Certainly this 33-hour service was far speedier than the stage schedule. After Christmas the postal service was maintained regularly once a week.

Improvements in the speed and handling of the post went on apace, until in 1764 it was announced that the mail would leave

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Philadelphia and New York every alternate day and go through in 24 hours or less. The Revolution, of course, disrupted this schedule, but after the war it probably returned to its former efficiency until the railroads came to improve it immeasurably. Concerning the movement of the mails in the post-Revolutionary period, little information is to be had.

All during this time the mail was carried by post riders; any other means of transporting the mails could never have achieved the swiftness with which letters were carried between New York and Philadelphia. Small parcels were carried by the stage and not by the post riders. With the coming of better roads at the turn of the century, the mail coach came into being. The route commonly followed out of Philadelphia led along the stage route to Trenton Ferry, through Trenton and then up to New Brunswick along the old King's Highway. When Trenton Ferry was discontinued, the coaches went by way of the upper ferry for a while. Soon after they returned to the old route and crossed the river by way of the newly built bridge in South Trenton.

The mail was carried in a four-horse stage coach, driven by the best driver obtainable. Beside him on the front seat sat a bugler, and on the booth behind stood a guardsman with a brace of pistols in his belt. On entering Trenton by way of the lower bridge, the bugler would strike up a patriotic air, usually "Yankee Doodle" or "Hail Columbia." (Some contemporaries maintain that the tune was the same in and out of season, and served as a warning for the children and people in the street to make way for the swift-moving stage.) Fresh horses were hitched up at Mrs. Shuff's tavern. In 1811, mail coaches leaving New York or Philadelphia at 2 p.m. arrived at their destination at six the next morning. This was the best schedule ever achieved by the mail stages.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY STAGES

The stages, like the mails, found trouble in maintaining any sort of schedule during the Revolutionary days and for some time after. With the new government established and times somewhat more settled than they had been for a long time, the stages came back into prominence again. The "flying machines,"

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a term which seems to have been applied to almost every sort of a stage coach, were uncomfortable and ungainly vehicles. A German traveller passing through this section in 1788 described them as

. . . large wooden carts, light to be sure, but neither convenient nor of neat appearance. They carry from ten to twelve passengers with luggage, are drawn by four horses only, and go very fast. The charge for this journey [New York to Philadelphia] is five to six Spanish dollars the passenger.

In April 1795 we find Peter Howell advertising a "two-horse coachee," which left Trenton for Philadelphia every Wednesday and Saturday at 11 a.m. The fare per passenger was 12s. 6d. and 14 pounds of baggage was allowed. In the *Federalist* of July 8, 1800, John C. Hummel and Joseph Vandergrift announced that they would run a line of stage coaches between Trenton and Philadelphia, which would leave Trenton from the Sign of the New Jersey Dragon. Early the next year, Hummel notified the public that the "Trenton Accomodation Stage," as he called it, was not discontinued, but ran every day except Sunday, from his house, the Union Inn in Trenton.⁴⁹ A short two months later, we find Thomas Porter running a "new stage" between Trenton and Philadelphia, leaving Trenton from John C. Hummel's tavern. Apparently he had taken over Hummel's line. The stage left Trenton on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and Philadelphia (from John Carpenter's) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, during the summer season. Porter offered the rather unique service of a coachee and horses "to go to any part of the Continent."⁵⁰ A week later Joseph Vandergrift went back into the stage business and set up his stage office next door to the Indian Queen Tavern. His coaches ran daily from Trenton and Philadelphia.⁵¹

On June 23, 1801, Samuel Gordon and Samuel Coward started a line of stage coaches between Trenton and Long Branch, running from the City Hotel, corner Warren and Bank Streets, via Allentown and Monmouth Court House.⁵²

Yet another Trenton-Philadelphia stage line was established

⁴⁹ *Federalist*, February 28, 1801.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, April 13, 1801.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, April 21, 1801.

⁵² *ibid.*, June 23, 1801.

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in 1802. Peter Probasco and John Dean were its owners, and their coaches traversed the route every day of the week, Sundays excepted. The stage office was located two doors above the Indian Queen. In 1805 came the Trenton and Philadelphia Line, managed and owned by John Mannington and Aseph Stowell, whose stage office was next door to the City Bank.⁵³ This line, unlike many of its competitors, ran for some time. In 1807 we find Mannington advertising this same coach service; the "coachee stages" left Philadelphia daily, except on Sunday, at 8 a.m., and arrived in Trenton in time for dinner at the owner's tavern, which was also the stage office mentioned above. The fare was one dollar and fifty cents one way. Yet another Philadelphia line of stages was set up in 1814 by John Lafaucherie and G. H. Vanderveer.⁵⁴ The coaches ran from Fish's tavern (Indian King Tavern), Trenton, stopped for passengers at Vandergrift's tavern in Lamberton, and proceeded to the Sign of the Sorrel Horse in Philadelphia. This was a daily service.

During this period, as has been indicated above, the steamboat established itself as an accepted mode of travel on the Delaware. Stage owners ran their conveyances down to the landing to discharge and take on passengers. In 1814, for example, we find John Lafasherie (*sic*), John Gulick and Robert Letson announcing that their steamboat stages continue to run from the Philadelphia steamboat to New York every Monday and Friday, the hour of departure being postponed until the arrival of the boat from Philadelphia.⁵⁵ The next year we find the announcement of the Trenton and Philadelphia stage, owned by Lafaucherie himself, stating that the line will run daily between Trenton and Philadelphia as soon as the steamboats stop sailing.⁵⁶ The coaches stopped for passengers at John Voorhees' Sign of the Steamboat hotel in Bloomsbury, which was located at what is now the corner of Warren and Bridge Streets.

Lafaucherie continued an active figure in local stage-line

⁵³ *ibid.*, September 16, 1805.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, January 24, 1814.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, April 17, 1814.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, November 27, 1815.

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circles for many years. In 1819 we find him in partnership with Isaac Merriam and Lewis Thompson, maintaining a daily stage service between this city and Philadelphia. The stages set forth from John Anderson's inn, the Rising Sun, and called for passengers at the various inns in Trenton along the way. Connections were made with the steamboat *Philadelphia*, at Bloomsbury Wharf. The stages were called by the polite name of "coach-carriages."⁵⁷ In 1822, Lafaucherie and Merriam, always enterprising, made an agreement with the proprietors of the steamboat *Philadelphia*, whereby they were enabled to give all steamboat passengers free stage service between the Trenton inns and the boat in Bloomsbury.⁵⁸ Thus we find these two partners engaging in a Philadelphia stage service and a steamboat stage line at the same time. The line to Philadelphia was apparently called the Citizen's Line of stages.

The stage coaches of this time carried not only passengers and baggage, but also mail for any one who would place confidence in the owners of the conveyances. Lafaucherie and Merriam offered to carry mail in their Philadelphia coaches.⁵⁹ In 1827, Joseph I. Thompson carried both mail and passengers on his mail stage between Trenton and New Brunswick. The stage ran daily, except Sundays, leaving Trenton at eight in the morning, changing horses at Princeton and arriving at Brunswick in short order. The fare was one dollar. C. H. Vanderveer ran a line of mail stages to New Brunswick the next year, in competition with Thompson's line.

A new stage route was established in 1830 when J. W. and W. C. Dusenberry, of Belvidere, set up the Trenton-Belvidere line of mail stages. Contemporary Trentonians recall the four-horse coaches that made daily trips to Belvidere before the coming of the railroad. The route of the stage line led out of West State Street.

This account of the stages, arranged chronologically, will give one a fair idea of the development of stage-coach transportation in this section. The main highways were well travelled,

⁵⁷ *Federalist*, January 5, 1819.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, April 2, 1822.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, August 19, 1822.

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as many as five competing lines traversing them in certain periods. The coaches never achieved a real comfort and travellers from the Continent, accustomed to a smoother and older service, found much to criticize in these American conveyances. Schedules were not regular until after 1800; the roads remained more or less unimproved until that period also. Competing stage lines looked more to cutting down the running time between New York, Trenton and Philadelphia as a measure of success than to watching after the comfort of their passengers. With the passing of time, however, inns sprang up along the main routes, the roads were improved, the more comfortable coaches and "coach-carriages" replaced the "flying machines" which had been built with an eye for speed only. A greater measure of safety attended the swifter schedules, so that by the time that the railroads appeared on the scene, stage-coach travel in this vicinity had been developed to a high degree. The steamboats and the trains offered far better facilities for travel, however, so that after 1820 stage travel began its gradual, though sure and steady, decline. With the '40's, the stages had quite disappeared.

IV. Ferries

THE ferries that were established at Trenton, like the bridges which were to replace them, must be considered as extensions of the highways. Travellers hastening across New Jersey toward Philadelphia, or coming from Pennsylvania into our State, were faced with the problem of getting across the Delaware. Though small boats might be used to carry the travellers across, there was no way in which they might have transported their carriages and horses, or bulky articles.

TRENT'S FERRY

In 1725, James Trent, eldest son of William Trent, petitioned William Burnet, governor of the Province, for the right to maintain a ferry at Trenton Falls. By the law of England, the right of ferriage was, like the right to conduct a fair or market, a privilege which had its origin in a statute or royal grant. The

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patent for a ferry was granted to James Trent on February 7, 1726, and recited among other reasons⁶⁰ for the grant that James Trent's father, William Trent, had gone to much expense in establishing Trent Town and further sets forth the need for such ferry as follows:

Travellers to and from New York and Philadelphia have of late usually gone through Trenton aforesaid, on their way where they are obliged to cross the River Delaware sometimes by riding the same when it is fordable and other times by hiring of boats from those who are not under obligation of letting them or of attendance and keeping convenient boats for transportation of goods and passengers; that it would be a great security and convenience to travellers that a regular ferry or ferries be erected and kept for carrying of travellers and goods over the Delaware River aforesaid, near to said Town of Trent Town which our loving subject James Trent is willing to undertake upon our granting to him and his heirs the sole liberty of keeping the same. . . .

Trent immediately established a ferry at what is now the foot of Ferry Street. This ferry was known at various times as the "Trenton Ferry," the "Old Ferry," the "Middle Ferry" and also as the "Upper Ferry."

Trenton Ferry had a checkered existence. Often there are lapses in its history which hint at its discontinuance, but always it was revived by some enterprising newcomer. Thus in 1753 we find one, Andrew Ramsay, "late of Long Island Ferry," announcing that the Trenton Ferry is revived under his management. Ramsay was a lessee of the ferry right under Robert Lettis Hooper, the then owner. The ferry was well patronized by stage coaches on the New York-Philadelphia run and by other travellers having occasion to cross the river at Trenton. In 1753 a number of French soldiers, deserters from the Mississippi expedition, passed over the ferry. The next year George Burns, of New York, advertised that he had opened a house of entertainment at the ferry, a sign that it enjoyed good patronage.

Hooper advertised the ferry, along with his mills, buildings and land, for sale in January, 1765.⁶¹ The notice brought no buyers, as appears from another advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of May 28-June 4, 1770, offering the same

⁶⁰ See pp. 48-9, Chap. I, above.

⁶¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 17, 1765; *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 471.

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properties for sale. Shortly after this, Daniel W. Coxe bought the ferry, for in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for October 4, 1770, he announces that "Trenton Ferry, Tavern and premises" are to let, and that he has "nearly compleated an entire new wharf for the accomodation of the Ferry."⁶²

It was Rensselaer Williams who answered Coxe's advertisement for a lessee of the ferry patent. On November 22, 1773, Williams announced the removal of his Royal Oak Inn to Trenton Ferry. He and Patrick Colvin advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 30, 1774, announcing themselves as eager to satisfy the public, "even by a sacrifice of their own interest, and at a rate really not to be afforded," and ready to "ferry all persons, horses, carriages, etc., upon the same terms, and as low a rate and price as any ferry within the distance of four miles on the river." They claimed their ferry to be more convenient and "nearer by a considerable distance than the Ferry below, and narrower by upwards of one hundred yards." The appeal for the custom of the public was also made in the New York papers. Apparently, Elijah Bond, who had established "the Ferry below" (to which reference will be made), was giving the Trenton Ferry stiff competition. By Christmas, 1774, Coxe was advertising Trenton Ferry "to be lett from the first of next March"; Williams, seemingly, hadn't been able to meet Bond's challenge.

The year 1776 saw Coxe without a lessee for his ferry patent. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 3, 1776, he announces "Trenton Ferry and Plantation whereupon Mr. Rensselaer Williams now lives, to be LETT for one or more years, together with the TAVERN, Farm, etc. . . ." In December of the same year, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* carried an item announcing that "the elegant house of Daniel Coxe, Esquire, at Tren-

⁶² Ferries at this time were closely regulated by the Provincial government. By an Act of December 6, 1769, those maintaining ferries were always to keep their equipment in good order, with sufficient hands to attend the ferry, and were not to deny, nor unnecessarily delay, the speedy carrying over of passengers, their goods and carriages, under penalty of a 20s. fine for each offense. Unreasonable ferriages were not allowed. The next Assembly was to have established a fixed scale of ferry rates, but it seems that this was not done.

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ton Ferry," had been burned by the British. This house was probably situated on Bloomsbury farm, and its destruction would seem to have been wholly accidental, in view of the fact that Coxe was a counsellor and friend of the British army.

BOND'S FERRY

At about this time Rensselaer Williams, who had continued to conduct the tavern at Trenton Ferry, removed to the center of town, where he reopened his "Royal Oak" in the house of Abraham Cottnam, on the northeast corner of Queen and Third Streets. After him, Thomas Janney came to live at "Trenton Old Ferry," as it was then called. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 8, 1776, Janney sets forth the advantages of the ferry which he had just leased, claiming it to be a mile nearer to Philadelphia than the Bond Ferry below. Thomas Harvey, who had just taken over that ferry, rushed to its defense, advertising that the difference in distance in favor of the Old Ferry was a scant half-mile and sixty rood. He announced, furthermore, that he had "provided a more commodious boat than has ever been heretofore at either Ferry" and that it was he who had been "the sole cause of lowering the Ferriage more than a third of the former price, which is a great saving to the public."

The ferry thus advertised by Thomas Harvey had been established by Elijah Bond in June 1773. It was two miles below Trenton and about a mile below the Trenton Ferry owned by Coxe. The landing was just below the present site of Riverview Cemetery. The Pennsylvania end was owned by John Thornton. In advertising the ferry, Bond advanced in its favor its remoteness from the Falls, thus insuring a freedom from the rapidity of the stream and the rocks further upstream. He emphasized, also, the absence of the many shallows which one found at Trenton Ferry and which obstructed the landing of the ferry boats there. The smooth landings and good road leading to the ferry were also mentioned. The rates of ferriage announced were:

Footman, 3d.; Man and Horse, 6d.; Horse and Chair, 1s. 6d.; Chair and two Horses, 2s.; 4-wheeled Carriage with two Horses, 3s.; with four Horses, 4s.; with five Horses, 5s.; Cattle per head, 6d.; Sheep and Calves, 1½d. per head.

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Bond's ferry, because of its low rates and natural advantages, pressed Coxe's ferry hard for patronage. In 1773, Courtland Skinner, the attorney-general of the Province, presented his memorial to Governor William Franklin, asking permission (as was required by the laws of the Colony) to file an information in the nature of a quo warranto against Elijah Bond for usurping the prerogative of the Crown in "erecting a public ferry in the province of Nottingham in the County of Burlington, without any license or grant for that purpose." There is no indication of the permission ever having been given or the information having been filed.

Thomas Harvey took over the Bond Ferry in 1776. It was by his ferry that the American troops under General James Ewing had planned to cross on Christmas night, 1776, to join Washington in a concerted attack upon the Hessians. Many writers on the Battle of Trenton have considered Trenton Ferry as the place chosen for the crossing, but Stryker questions this. The movements of the troops further down the river would be far less open to observation by the Hessians than would a movement at Trenton Ferry. There is also the consideration that Daniel Coxe, the owner of this latter ferry, was notoriously in sympathy with the British.

From Harvey's hands, Bond's ferry passed into the ownership of Major William Trent, a son of Colonel William Trent, who advertised the ferry and adjacent lands and buildings for sale.⁶³ At this period the ferry was known as the Continental Ferry, *i.e.*, the ferry designated by the quartermaster department as the one by which men in active army service might pass at a reduced rate of ferriage. In January 1781, the Legislature of the State set this rate at one-third the usual ferriage.

In 1779, the property of Daniel Coxe was confiscated under a judgment rendered in favor of the State of New Jersey on an inquisition found against him for his Tory connections. Accordingly, John Butler and Joseph Borden, commissioners of forfeited estates for Burlington County, advertised the ferry for

⁶³ *New Jersey Gazette*, September 16, 1778; *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II, p. 429.

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sale.⁶⁴ The sale was to be held on April 10. Hugh Runyan bought in the ferry patent and 496 acres of land.

In June of the same year, the Trenton Ferry, or, as it was confusingly called, the "Upper Ferry," was made the Continental Ferry. On September 25, 1780, however, Colonel Samuel Miles, deputy quartermaster for the State of Pennsylvania, and Colonel John Neilson, deputy quartermaster for the State of New Jersey, advertised that inhabitants on both sides of the river, contiguous to the Continental Ferry, attend them on October 9 at stated places that they might "consult with such of the said inhabitants as shall attend . . . whether it will conduce more to the public interest to continue the continental ferry where it now is, or have it removed down the river where it was formerly kept." The result was that the Continental Ferry was removed to the old Bond Ferry. But in May 30, 1781, the deputy quartermaster of New Jersey was announcing that the Continental Ferry, after June 7, could be located at the Upper (*i.e.*, Trenton) Ferry.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FERRIES

The ferries of this time employed flat-bottomed, low-sided boats like scows, for the transportation of travellers, carriages and goods. Perhaps a boat resembling the Durham boat was also used; we know that they were used further up the river. Although some ferries elsewhere effected the crossing by means of a cable, or rope, sliding along an overhead cable or wire strung from shore to shore, Trenton ferries used long poles, and some of them a sail, to negotiate the passage. The Trenton ferries seem to have been as safe as any others in the East, and quite as well patronized, but there were those who expressed dissatisfaction with them. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld, writing in his *Travels in 1795-97*, speaks of the ferry "a quarter of a mile beyond Trenton . . . which, though ten stage coaches daily pass in it, is such that it would be reckoned a very bad ferry in Europe." John Bernard, writing in 1797, mentions a crossing in the ferry at Trenton "in one of those flat-bottomed, low-sided

⁶⁴ *New Jersey Gazette*, March 3, 1779; *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. III, p. III.

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Dutch floats called scows" and relates how the horses, frightened by the sudden flapping of the square sail, jumped overboard. A tragedy was barely averted, unlike twenty years before when a similar incident occurred. A *Traveller's Directory* of the period, however, tells of five four-horse stages between Philadelphia and New York "besides a great number of private carriages, chaises, horses, etc.," using the ferry boats and making the trip "with the greatest safety from shore to shore, by means of poles."

Who conducted the Trenton Ferry after Runyan bought it is unknown. In 1797 we find P. Howell and Amos Howell informing the public that the Trenton Old Ferry has been kept by them for some time past and is still maintained by them.⁶⁵ In 1803 Amos Howell was still at this ferry, now called the "Middle Ferry," as appears from a notice inserted in the *Federalist* of July 18, 1803. In 1804, the Delaware bridge was built and the doom of the Old Trenton Ferry sealed. The ferry-house was advertised for sale⁶⁶ in 1805, along with other dwellings and lots.

The *Gazette and Advertiser* of July 11, 1797, carries a notice by Peter Hunt and Samuel Ivins that they "have established a new Ferry at Lamberton, provided with good and new boats." In 1799⁶⁷ they announce that they have taken the Lamberton ferry "into their own hands again," which would seem to indicate that for a time the ferry had either been discontinued or managed by other owners. The *Federalist* of November 25, 1800, carries the notice of a sale of thirty lots along the Delaware, between Trenton and Lamberton, to be sold "at the Ferry House kept by Samuel Harris." It would seem that the ferry house referred to was the one at Lamberton Ferry, the "Middle Ferry" being managed by the Howells. With the building of the bridge in 1804, Lamberton Ferry was advertised for rent for one or more years; after that it disappears from the scene, along with the Trenton Ferry.

⁶⁵ *Gazette and Advertiser*, August 15, 1797.

⁶⁶ *Federalist*, October 14, 1805.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, March 18.

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THE BEATTY FERRY

There was no ferry above the Falls early in the eighteenth century, for in 1732 a notice in the July 24-31 issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* mentions one Warren Barr as the person who "formerly kept the Ferry next above Delaware Falls, on the Jersey side." This ferry was located below the present Yardley bridge. It is not until the time of the Revolution that we find mention of a ferry nearer to the Falls than the one just mentioned. It was George Beatty who maintained a ferry with a landing just above where the waste weir is now located. A road led down from Pennington Road, past Camptown, to the ferry, tracing the present line of Calhoun Street as far as the River Road and at that point curving away to the right and down to the ferry landing. State Street, in 1799, was described in an ordinance as "the street running nearly parallel (to Greene Street), leading towards . . . Beatty's ferry."

That George Beatty must have established this ferry during the Revolution, or perhaps before that time, is indicated by the fact that he put in a claim to Congress for compensation for the damage done to his ferry during the war. Stryker mentions the ferry in his *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*. In November 1781, three travellers, Samuel Hay, Robert Watson and James Dunlap, published a puff for Beatty's ferry in the *Pennsylvania papers*, detailing how Patrick Colvin at Trenton Ferry had sought to overcharge them, and how they had proceeded three-quarters of a mile up the river to where John Burrows kept the Pennsylvania side of the ferry and been promptly carried over at the regular rates. They recommend the ferry to the public for their custom. In 1782 Burrows and Beatty announced that they had "at length obtained a road laid out by authority, from the Bristol Road to the New Trenton Ferry, the shortest way, a pleasant, sandy, dry road at all seasons of the year."

John Rutherford succeeded Beatty at the ferry. The ferry above the Falls did not always stay in one place; its landings on either shore were frequently shifted that the tide might be used to best advantage and a smoother passage gained. In 1802, Rutherford advertised his tavern and ferry house to let, giving

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as a reason that the ferry was to be kept at another house. The new ferry was located several rods above the old one. Joseph Kirkbride opened a new ferry on the Pennsylvania side the same year, also a few rods above the old one, "directly at the junction of the said river and the New Milford Road."⁶⁸ Boats started from his ferry landing on the Pennsylvania side and arrived at John Rutherford's new landing. In June 1802, Mahlon Reed announced that he was attending the Rutherford Ferry, where the public mail carriages and other stages crossed daily. Robert Perkins was in charge of the Pennsylvania side. Reed advertised the ferry as the only one from the city of Trenton over to the Pennsylvania shore.

John Rutherford tried to sell his ferry in August 1806, together with the two ferry houses on either side of the river. These seem to have been the old Beatty ferry houses. In 1820⁶⁹ Kirkbride, still proprietor of the Pennsylvania side of the ferry, sought to dispose of his forty acres on which were the ferry house and ferry. In 1822 Rutherford again tried to sell the ferry on both sides of the river, but the property remained in his possession, for in partition proceedings in Chancery in 1845⁷⁰ involving the property of the then deceased Rutherford, the ferry rights and privileges are mentioned. William Crossly tenanted the Rutherford ferry house in 1831 when it was damaged in a fire.⁷¹

Soon after, the father of John Briest⁷² moved into the ferry house. Samuel Crossley kept the hotel and ferry house on the Pennsylvania side, and he and Briest operated the ferry. Briest described the ferry boat as a large scow, which could carry two horses and wagons, and passengers. It was propelled by poles, a man on each side of the boat doing the pushing. Cattle, sheep and hogs, on their way to the New York markets from the West, swam the river at the ferry, a few beasts being put on the boat to serve as decoys. The lower bridge, for some reason, was not

⁶⁸ *Federalist*, May 11.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, March 6, 1820.

⁷⁰ *Rutherford et al. vs. Rutherford*, Enrolled in F. 3, p. 428.

⁷¹ *Gazette*, May 14.

⁷² Mayor of Trenton in 1871.

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considered a safe mode of transporting the animals across the river. In the great freshet of 1842, the combination ferry house and hotel was demolished, the ice jamming a hole in the stone building and carrying one corner away. The old ferry house continued standing for some time, becoming the resort of tramps and fishermen. A stray tenant, in making a fire one day, set the roof and woodwork on fire. Time and the elements tumbled into a heap the stones that remained standing.

In 1826 the *Federalist* (June 12) announced that the Lamberton team boat had begun a ferry service at what seems to have been the site of the Lamberton ferry. No further mention of this service is found.

V. Bridges

THE first stream in this vicinity to be bridged was the Assunpink Creek. In the book of minutes of the Supreme Court (1681-1709) we find that the township of Nottingham was presented by the grand jury of Burlington in 1688 for "not making a sufficient Bridge over the River Darion (Assunpink)." The court imposed a fine of £20 on the inhabitants if the work was not speedily completed. The bridge referred to in this minute is, of course, the structure which was placed across the Assunpink at the point where South Broad Street now crosses the creek. In the same record we find that in 1707

Samuel Oldal[e] complains that he was not paid for building a bridge over Assunpink Creek, it is ordered that Theophilus Phillips John Bainbridge John Clark & Capt. Hunt to assess persons in Hopewell & Mai[denhead who have not subscribed].

References to the Assunpink bridge are few in number and rather scattered. In 1750 extensive repairs were made to the bridge, which was also known at that time as Trenton Bridge or the bridge at Trent's Mills. £35 was to be expended in the project and Elijah Bond was to collect the assessments levied on the inhabitants of the township. It seems that he collected more than he should, for in 1758, Nathan Beakes and Joseph Decow were appointed to enquire:

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... what money Thom^s Barns has in his hands of the Bridge money, Elijah Bond being collector, & make a Report at y^e next towns Meeting.

The account was not settled, for at the annual meeting held March 13, 1759, it was ordered that:

... Aurther Howel & Nathan Beakes settle wth Elijah Bond concerning a Ceertain Dublicate he y^e said Bond Collected in y^e year 1750 for Repairing Trenton bridge for y^e sum of £35 & y^e bal . . . to receive in behalf of y^e town.

The matter was finally closed in 1761, as one concludes from the record of the township minute book:

Rec^d of Nathan Beakes £8 11s. 3d. being ye Settlement wth Elijah Bond. . . .

In 1757 further repairs were necessary. At a meeting of the surveyors and overseers of the highways, the justices and the freeholders, it was agreed that:

... there shall be a Stone Piller Built in the Line between Trenton & Nottingham for the Support of the Long Sleepers of the bridge called Trenton bridge, and that the said Piller shall be built not to Exceed four feet thick; and the Length to be twenty feet; & that all other Repairs necessary shall be made.

It was agreed that the inhabitants of the township be assessed £20 to meet the expense of the repair. The work was faultily done, for at the annual meeting held March 13, 1759, it was ordered that:

John Chambers who was Overseer when y^e Pillar was made of Trenton bridge And as there appears a Considerable mistake in y^e cast of y^e said Pillar, to call all concern'd & Rectifie y^e Same—otherwise will be oblig'd to pay for such Mistake—and Render an Acc^t of y^e same at our next meeting.

About this time the General Assembly passed an Act ordering a bridge to be built over the Assunpink in place of the old one. This appears from an entry in the minute book of Trenton Township under date of July 4, 1765, where the names of commissioners are listed who were to report on the proportion of work done by Nottingham Township toward the building of Assunpink bridge under an Act of Assembly "ordering the bridge to be built forthwith." They reported that Nottingham had contributed £30 value of the work done. A later Act of the General Assembly, passed in 1774, dealt more specifically with the

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proportion of the expense to be borne by the townships adjoining the bridge. The 42nd section of this Act provided that:

. . . the Bridge leading from the Mills of the late *Robert Lettis Hooper* to *Trenton* shall at all Times hereafter be repaired, amended or rebuilt, two thirds Parts at the Expence and Charge of the Inhabitants of the County of *Hunterdon*, and one third Part at the Expence and Charge of the Inhabitants of the Township of *Nottingham*.

The width of small bridges on the highways of the Province was to be at least 12 feet, and the bridges were:

. . . to be made of Logs, Poles, or Slabs, shall have four Sleepers at least, and that the Logs, Poles, or Slabs covering such Bridge shall be sufficiently squared, fixed down, and as closely joined as the nature of such Materials will permit.

TWO OTHER EARLY BRIDGES

There were two other small bridges in Trenton in the early days. One was over Huntley's Run, and at a meeting of the township held December 8, 1784, Alexander Calhoun presented an account for work and materials expended on the bridge. The cost was £12 18s. 7d., and the overseers of the poor were ordered to pay it as soon as they had a sufficient sum on hand. There was also a bridge over Petty's (Pettit's) Run where it crossed King (Warren) Street. It was reported to be in a state of disrepair at the township meeting held June 6, 1791. John Riggs, Daniel Mershon and Joseph McCully were ordered to rebuild it at a cost not to exceed £30, including a reasonable allowance for their trouble. There was another bridge over Petty's Run where it crossed the line of Pennington Road. When this was erected is unknown, although it must have been some time before the Revolution in view of the amount of travel done along this route by the people of the town and outlying districts.

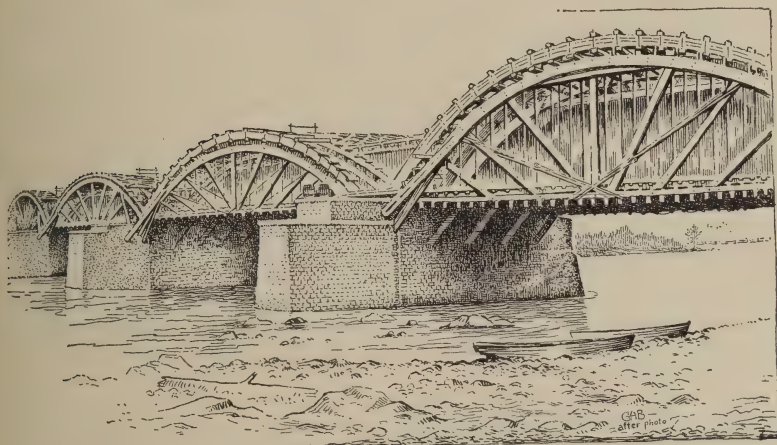
About 1804 a bridge was built across the Assunpink, connecting Warren Street with Bloomsbury Street below the creek. In the Town Book, under date of October 1804, we find the minutes of a meeting called to consider the propriety of raising money to defray the expenses of filling up the abutments of "two Bridges lately built across the Assunpink Creek near N. Burrowe's Mills & to make the necessary causeways. . . ." No money was voted for the project. The Warren Street bridge

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was swept away by a freshet in the Delaware, Thursday evening, February 21, 1822. The next morning the bridge on Greene Street gave way, after having stood for more than fifty years. It was over this bridge that Washington passed on his way to New York to be inaugurated the first President of the United States.

FIRST BRIDGE OVER THE DELAWARE

On March 3, 1798, the New Jersey Legislature, in view of the fact that "a good and permanent bridge across the river Delaware . . . would greatly contribute to facilitate the inter-



FIRST BRIDGE OVER THE DELAWARE RIVER, 1806. SITE OF PRESENT LOWER BRIDGE.

course between this State and the Southern States," authorized John Beatty, Peter Gordon and Aaron Howell, all of Trenton, and Philip Wagner, James C. Fisher and Charles Biddle, of Philadelphia, to act as subscription commissioners for the stock of the first bridge across the Delaware at Trenton. Pennsylvania passed similar legislation on April 4 of the same year. The charter was granted by New Jersey on August 16, 1803, Pennsylvania granting like privileges. The building of the bridge was begun in May 1804, and since it did not seem, for a while, that the bridge would be finished within the time limited by the charter, the time for completing the bridge was extended to

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March 3, 1812, by a supplementary Act passed in Pennsylvania on April 2, 1804, New Jersey passed concurrent legislation. The bridge was finished and opened for travel on January 30, 1806. The construction had cost \$180,000.

Theodore Burr designed and built the bridge, and General John Beatty was president of the bridge company. The opening of the bridge was the occasion of a gala celebration and elaborate exercises.⁷³ In its day the bridge was a nine days' wonder, travellers coming from all points to view this unique piece of engineering.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BRIDGE

The bridge was 1,008 feet long, from the Jersey abutment to the Pennsylvania one which rested on Delaware Works Island. Its width was 36 feet. The superstructure of the bridge consisted of five wooden arches, respectively 203, 198, 161, 186 and 203 feet in the clear, each composed of five great arched ribs rising from the chord in the proportion of 13 feet to 100. These ribs were made of four-inch pine planks, a foot wide and from 35 to 50 feet long, built up into a thick, laminated rib, three feet wide. The relative placing of these ribs left two openings of 11 feet each in the center of the bridge for carriage ways, and two more, each 4 feet 6 inches wide, on the sides for footwalks. The ribs were spaced and bound together on the top circumference of the arches by ties and diagonal braces, fastened to the ribs by bolts and screws at intervals of 8 feet. The floor was suspended from the ties by perpendicular iron rods, securely fastened in the wood. Wing arches and diagonal braces were effectively used throughout to eliminate all motion between the parts of the bridge, thus making it a rigid and solid structure.

The entire bridge was covered by a roof of cedar shingles, and was enclosed at each end. Originally there were high and elaborate fronts, both on the New Jersey and the Pennsylvania ends of the bridge, with great arched doorways over the carriage-ways and footwalks. Balustrades four feet high ran along the whole length of the bridge, outside of the footwalks, to protect the pedestrians.

The bridge rested upon the abutments and four piers, all of stone. The piers were made about one-fourth higher than they had originally been planned. Those who designed the bridge supposed that the original piers would be high enough so that no flood would ever reach the top, but before the framework ever went up the river rose so high as to cover both the abutments and piers. The piers were immediately raised, and it is because of this precaution that the bridge was not swept away in the 1841 freshet which destroyed five bridges over the Delaware above Trenton. The ends of the piers upstream were semicircular and, after rising five feet, gradually receded to the top, where they were finished off in a half-dome. These piers were 62 feet long and 20 feet deep; in 1876 they and the abutments were lengthened by the addition of 30 feet on the south end. In 1891 they

⁷³ *True American*, February 4, 1806.

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were again lengthened. The present length is 113 feet. On each pier stood a barrel of water and buckets, to be used in case of fire.

TOLLS CHARGED

Toll was charged to all vehicles and persons using the bridge. The charges were: for every pleasure carriage drawn by four horses, 75c, and if drawn by two horses, 50c; for every stage wagon drawn by four horses, 62½c, and by two horses, 37½c; every loaded wagon drawn by four horses, 62½c, and if empty, only 50c. Every wagon drawn by two horses paid 37½c toll; two-wheel carriages drawn by two horses, 37½c, and if drawn by one horse, 25c. Sleighs and sleds paid 25c; every single horse and rider, 12½c; every led horse, the same; every foot passenger, 3c; every head of mules or horned cattle, 6c, and every sheep or swine, 1c.

THE FIRST BRIDGE USED FOR INTERSTATE RAILROAD TRAFFIC

The bridge in South Trenton is the first bridge in the United States to have been used in interstate railroad traffic. When trains drawn by locomotives first ran across the bridge, wagons were prohibited from going across the north wagon road. The rules of the bridge, until then, had been that all wagons using the bridge keep to the right. With only one wagon track left, the plan was adopted of giving the first wagon on the bridge the right of way across. A man was stationed at each end of the bridge, who would, upon the approach of any vehicle, ring a bell at the other end by pulling a wire at his end. This would be a signal to the other attendant not to allow any vehicle to start across.

The plan proved cumbersome and inconvenient; on June 29, 1848, the bridge directors decided to build a track expressly for the crossing of the trains. Thereupon the most southerly arch rib was moved five feet south of where it had been, on the same piers and abutments. At the same time, this rib and the one immediately next to it were strengthened by placing over them a larger and heavier rib. In constructing the separate track, the southern footway of the bridge had to be abandoned, but the north wagon road was restored and the difficulty in handling vehicles eliminated.

For fifteen years the bridge remained in this condition without change, when a fire occurred in the first span on the Jersey side which threatened the whole structure. The fire had been started by a spark from a passing locomotive, and this led the

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bridge company to have the shingled roof of the bridge removed. The sheds and other enclosures on the bridge were removed at the same time.

As early as 1868 the bridge company realized that the old bridge would soon have to be abandoned. On March 10 of that year application was made to the Legislature for authority to extend the piers. Nothing seems to have been done, however, until 1874 when the railroad company decided to build a new iron bridge sufficient to carry two tracks. The old bridge had been the subject of much complaint, many people having expressed the fear of a serious accident happening when a heavy train passed over. In fact, accidents on the driveways had been frequent, for the bridge had been neglected so long that wagons often broke through the rotten flooring.

The additions to the piers and abutments, to allow for an iron bridge bearing two tracks, were completed in July 1874. Work on the iron frame began in December, and the last span connecting with the Jersey shore was in place by August 1875. The wagon ways of the old bridge were closed in December and the slow work in dismantling the rotten and rusted bridge began. The piers and abutments were then raised four feet and the iron bridge moved to its permanent site, 18 feet north of where it had been built. This was done early in 1876. There was a footway at the southern end of the bridge; wagons had to use the Calhoun Street bridge until an iron span to accommodate them could be built north of the railroad bridge which had just been put in place. The wagon bridge, made of iron, was erected in 1876. Joseph A. Wilson, a noted engineer of that time, designed the bridges and the Keystone Bridge Company of Pittsburgh built them. The bridge company granted the use of the railroad tracks upon the southern span to the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad for a term ending in 1870, and in June of the same year this contract was assigned to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.⁷⁴

NEW STEEL BRIDGE BUILT

In 1892, a new steel bridge was built just south of the iron

⁷⁴ See *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser*, February 18, 1917.

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railroad span, resting partly on piers and abutments newly built and partly on the piers and abutments built back in 1874. The American Bridge Company constructed the bridge at their local plant. The bridge accommodated four tracks. In 1898 the railroad span of the old iron bridge, built in 1875, was taken down and replaced by a steel bridge, also a four-track affair, built by the American Bridge Company. In 1908, after the Pennsylvania Railroad Company had opened its new stone railroad bridge a few hundred yards south of the old bridge, the two steel bridges (built in 1892 and 1898) were taken down and shipped south, where they now span the Potomac at Washington. The stone railroad bridge has eighteen stone arches, four of them at each end for approaches and ten spanning the channel.

The iron bridge, built in 1876 and used for foot and carriage traffic, continued to stand. It was a toll bridge until June 22, 1918, when it was taken over by the Joint Commission for Eliminating Toll Bridges, at a price of \$240,000. Its five iron spans, varying from 166 to 208 feet in length and providing a roadway 20 feet wide, were considered unsafe. Though the flooring had been rebuilt by the joint commission during the latter part of 1921 and the spring of 1922, the bridge was still unsuitable for the heavy motor-truck traffic which passed over it. Accordingly, during 1928 the joint commission built a new steel bridge on the piers of the railroad bridge which used to stand immediately south of the toll bridge, after some changes in the masonry of the piers and abutments had been made. The bridge has a double roadway with an aggregate width of 42 feet, and a sidewalk on the north side. The bridge, whose cost is estimated at \$650,000, is called the Lincoln Highway Bridge, after the highway which passes over it. This highway connects San Francisco and New York. At Trenton it begins at the bridge, turns into Warren Street and proceeds to the Battle Monument, where it follows the line of Princeton Avenue. The old bridge was dismantled in 1929.

The Upper Trenton, or Calhoun Street Bridge, crossing from Trenton to Morrisville, Pa., was opened for travel in 1860. It

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was built by the Trenton City Bridge Company, which was incorporated by an Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature on February 24, 1840, and by an Act of our Legislature on March 8, 1842. Its original capital stock was \$48,000; the bridge cost \$60,000. It was 1274 feet long and consisted of seven spans of wood construction, resting upon six stone piers and two stone abutments and covered by a wooden roof. The bridge accommodated two driveways and two footways. A fire destroyed it completely on June 25, 1884, but it was not until two years later that it was rebuilt. The new construction was of iron and consisted of two main trusses. A double driveway passed over it and there was a sidewalk outside of the north truss. The bridge still stands, and over it pass the trolley tracks of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey Traction Company. The bridge was taken over by the joint commission on November 12, 1928, at a price of \$250,000, and opened free to the public.

VI. Canals

IT WAS Governor Mahlon Dickerson who first gave official expression to the project of a canal across the State in his message to the two Houses of the New Jersey Legislature, January 12, 1816. He said:

I must beg leave to call attention to a projected improvement of great national importance. I mean the construction of a canal to connect the waters of the Delaware River with those of the Raritan. We have the most satisfactory evidence that the expense of constructing such a canal, on the most practicable route, would bear but a small proportion of the immense advantages to be derived from it. . . .

The project was favorably reported by the committee to which it had been referred, January 25, 1816. Subscription books for the stock of the company were soon opened throughout the State as well as in New York City and Philadelphia, but the response of the public was discouraging. Various considerations militated against the success of the drive for subscriptions, chief among them being the opinion among investors that the income to be derived from the tolls would provide a meager return on the large capital which the canal venture would require.

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FIRST ATTEMPTS COME TO NOTHING

Various attempts to revive interest in the project were made, all of them unsuccessful. In 1823 we find a committee of the Legislature to whom the subject of the Delaware and Raritan Canal had been referred, reporting that "we have considered the subject with all the attention which its great importance demands, and are of the opinion that such a canal, if it could be effected at an expense not too great for the resources of the State, and without imposing a burdensome weight of taxation, ought to be carried into execution by the State itself." The committee recommended that the Legislature appoint commissioners who were to report at the next session on the practicability of the canal, its probable expense and the revenue to be derived therefrom, and any agreement that might be made with the federal government in respect to it. In December of the same year the Legislature passed an Act appointing Lucius Q. C. Elmer, Peter Kean and George Holcombe commissioners for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability and expediency of a canal to unite the Delaware and Raritan Rivers.

Again nothing was done in the matter, despite further abortive attempts to bring the canal project to a head. Finally, an Act incorporating the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company passed the Council and General Assembly on February 4, 1830, the charter being vested in a private company and not in the State, as had first been contemplated.

PROVISIONS OF THE CANAL CHARTER

The capital stock was to be \$1,000,000, with the privilege of increasing the amount by \$500,000. The Act of incorporation required the width of the canal to be not less than 50 feet and the depth 5 feet throughout, but an Act passed in February 1831 increased the minimum width to 75 feet and the depth to 7 feet. The company was empowered to supply the canal with water from the Delaware by constructing a feeder in the form of a navigable canal, not less than 30 feet wide and 4 feet deep. Work on the canal and feeder was to be started within two years and finished within eight; otherwise the Act was to be null and void. The State reserved the right of subscribing to one-quarter of the stock of the company by January 1, 1831, and to buy in the road after fifty years, upon appraisement made according to law (Act of February 3, 1831). The Act of incorporation also provided that the canal company was to pay the State eight cents for each passenger or ton of merchandise transported, except for coal, lumber, lime, wood and

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other low-priced articles of commerce, for which only two cents a ton was to be paid. The State, in turn, agreed not to allow any corporation or individual to construct a canal or railroad within five miles of any point of the canal.

WORK OF DIGGING COMMENCES

The work of digging the canal and feeder and of building the dam to supply feed water was begun in 1832. The Delaware River dam (located at the head of Bull's Island), the feeder and that section of the canal lying between Trenton and New Brunswick, were completed in 1834, but it was not until 1838 that the section between Trenton and Bordentown, where the canal flows into the river, was opened. Pennsylvania objected to the presence of the dam across the river on the ground that she had not authorized its construction and that it took water out of the river which was not returned into the stream. There were further reasons that the shad fisheries objected to the dam and that it was built in direct violation of an agreement between Pennsylvania and New Jersey entered into April 26, 1783. New Jersey, in her turn, objected to the wing-wall dam which the Delaware Division Canal had built in the Delaware at Well's Falls to supply additional water for navigation below New Hope. However, the commissioners of the two States came to an agreement on November 22, 1834, whereby both dams were allowed to remain.⁷⁵

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE CANAL

The feeder, besides supplying water to the Delaware and Raritan Canal, was itself a navigable stream over the 22.6 miles of its course, from the intake at the head of Bull's Island to Trenton, where it unites with the main canal. Navigation on the feeder ceased some years ago, so that now it is used only to supply the main canal. The drawbridges over the feeder have, accordingly, been replaced by fixed structures.

From New Brunswick to Trenton, a distance of 27.39 miles, the canal traverses comparatively level country so that only six locks are required. The section between Trenton and Bordentown is 6.27 miles long and has seven locks, each with a fall of about eight feet. The opening of the latter section in 1838 provided the means for an exchange of traffic with the Delaware Division Canal, which had an outlet at Bristol, with the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canals, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal from the south, as well as with all coastwise vessels, thus making possible the trans-

⁷⁵ B. F. Fackenthal, "Improving Navigation of the Delaware River," *Bucks County Historical Society Papers*, Vol. VI, p. 91.

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portation of coal and other cargo across the State of New Jersey to New York and other tidewater points. In 1854, an outlet lock from the feeder was built at Lambertville, thus allowing of an exchange of traffic with the Delaware Division Canal, which had built a similar outlet lock $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles below the New Hope bridge. This provided a much shorter means of exchange than the outlet docks further down the river at Bordentown and Bristol. Boats, whether loaded or empty, were ferried across the Delaware by means of an overhead cable system similar to the one used by ferry boats a century before. Thousands of tons of pig iron were shipped over the canal route from the Durham Iron Works to the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company and the Trenton Iron Company at Trenton.

In its heyday, the Delaware and Raritan Canal was the great artery of water traffic in this section. In 1866, traffic amounted to 2,857,232 tons, of which 83 per cent was coal.⁷⁶ This coal was brought down the Lehigh Canal from Mauch Chunk on barges, a large part of it finding its way across the Delaware River at New Hope, Pa., and being taken into the feeder. The barges were then transported down the feeder into the Delaware and Raritan Canal, and thence distributed to various sections of the East. All the prominent factories located along the canal used to maintain basins and docks for the proper handling of shipments of coal brought to them over the canal route.

On February 15, 1831, the canal company and the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company were consolidated. When the Pennsylvania Railroad Company took over the Joint Companies, as the consolidation was known, late in the century under a 999-year lease, the canal was neglected. No effort was made to attract traffic to this watercourse and the canal property was allowed to fall into a state of partial disrepair.⁷⁷ By 1908 traffic on the canal had decreased to 397,258 tons.⁷⁸ A few steam-driven pleasure craft occasionally traverse the canal in these days, and now and again coal barges come over the route to unload their cargos at plants and coal-yards in Trenton. The limited facilities of the canal and the high rates charged, added to the obvious disinterest that its lessees have in maintaining and operating it as a successful venture, makes it probable that the canal will soon be abandoned.

THE PROPOSED SHIP-CANAL

It is doubtful, however, whether this move will be authorized before the proposed ship-canal across New Jersey, connecting

⁷⁶ Charles S. Boyer, *The Waterways of New Jersey*, p. 130.

⁷⁷ *New York Herald*, July 26, 1909.

⁷⁸ Boyer, *The Waterways of New Jersey*, p. 130.

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Raritan Bay with the Delaware River and one of the links in the great intra-coastal waterways now being urged by the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, receives the approval and support of the federal government. The New Jersey Legislature has authorized the project, which will begin at Morgan, on Raritan Bay, pass to the south of South Amboy, and continue across the State through Old Bridge, Scotts Corner and Dutch Neck, and then split into two routes, joining together again at the river just above Bordentown. The upper route will be the "lock-canal route" and the lower one—a straight stretch—the "sea-level route."

The ship-canal was approved several years ago by the United States Engineer Department, but the coming of the war in April 1917 deferred the project. The matter is again before the board of engineers and is certain of being recommended to Congress which, having authorized the Intra-Coastal Waterway, will ultimately accept and authorize this last link, the New Jersey ship-canal. When the project is completed it will link up with the deeper Delaware development at Duck Island, just below Trenton, thus insuring that city a commercial prominence in eastern transportation such as it has never enjoyed.

VII. Railroads

THE first railroad charter to be granted in America was that given by the New Jersey Legislature on February 6, 1815, to the New Jersey Railroad Company for the construction of a road, of wood or iron, from the Delaware, near Trenton, to the Raritan River, near New Brunswick. The road was never built. On February 4, 1830, the same day on which the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company was incorporated, the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company was created by an Act of the Legislature. The provisions of its charter were quite similar to those set up in the charter of the canal company.

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CHARTER PROVISIONS

The capital stock was to be \$1,000,000, with the privilege of increasing the amount by \$500,000. The road was to run between Camden and Raritan Bay and its right of way was to be no more than 11 feet wide. Work on the line was to be started within two years and finished in nine. The State reserved the right of subscribing to one-quarter of the stock before January 1, 1831, but the right was never exercised. The State also reserved the right to buy in the road after 30 years, upon appraisal made according to law. The road was to report quarterly on the number of passengers and tons of freight carried over its line, and the amount that the company might charge for carriage was not to exceed 10 cents the mile per passenger or 8 cents the mile for every ton of freight carried. Out of this the State was to receive a transit duty of 10 cents for every passenger carried and 15 cents per ton of freight, in lieu of all taxes. On its part, the State provided that if the Legislature ever permitted a railroad to pass across the State, beginning or terminating within three miles of the Camden and Amboy terminals, then all transit duties were to cease.

RAILROAD AND CANAL CONSOLIDATED

The Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company and the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company were consolidated by an Act passed February 15, 1831, to the end that the Joint Companies might carry through the construction of the canal and railroad, building and maintaining both according to the provisions of the respective charters. This Act was popularly called the "Marriage Act." The directors of both companies were to manage the affairs of the Joint Companies in joint meeting. Previous to this consolidation, an Act had been passed on February 4, authorizing the railroad company to transfer a thousand shares of its stock to the State. Under the Act of February 15, the Joint Companies guaranteed the State an annual dividend of \$30,000, plus transit duty. This, added to the undoubted influence which the Joint Companies exercised in the legislative halls of this State, led to New Jersey's being called the "State of Camden and Amboy."

The Joint Companies at once set about building a railroad from Camden to South Amboy. The first section, between White Hill, just below Bordentown, and South Amboy, a distance of 35 miles, was begun in 1831 and completed February 1833. The rails were of cast iron, placed on granite blocks measuring two feet square and one foot in depth, spaced at

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intervals of three feet. The line from Bordentown to Camden was completed soon after, the rails used in this section being of wood, faced by iron, in view of the fact that the road was to be used only two or three months during the year. This type of rail was popularly known as "snake rail."

From February to September, 1833, carriages passing on the then completed Bordentown-Amboy stretch were drawn by horses. Three lines ran daily. The locomotive, "John Bull," furnished the traction power after September, and continued in operation in this vicinity until 1866. The entire road, from Amboy to Camden, was opened to traffic in January 1834, but a train had been run over the length of the road almost a month earlier, December 17, 1833. The line passed by Trenton about six miles to the east of the town. A monument marks the spot where the first piece of track was laid by the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company in 1831. It was erected by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company on November 12, 1891, and is located on the east side of the road leading from Trenton to Bordentown, just a bit this side of the latter place. A bronze tablet bears this inscription:

First movement by steam on a railroad in the State of New Jersey, November 12, 1831, by the original locomotive, "John Bull," now deposited in the United States National Museum in Washington. The first piece of railroad track in New Jersey was laid by the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company between this point and the stone, thirty-five hundred feet eastward, in 1831.

The base of the monument is made of granite blocks originally used as supports for the rails in place of the now familiar wooden ties.

THE RAPID EXTENSION OF THE JOINT COMPANIES' OPERATIONS

The State of Pennsylvania chartered the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company, February 23, 1832, with authority to construct a railroad from Kensington to the Trenton Bridge at Morrisville. The road from the bridge as far as Bristol was completed in 1833, while the stretch from Bristol to Kensington was finished by November 1834. A large company of prominent Trentonians accepted the invitation of the company to make an excursion to Philadelphia in the new cars going out of Morrisville, November 1, 1834. The 28 miles to Philadelphia were covered in an hour and a half.

Two trains ran on this route daily on and after November 3, 1834, one train leaving each terminal in the morning. Coaches conveyed passengers between Trenton and the trains in Morrisville without charge. Later, when

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the Delaware and Raritan Canal was opened, passengers were conveyed gratis from the trains to the canal, there to take boats for Princeton, Bound Brook and New Brunswick.

By an Act passed in 1834, the Legislature authorized the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company to construct a bridge across the Delaware at Trenton for the accommodation of its trains. This work was never undertaken because of the great outcry against authorizing another bridge near the one already up, when the owners of the latter were not even receiving legal interest on the money they had sunk into the project. At the next session of the Legislature, however, the company was authorized to purchase and hold the stock of any turnpike, railroad, steam or other corporation, or any bridge company, so that it might be able to complete a line of communication between New York and Philadelphia, by way of New Brunswick and Trenton.

In 1834 the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company sought authorization to lay tracks on their turnpike and to extend them down to the river. Captain Robert F. Stockton and others interested in the Joint Companies, viewing the activity of their competitors in trying to set up a rival line between New York and Philadelphia, quietly obtained the controlling interest in three companies: the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad, the Trenton Bridge, and the Trenton and Brunswick Turnpike. In this way, the Joint Companies not only put themselves in a position where they could stifle any competition attempted by these lines, but also obtained corporate mediums through which they could obtain whatever end they desired.

The Trenton citizenry, upon learning of the contemplated move of the Joint Companies to build a railroad through Trenton, protested against this unheard-of innovation. One of the editors of that day wrote: "As to the contemplated railroad to be run through Trenton, we trust that the citizens of the place almost to a man will oppose it. It would be exceedingly injurious to all business in whatever street the fiery cars should suffer to pass. The town would derive no advantage by such an improvement, but suffer much injury."

The hand of the Joint Companies may be seen behind every move from this time on. As early as September 1, 1836, the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company and the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company (which had been chartered March 7, 1832, and authorized to build a railroad from Jersey City to New Brunswick, which was completed in 1836) had entered into an agreement whereby the former company should, within 12 months from the date of the agreement, extend its railroad from Trenton bridge so as to intersect, at some suitable point to be selected at or near Trenton, the contemplated railroad of the Joint Companies. The Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company then laid its rails across the Trenton bridge with the permission of the bridge company, and continued them on the bridge company's property between the bridge and Bloomsbury (today Warren) Street. In laying down this line, Bridge Street, as far as Warren, was opened up. The railroad company then proceeded to continue its track eastward to the canal. The Legislature at once appointed a committee to investigate this action and the committee reported back that the State could not recognize the right of the Philadelphia and Trenton

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Railroad Company, or any other foreign corporation, even though it had the consent of the bridge company and operated on its own property, to lay a railroad within the limits of New Jersey without the authority of the Legislature.

It must not be forgotten that the Joint Companies held the controlling interest in the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad at the time this line, running across the bridge and over to the canal, was constructed. In 1837 the Legislature gave the Joint Companies the authority to construct a road from New Brunswick to Trenton and thence to Bordentown, with a branch to the Delaware bridge. This authority, of course, fitted exactly the plans which the Camden and Amboy group had been formulating for several years, even to the permission given for laying its tracks upon the Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike, controlled by the Joint Companies.

The branch railroad connecting Trenton bridge with the Camden and Amboy main line ran from the bridge to Bloomsbury Street and then eastward to the canal bank. There it ran north along the west bank of the canal until it came to Merchant Street, through which it proceeded as far as Stockton, and thence up Stockton Street to Hanover and in Hanover to the southeast corner of Greene (Broad) and Hanover Streets, where the office of the railroad company was located. The tracks of the railroad company were the first railroad or street car tracks to be laid in Trenton. By May 1837 the Philadelphia trains ran once a day to and from the Hanover Street station. Despite the appellation of "trains," it must be noted that the cars were drawn by horses from the Hanover Street station to Morrisville. Until January 1, 1839, when the first continuous route between Philadelphia and New York was opened, persons desiring to continue on their journey north or south, left the cars at State Street and walked across the bridge to take the trains at the depot of the Camden and Amboy Line which stood on the southwest corner of East Canal and State Streets.

That part of the new Camden and Amboy line extending from Trenton to Bordentown was started in September 1837. Passengers were carried over it in 1838. This road branched off from the old Camden and Amboy line at Prince Street, Bordentown. A depot was built for this line on the east side of the canal, on East State Street. It was a large, rough wooden building, where tickets for Philadelphia, via Camden, were on sale at \$1.35 each way. The running time, including the ferry ride from Camden to Philadelphia, was three hours.

In June 1838 work began on the Camden and Amboy line between Trenton and New Brunswick, the construction being completed in six months. The route followed the tow-path on the east side of the canal for 13 miles to a point near Kingston, where it branched off and proceeded to New Brunswick. This line permitted a continuous passage from New York to Philadelphia by rail for the first time, and laid the foundation for one of the most valuable railroad properties in the whole world. The line was put into operation on January 1, 1839. The horse cars between this city and Morrisville were discontinued, and locomotives first ran across the Trenton Bridge on that date, drawing the first train of cars ever to negotiate the New York to Philadelphia distance in one, continuous run.

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THE BELVIDERE DELAWARE RAILROAD

In 1836 the Belvidere Delaware Railroad was projected from Trenton to Belvidere. It was not until February 6, 1851, that the Trenton-Lambertville line was opened.⁷⁹ On February 3, 1854, the line through to Phillipsburg was opened to traffic.⁸⁰ In 1863 the road was extended to Manunka Chunk. The Belvidere Delaware Railroad fell into the hands of the Camden and Amboy group soon after.

By an Act passed February 27, 1867, the Legislature confirmed an agreement consolidating the Joint Companies and the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company. The new company was known as the United New Jersey Railroad and Canal Company, commonly called the "United Companies." The railroads, canals, and other property owned by this large company and the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company, in which the United Companies held a controlling interest, were leased to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for a period of 999 years, on June 30, 1871. This agreement was approved by an Act of the Legislature passed March 27, 1873. Since 1871 the Pennsylvania Railroad has built its property up into a system which has few rivals in the world.

THE DELAWARE AND BOUND BROOK RAILROAD

The Delaware and Bound Brook Railroad was incorporated under the General Railroad Law of New Jersey, May 12, 1874. Contracts for the construction of the road were awarded in October of the same year, and the road was opened to traffic May 1, 1876. The Trenton branch of this railroad extends from Trenton to Trenton Junction, a distance of 3.7 miles, and serves as a feeder to the main line, into which it runs at Trenton Junction. The distance from Trenton Junction to Bound Brook is 27 miles; at the latter place the line connects with the road of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, 32.4 miles from New York. The railroad property and plant of the Delaware and Bound Brook Railroad Company was leased to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company for 990 years, on May 14, 1879.

THE EAST TRENTON RAILROAD

The East Trenton Railroad was incorporated April 17, 1884, to provide the many industrial plants in East Trenton with railroad facilities. It runs from a point in the Trenton Branch of the Bound Brook Division of the Reading road, where it crosses Christopher Street, Trenton, to New York Avenue in East Trenton. The railroad was made part of the Reading system soon after it was opened.

PRESENT FACILITIES

The Millham Branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad also serves the East Trenton manufacturers. It is a continuation of the Pennsylvania main line coming up along the east bank of the canal from Bordentown. The branch runs up along the canal until it reaches Mulberry Street. There it curves to

⁷⁹ Anderson, *Navigation on the Upper Delaware*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 32.

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the right and joins the main line to New York, a bit east of Whitehead Road.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company's line now runs from Philadelphia over the 18-arch stone bridge in South Trenton, and thence through Trenton, crossing under the canal and continuing on to New York. The railroad station is located on South Clinton Avenue and consists of a ticket office, a large waiting room, and two island platforms several hundred feet in length. The local station of the Reading system is situated on North Warren Street near Tucker.

VIII. Street Railways

THE carriage and the omnibus were the local means of conveyance before the coming of the horse car. Omnibuses early carried passengers from the State Street railroad station to the Warren Street hotels. In the '60's, the omnibuses met the trains at the newly-built Clinton Street station. Legislators, travelling from their homes throughout the State to the sessions of the Legislature, were undoubtedly struck by the inadequacy of local transportation facilities. This, and the steady growth of Trenton away from the center of town, made a street railway system a necessity.

The Legislature accordingly granted a charter to the Trenton Horse Railroad Company on March 9, 1859. The capital stock was set at \$30,000 and the corporation was prohibited from using steam upon its tracks. The route of the railway was to be through Clinton and State Streets, from the northeastern to the western limits of the town. The incorporators were: Timothy Field, Robert Aitken, William M. Force, Lewis Perrine, Thomas P. Johnston, Jonathan S. Fish, Charles Moore, Joseph Whittaker and James T. Sherman.

An ordinance passed by Common Council, July 28, 1863, gave the road authority to lay a track from the northeasterly to the westerly limits of the city, through Clinton and State Streets, and from the feeder bridge on North Warren Street south as far as Ferry Street. The track was to be of 5.2 gauge, "paved with good boulders," and the motive power was to be nothing else than horse or mule. Cars were not to run on Sunday and "bells of proper size and tone to notify passengers . . . of the

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approach of the cars" were to be attached to the horses. The speed of the cars was not to exceed six miles an hour and the fare was to be five cents. In 1883 the company was authorized to construct a double track from the Clinton Street station to the western terminus.

CONSTRUCTION BEGUN IN 1863

The construction of the road began in 1863. The line began at the Clinton Street station and ran up Clinton into State, along which street it continued until it reached Calhoun. There was a shed for the horses and a waiting room on the north side of State Street, just beyond Calhoun. The waiting room was destroyed by fire soon after and was replaced by an old horse car from which the trucks had been removed. A few years later the State Street line was extended as far as Prospect Street and the horse-car waiting room was moved to the new terminus. A spur, extending from State Street to Hanover, was built in North Warren Street at the time that the first State Street line was constructed. This line was later abandoned.

In 1883, six cars were in constant operation on this line, running at intervals of eight minutes. At that time the Trenton Horse Railroad Company also ran a baggage express service in this city. The Common Council of Chambersburg authorized the company to extend its tracks from Clinton Street station to the southerly limits of Chambersburg, in February 1886. The line was to run south on Clinton Street. Twelve months later the company received authority to construct a horse railroad along Prospect Street, beginning at State, and on Hamilton Avenue. In December of the same year permission was given for building the Hamilton Avenue, Monmouth and East State Street branch. A spur was also built along Whittaker Avenue, extending from Hamilton Avenue to Clinton. Soon after, the line running from Broad and Perry Streets over to Warren Street and thence along Bank, Willow and Spring Streets to Prospect, was constructed.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

The City Railway Company was incorporated under the general law in 1875, with an authorized capital of \$50,000. In February 1876, Common

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Council authorized the construction of a horse-car line through Clinton Street, from the city limits to Perry Street, and thence to Broad, terminating at the Chambersburg borough line. The track was to be a double one. Work on the road began early in 1876 and was open to traffic in August of the same year. At this time the borough of Chambersburg authorized the company to extend its tracks from the canal to the southeasterly borough limits, along South Broad Street.

The City Railway Company was in October 1876 empowered to extend its line from Perry Street to Warren and thence to Ferry Street, up Bridge and into Centre Street down as far as Riverview Cemetery. In October 1885, an ordinance permitted the company to extend its tracks from South Broad Street along Bridge Street, thence into Centre as far south as Lalor Street, and along Lalor to the canal. The next year, authority was given by the city to build a line along Hamilton Avenue. In this year the borough of Chambersburg extended the City Railway Company's franchise to Jennie Street, Hudson Street, Elmer Street, Chestnut Avenue, Cummings Avenue and Coleman Street, with a spur through Cummings Avenue to Division Street, to the car sheds and stables.

The Trenton Horse Railroad Company passed into the hands of Colonel Lewis Perrine at about this time. In 1891 he acquired control of the City Railway Company and consolidated the two roads on September 30, 1891, under the name of the Trenton Passenger Railway Company (Consolidated). In 1892 Colonel Perrine had the roads electrified and on May 22 of that year the first experimental trip by electricity was made.

NOTE

The author gratefully acknowledges the collaboration of Mr. Sidney Goldmann in the preparation of this chapter.

CHAPTER VI

Landmarks, Taverns, Markets and Fairs

BY WILLIAM J. BACKES

I. Landmarks

OF ALL of Trenton's landmarks, the Trent House is undoubtedly the oldest. It was built in 1719, the same year in which the name Trent-town was bestowed on the settlement, until then commonly referred to as "the Falls."

THE TRENT HOUSE, OR BLOOMSBURY COURT

This mansion, known at different times as Kingsbury Hall, Bloomsbury Court, and Woodlawn, is a landmark of rich historical interest. It was built by William Trent, in whose honor the settlement was named, on the tract of eight hundred acres which he had acquired from Mahlon Stacy, Jr., by deed dated August 17, 1714. Trent himself did not make his permanent residence here until 1721, but had built the house while still living in Philadelphia, coming here to enjoy it in the summer seasons before making it his permanent abode.

As originally constructed the mansion was an oblong building erected of bricks brought over from Europe, and it exists today exactly as originally built except for a frame addition said to have been added about 1850 by James M. Redmond, the then owner.

Chief Justice Trent died there on Christmas Day 1724. James Trent, his eldest son and heir-at-law, conveyed the property to William Morris, a merchant of the Island of Barbadoes, in the West Indies, by deed dated March 28, 1729. The deed conveyed three hundred acres of land "together with the brick messuage or dwelling house, lately erected by the said William Trent, wherein the said James Trent now liveth." Morris held title to the property, conveying it to Governor George Thomas of Penn-

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sylvania, in October, 1733. It is not known whether Governor Thomas ever actually occupied the house, but he held title until 1753.

Lewis Morris, the first Colonial governor of New Jersey separate from New York, leased the property from Governor Thomas in 1742. On June 3, 1744, while Governor Morris was living at Kingsbury, he wrote his daughter in London, Mrs. Norris, that he was living in a place of Colonel Thomas's about a half mile from Trenton:

... for which I give £60 per annum, our house is good and not one chimney in it smoked, and we live much more private here than at Morrisania. Your mother amuses herself with a brood of turkeys, fowels and ducks which she has about her.

He again writes to her in January 1745 that having:

... to do with an ignorant, perverse and obstinate Assembly who notwithstanding their faire promises, came predetermined to do nothing, I was forced to dissolve them, and being obliged to go down stairs got a most violent cold and cough which held me long and reduced me to skin and bones.¹

Governor Thomas conveyed the property to Robert Lettis Hooper on January 31, 1753. The latter, a son of the chief justice of the same name, was a miller and owner of considerable property at Rocky Hill, and moved into the Trent House soon after his purchase. He acquired all of the Trents' former holdings south of the Assunpink Creek, and caused to be laid out building lots of uniform size on both sides of the road leading from Trenton to Crosswicks (now South Broad Street) and on the north side of Ferry Street to the ferry. These lots he advertised as follows:²

Whereas the subscriber having put himself at considerable charge in clearing the ground and laying out in lots of 60 feet front and 181 and a half feet back, being one quarter of an acre, to the best advantage of the settler, a most convenient piece of ground for a town lying in the county of Burlington and township of Nottingham, in West New Jersey, being on Delaware River, at the ferry commonly known by the name of Trenferry, thence running as the road runs to the Grist Mill opposite; thence down the stream of the said mill to the River Delaware; thence down the river to the ferry; being the head of the navigation from the Capes of Delaware.

He called this tract "my new Town of Kingsbury."

¹ *Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 189, 205.

² *Pennsylvania Journal*, August 31, 1758.

On June 25, 1759, he advertises Kingsbury to let for a term of years and on March 12, 1767, advertises it for sale in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, stating that:

. . . it is accommodated with a genteel brick dwelling house, 40x48 feet, two stories high, four rooms on a floor, with a large handsome stair case and entry, with a cellar under the whole building, and a court yard on each front of the house, one fronting down the River Delaware to the ferry, thro' a large handsome avenue of English cherry trees, the other fronting up the river to Trenton, with a large brick kitchen 30 x 20 feet, two stories high, with a well in it, and four handsome apartments above for servants. . . .

The "brick kitchen" mentioned was built by Governor Thomas when Governor Morris became tenant, and has long since disappeared.

William Bryant bought the property from Hooper on October 28, 1769. He was a practising physician in Trenton during the Revolution, and the house was always referred to by the Hessians as "the Doctor's House."

John Cox, who purchased it from Dr. Bryant on October 28, 1778, changed the name of the mansion to "Bloomsbury Court." He was an iron manufacturer at Batsto (in Burlington County). Mrs. Cox and their six daughters were very prominent in the social life of Trenton during their occupancy of Bloomsbury Court. They participated in the reception given to Washington at the Triumphal Arch by the Ladies of Trenton, when he passed here on his way to New York in 1789 to be inaugurated the first President of the United States.

John Cox and Esther, his wife, by deed dated September 24, 1792, reciting that they then resided in Philadelphia but late of Bloomsbury, conveyed the property to Marin Bazile Gaston, L'official de Woofoin, gentleman, of Philadelphia. The latter on October 27, 1795, through his attorney in fact, James Philip Rossignol de Gandmont, conveyed the property to Esther Cox, executrix, and John Stevens and Mathias Barton, executors of the last will and testament of John Cox, deceased. In 1792 a goodly number of French Roman Catholic families found their way into Trenton as refugees from the barbarities of the revolution in Santo Domingo. Simeon Worlock, one of these, occupied the mansion but six weeks before he died. His body was

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buried in the Presbyterian churchyard on State Street. The grave was afterwards covered by the present church building, but in the vestibule is a slab marked "Simeon Worlock, July 1792, 39 yr."³

Between 1795 and 1838, when James M. Redmond acquired the property, the mansion passed into the hands of William Cox, Sr., Edward Burd and Edward Shippen Burd, Daniel William Cox and Philemon Dickerson. The latter was governor of New Jersey from 1836 to 1837 and, as he owned the Trent House from August 1835 to September 1838, it was, most likely, the executive mansion during his governorship.

Joseph Wood, a former mayor of Trenton, acquired the property from James M. Redmond in 1852, and, except as noted in the following paragraph, lived in it until his death on May 8, 1860. Mr. Wood conducted a general store at Ringoes before coming to Trenton. He acquired a very large amount of real estate after coming here, and at the time of his death was probably the wealthiest man in Trenton. His only daughter, Permelia Sargent, married Edward H. Stokes, and in August 1861 the executors of the estate of Joseph Wood conveyed the Trent House to Edward H. Stokes. The latter on March 17, 1887, conveyed it to his son Edward A. Stokes, the present owner, who vacated the building about a dozen years ago and has since resided at Morristown.

The Trent House became the executive mansion for the last time during the incumbency of Governor Rodman Price, 1854 to 1857. When Mr. Wood resided in the mansion it was called "Woodlawn."

THE OLD HUNTERDON COUNTY COURT HOUSE AND JAIL

The first public building to be erected in Trenton was the Hunterdon County Court House. It stood on the east side of Warren Street, midway between Front and State Streets, on the site occupied by the building recently vacated by the Trenton Banking Company. The lot on which it stood is commonly

³ A letter relative to this marker, written by Mrs. Worlock to the Rev. Mr. Armstrong, the minister of the church in 1792, may be found in Dr. Hall's *History of the Presbyterian Church* (revised ed.), p. 211.

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believed to have been given to the County of Hunterdon by William Trent. The Court House, a two-story building of grey sandstone with stuccoed front,⁴ was built in 1719 and soon after its lower story was used for confining offenders of the law.

The court had sat alternately in Maidenhead and Hopewell townships from 1714 to 1719, pursuant to an ordinance of the seventh of April, XIII of Anne, which directed that the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions be held alternately at those places "until a court-house and gaol for the county should be built." It having been represented to the governor that the then existent arrangement was inconvenient, the governor accordingly directed (March 1719) that the courts be held at Trenton from September on.

The Court House was used as a jail probably as early as 1721. John Muirheid, the high sheriff, had complained to the court concerning the lack of a jail in 1714, 1717, June 1719 and again in March 1720. Escapes from the jail were frequent and the *New Jersey Archives* abound with notices of rewards by the jailor for the capture of escaped prisoners.

In 1755 a group of Indians, who had been skulking about the countryside of Sussex County, were taken into custody and kept in this jail for the safety of the terrorized inhabitants. British soldiers, Tories and other persons arrested for high treason, were kept there during the Revolution. When the Hessians were stationed at Trenton, a part of Colonel Rall's own Grenadier Regiment was quartered in the old Court House. It is said that the walls around the rear and sides of the building were struck by a cannon ball fired from a Continental battery during the Battle of the Assunpink. Goods taken from the local Tories after the Battle of Trenton were stored in the jail of the Court House and were later returned to the rightful owners through the generosity of General Washington.

Part of the old jail wall still stands in the rear of the present building and marks of where the cells had been may be seen in the basement of the building.

⁴ Raum gives a rather detailed description of the place in his *History of Trenton*. See also pp. 77-8, above.

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The court room was the scene of many interesting trials, among them the case of the Rev. John Rowland, a travelling preacher. Here, too, the renowned Presbyterian minister, the Rev. William Tennent, then pastor of the church at Freehold, was tried for perjury.

The Declaration of Independence was first read publicly from the steps of the old Court House on Monday, July 8, 1776. In all probability it was Samuel Tucker, then president of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, who read this document to the citizens of the town. The Declaration had been agreed to on Thursday, July 4, 1776, and after being printed it was rushed post-haste to the larger towns of the Colonies. We are informed that the reading at Trenton took place "in the presence of the Provincial Congress, the gentlemen of the committee, the officers and privates of the militia under arms, and a large concourse of the inhabitants."

From these same steps on April 15, 1783, the proclamation of Governor William Livingston, declaring the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the United States, was read in the presence of the vice-president of the State, members of the Legislature, judges of the Supreme Court and other public officials, together with a great number of the inhabitants of the town and vicinity. On December 19, 1787, the ratification of the Constitution of the United States by New Jersey was read aloud at the old Court House in the presence of the principal citizens of Trenton.

The events which centered interest on the Court House are too many to be noted here. Mention may be made, however, of the use of the Court House as a borough hall during the period when Trenton had its first charter.

The Court of Commissioners appointed by the Continental Congress in 1782 to settle the land dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania met in this building, convening here on November 12, 1782. The New Jersey House of Assembly met in the Court House in November 1784. The Baptists held services in the building for a while and the city government met here until the enraged freeholders locked them out.

By an Act of the Legislature passed March 4, 1780, the court

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was removed from Trenton to the house of Henry Mershon in Amwell Township (Flemington became the county seat for Hunterdon in 1791). Thereafter prisoners of war were kept in the Trenton court house and for a while the Admiralty Court held its sessions there. When the jail was abandoned by the County, the town jailor took over the jail for the custody of city prisoners.

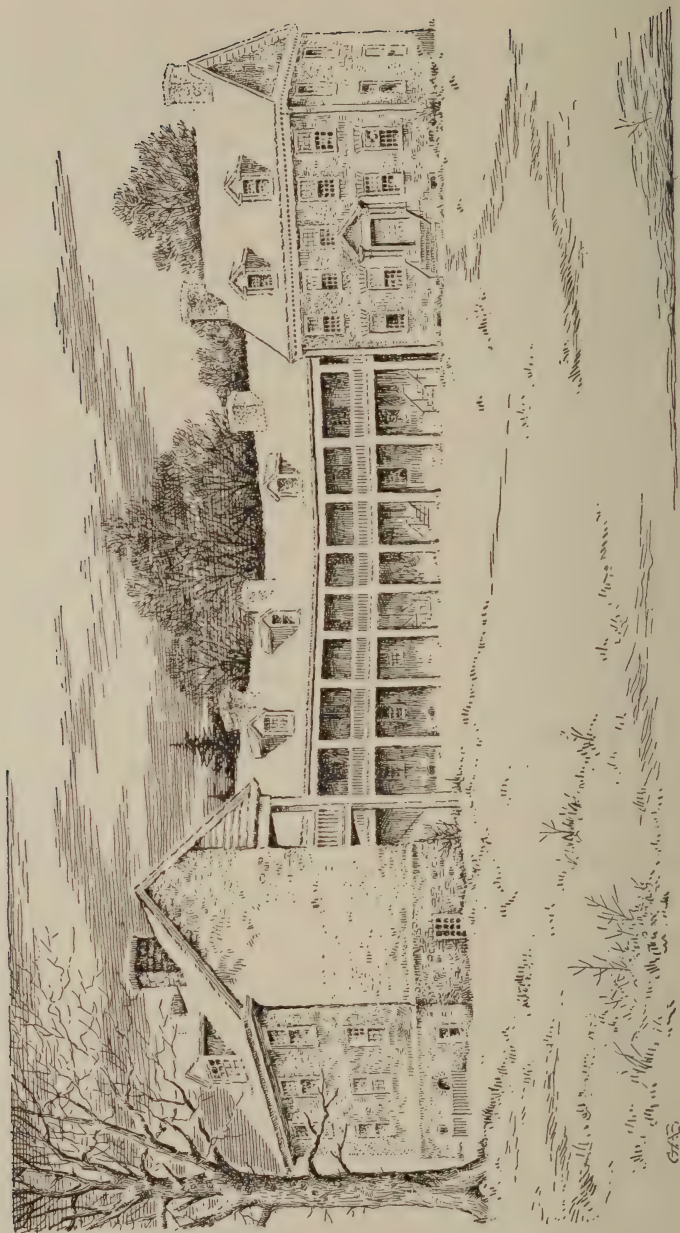
In February 1805, the freeholders of Hunterdon County sold the "Old Court-house and Gaol" to the Trenton Banking Company for \$2,025. The history of the building since that date is given in Chapter XI below, "Banks and Commerce."

THE OLD BARRACKS AT TRENTON

For a time preceding the year 1757, and especially during the French and Indian War, the colonists here were put in fear of a threatened invasion. Their desire that suitable protection be afforded them against the expected incursions of the savage Indians, and also that they be relieved of the burden and inconvenience of supporting soldiers quartered in their homes, found expression in petitions to the Legislature for the erection of barracks in the Colony, in which to house the troops of Great Britain mobilized for defensive purposes. In compliance with the prayers of these petitions the Legislature made an appropriation for the erection of the Trenton barracks, among others, and they stand today the only one remaining of the five built in 1757-58.

On March 31, 1757, a petition was sent to the General Assembly of the Province by magistrates, freeholders and inhabitants of the town of Trenton and other places adjacent in the County of Hunterdon, which recited:

That altho we your Petitioners do with truly Loyal and gratefull Hearts acknowledge how much we Owe to our Most Gracious Sovereign, and his Parliament, for furnishing us with repeated supplys of Troops at this Critical Juncture of Affairs when our all is threatened and endangered by our Inveterate and Potent Enemy, in Conjunction with surrounding nations of Cruel and deceitful Savages. And altho we are chearfully willing to exert the utmost of our power to render these his Majesties Troops perfectly usefull, and to answer the just end for which they were designed, in proportion to the number that shall from time to time fall to our share to support: Yet such is the Scituation of Trenton being so great a thoroughfare, and consequently so many soldiers continually passing and repassing



THE OLD BARRACKS, BUILT 1738-59, SOUTH WILLOW STREET.

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upon their Severall Commands, and Quartered upon us Night and day, that unless by the Assistance of this Honourable House we can by some wholesome Law and legal Remedy be eased of this present Distress, the Country will be no longer able to bear the Burden, nor the Officers have it in their Power to keep their stragling Soldiers under due Command and Subjection.

We shall not take upon us to dictate to this Honourable House what should be the method of this Remedy, but hope we may presume to offer our Sentiments, that if we could be provided with convenient Barracks it would answer all ends both as to the conveniency and safety that would redound to the Troops, as well as the great ease and advantage it would be to the Subject.

We therefore your petitioners Humbly request that this Honourable House would speedily take it into Consideration and enable us to erect and Build such sufficient and Convenient Barracks for the purposes aforesaid or to give us such other adequate Remedy, in such Measure, and with such Power & Authority, and with such Clauses, Proviso's and restrictions as to this Honourable House, in their Wisdom shall think meet and fitt.

And your Petitioners as in duty Bound shall ever Pray, &c.

This petition was signed by many persons, of whom descendants are now living in Trenton and vicinity, and believing it will be of interest to have them fully set out, the names follow :

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Clotworthy Reed | William Ely | Michael Houdin |
| Jos. Higbee | Obadiah Howell | George Tucker |
| Theo. Severns | Jos. Phillips | Gideon Bickordike |
| W. Morris | Andrew Reed | Edward Paxton |
| Hezekiah Howell | Thomas Coalman | John Yard |
| Wm. Clayton | Benj. Biles | Josiah Appleton |
| Thomas Moore | Chas. Pettit | Alex. Chambers |
| Charles Axford, jun'r. | Edman Beakes | Thos. Barnes |
| Moore Furman | J. Warrell | Willson Hunt |
| William Ball | Jno. Barnes | John Vancleave |
| John Chambers | William Dougless | Vincent Runyan |
| George Davies | Samuel Tucker, Jun. | Aza'h Hunt |
| Alex. Anderson | Neal Leviston | Hezekiah Stout |
| John Rickey | James Rutherford | James Stout |
| Wm. Yard | Jos. De Cou | David Price |
| Thomas Williams | Rob't. Rutherford | Jonathan Furman |
| James Cumine | Sam'l Tucker | John Anderson |
| Jethro Yard | George Davies | Abra. Cottnam |
| Daniel Bealergeau | Rob't Scarff | Richard Hoff |

There are thirty-nine petitions of similar character on file in the military records of the State.⁵

On March 31, 1758, at a session of the Colonial Legislature at Burlington, petitions were presented from Middlesex County setting forth that the quartering of soldiers in that County was

⁵ Stryker, *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, pp. 4, 5.

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found by experience to be very inconvenient, and praying that a number of barracks might be built. It was thereupon ordered that members Johnston, Yard, Read, Paxson and Leaming be a committee to prepare a plan of the manner and an estimate of the expense of building barracks for 1500 men and lay the same before the House. The above-named committee on the same day made the following report:

We, the Committee appointed to consider a Plan for building Barracks for 1500 men; and computing the Expences thereof, do hereby report, that we are of Opinion, it will be proper to build . . . one at *Trenton*, for 300 Men. . . . And it appearing to us, . . . the Expence and Method are . . . too uncertain for us to form any tolerable Estimate; Our Opinion therefore is, that the best Method the House can fall upon, will be to appoint three responsible Freeholders in each of the above Places, and to empower any two of them to draw on the Treasury for . . . the sum of £1400, for Trenton . . . and with the moneys so received, to compleat the said Buildings, in the most cheap, expeditious and convenient Manner they are capable of. All which is, nevertheless, submitted to the House by

CHARLES READ
AARON LEAMING
HENRY PAXSON
JOSEPH YARD.

THE BUILDING OF THE BARRACKS AUTHORIZED

The report was unanimously agreed to and on Saturday, April 15, 1758, the bill having passed both Houses, Governor John Reading was pleased to give his assent to the bill "Entituled an Act for Building of Barracks within this Colony," etc.⁶

In his sketch, *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, Adjutant General Stryker says:

Soon after the passage of the law a lot was purchased of Mrs. Sarah Chubb, at a place on the west end of Front Street, where the River Road entered Trenton. The purchase money was forty pounds, and the lot contained about one acre. Joseph Peace, the father of Mrs. Chubb, purchased this lot in a tract of thirty-six acres, from James Trent, son of William Trent, March 10, 1732, for one hundred and seventy pounds, silver money.

Joseph Peace, the father of Mrs. Chubb, did purchase from James Trent a tract of thirty-six acres, by deed dated March 10, 1732, but this tract lies south of Front Street, and consequently could not have included all of the barracks lot.

⁶ *Journal of The Provincial Council, New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XVII, p. 165.

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In 1714 William Trent had purchased from Mahlon Stacy, Jr., 800 acres on both sides of the Assunpink Creek; the 500 acres north of the creek were bounded on the west by a tract of 100 acres then belonging to Nathaniel Pettit, on which the State House is now erected. Front Street, as laid out by Trent, ran westward to within 165 feet of the Pettit tract, where it was intersected and terminated by another (unnamed) street running north. When the Barracks were erected the building was placed directly over Front Street, closing off its west end as well as the unnamed street running north, which it intersected. That part of Front Street from Willow Street to the east wall of the Barracks had always remained a street and it was impossible for Mrs. Chubb to sell it.

ERECTION COMMENCED IN 1758

The erection of the Barracks was commenced on May 31, 1758.⁷ The deed for the lot does not appear to have been recorded. A diligent search for it in the office of the secretary of State and in the county clerk's office at Flemington fails to disclose it.

The committee of the Provincial Assembly was quite right in its surmise that the expenses of building would vary greatly according to the place where the building was to be erected, as it is found in the minutes⁸ that the Barracks at Trenton cost £1040 14s. 2d., plus £2446 6s. 9d. The building of the Trenton Barracks was pushed so rapidly that more than one-half of the structure was filled with soldiers in December 1758. It was fully completed in March 1759.

THE OFFICERS' QUARTERS

We now come to the interesting question of the old Colonial house at the northwest corner of Front and Willow Streets,—the officers' quarters. General Stryker says that in December 1759 a small addition was built to the Barracks for the exclusive use of the officers in charge of the English troops.⁹

The Barracks, as is well known, were erected in the form of three sides of a hollow square, the main building running north and south, with two wings, one at the northerly and the other at the southerly end, both extending eastward. General Stryker says it was built entirely of stone, undressed, two stories in height, the main building 130 feet in length and 18½ feet in width, with the two wings each 58 feet in length. The time between the completion of the Barracks in March 1759, until December when the addition for the officers was built, is a period of months only, after which time, until the partial demolition of the building for the opening of Front Street, the appearance of the building must have remained unchanged and included

⁷ *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, pp. 10, 11, 12.

⁸ pp. 33, 52, 59.

⁹ *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, p. 12.

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the officers' quarters, which were, in fact, the Colonial house on the north-west corner of Front and Willow Streets. It is assumed that General Stryker was correct when he says that the officers' quarters were built in December 1759, although he does not disclose the source of his authority nor does he mention the Colonial house or building as being those quarters.

Chancellor Walker says that he was able to find only one person who could assure him of the historical fact that this building was the officers' quarters, and part and parcel of the Barracks, in 1759, and that person was Miss Emeline R. Johnston, since deceased, whom he interviewed in 1910. She was then eighty-eight years of age, and in the full possession of her faculties. She told him her father purchased this very house in 1836 when she was fourteen years of age, and the family then moved into it. She and her sister resided there until the Civil War, when she left, and her sister, who is also now deceased, continued to reside there for many years afterwards. Miss Johnston not only informed the Chancellor that she had always understood that the old house was part of the Barracks and occupied by the British officers, but also that a daughter of Conrad Kotts (who lived on the west side of South Warren Street between State and Front Streets during the Revolutionary War),¹⁰ who was sixteen years old at the time of the Battle of Trenton, had called upon the Johnston family in 1836 when they first moved into the Barracks house and in conversation told them that the house in which they were living was standing there during the Revolutionary War and was occupied by the officers in command of the troops occupying the Barracks. Miss Johnston also informed the Chancellor that when she lived in the house there was an iron plate in the fireplace in the kitchen, about one yard square, with the British coat of arms upon it, the lion and the unicorn being distinctly remembered by her.

THE PLANS OF THE BUILDING

A few years ago there was found in the cellar of the State House a ground-floor plan of the Barracks which showed the old house as the officers' quarters. The plan, or rather plans, referred to are in duplicate and have been photographed. These photographs now hang in the Barracks. From inspection it would appear that they are not the working plans from which the Barracks were built in 1758-59, but that they were made at a later date and for a different purpose as will now be shown.

The French and Indian War ended with the establishment of peace with France in 1765. During that year the buildings seem to have been unoccupied. The attention of the General Assembly was called to this fact in May of that year, and they ordered that the perishable articles therein should be sold and the building kept in repair and rented. William Clayton and Abraham Hunt were appointed commissioners to carry out these orders of the Legislature and they immediately sold the furniture and rented the building and premises, a clause in the lease providing that the premises be surrendered up at any time, on suitable notice being given by the governor that they were needed for the use of the British soldiers.¹¹ Now it will be observed, by looking at the photographs of the plans, that the building was

¹⁰ Stryker, *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*, p. 11.

¹¹ *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, pp. 13, 14.

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divided into rooms, which are numbered, and a price set opposite the number of each room. It is obvious that there was no one in Trenton in the Colonial period who for any reason or purpose desired to rent the Barracks as an entirety, and therefore it clearly appears that the building was divided into rooms for the purpose of renting to families and others, and this arrangement must have been made about the year 1765 and continued down to 1776. This plan, then, must have been made not earlier than seven nor later than seventeen years after the erection and completion of the Barracks, by a person contemporary with the structure as erected, who marked indelibly upon the plan the words "Officers Quarters" in making a correct drawing and truly stating a fact concerning the Colonial mansion on the corner of Front and Willow Streets.

At a meeting of the Provincial Council in 1767, William Franklin, the last Colonial governor, presented a communication from Earl Shelburn, one of the Secretaries of State for England, disallowing an Act of the Legislature of this Province for supplying the several barracks with necessities for the King's troops, and for defraying other incidental charges. This Act was disallowed by the King upon the advice of the Privy Council, because the Act made the nomination of commissioners for carrying it out depend on an Act of the Legislature and not of Parliament. Another reason for the disallowance was that the articles with which the troops were to be supplied, and limiting the money to be paid therefor, was referred to as the usage of the Province.

The history of the Barracks during the Revolutionary War is succinctly told on the tablet inside the building which was unveiled on the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the celebration of its construction, as follows:

THESE BARRACKS WERE ERECTED 1758-9

By authority of the Legislature of the Colony of New Jersey for the purpose of quartering British and Provincial troops to resist the threatened invasion by the French and Indians.

In its original form presented three sides of a hollow square, which was intersected by the extension of Front Street, in 1813.

The building was constantly occupied by troops from the time of completion until peace was established with France in 1765. From that time until the breaking out of the war which resulted in the independence of the United States it was practically disused. For a short time preceding the battles of Trenton and Assunpink it was occupied by the British troops, Hessians, Provincial recruits for the service of the Crown, and Tory refugees, and during the remainder of the war by troops of the Continental Line, State Militia and their French Allies.

After the cessation of hostilities it was used for various private and philanthropic purposes, until purchased by the Old Barracks Fund Committee, November 3, 1902, and is now cared for by

THE OLD BARRACKS ASSOCIATION,

its present owner and preserver, by whom this tablet was erected on the 150th anniversary of the construction of the building.

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For three years after the Revolution the Barracks were disused and on June 1, 1786, Moore Furman, commissioner for the State, sold them to William Ogden and William Patterson.¹²

FRONT STREET CONTINUED WESTWARDLY

Afterwards, Front Street was continued westwardly from Willow Street to the State House lot, and the question is, *when was this done?* We find that on May 27, 1793, the surveyors of the townships of Trenton, Maidenhead and Hopewell agreed to lay out a road 42 feet wide beginning at the end of Front Street, near the Barracks, from thence running in the middle of the road north 70 degrees, west 4 chains and 70 links to the State House lot, thence north 22 degrees, east 3 chains and 49 links out into the road leading from Abraham Hunt's to Beatty's Ferry (now West State Street) and that the said road should be opened on or before September 1, 1793. That part of the road running north into what is now West State Street was afterwards opened southerly to the river, and was first known as Wall Street, but from 1842 until vacated (as hereafter noted) was called Delaware Street.

There are two or three conveyances of land on Front Street prior to 1800 which run to the wall of the Barracks; also one in 1809 and another in 1811. Mr. Raum¹³ says that Front Street was continued to the State House yard through the Old Barracks in 1801. General Stryker¹⁴ says that this was done in 1813. The opinion of General Stryker probably rightly expresses the date when part of the walls of the Barracks were demolished to make a continuous highway through from Willow Street to the State House grounds. General Stryker was more accurate than Mr. Raum; the latter says that buildings known as White Hall (Old Barracks) were erected by the King as barracks for his officers. This is a mistake. The King never erected the Barracks, nor was his permission even asked. True, they housed the soldiers of the King, but they were never built exclusively for officers,—in fact the officers' building was erected after the Barracks proper. As there is no authority showing that part of the walls of the building was actually demolished for the projection of Front Street through the Barracks prior to 1813 (although the street was undoubtedly opened to the westward of the Barracks after it was laid out by the surveyors of the highway in 1793), General Stryker's assertion, it appears, should be accepted. He says that the building was entirely stone. This is important when we know that at the time of the restoration the front wall of the officers' quarters facing on the north side of Front Street was of brick, doubtless put there by the owner after the extension of the street, so as to give the dwelling a more modern appearance and in a measure to dissociate it from what it had formerly been. The stone wall has since happily been replaced.

HISTORIC STRUCTURE NOW RESTORED

This historic structure has now been restored to its pristine condition and presents exactly the same appearance it had when

¹² Deed, Hunterdon County Clerk's Office, Vol. I, pp. 222 ff.

¹³ *History of Trenton*, p. 271.

¹⁴ *The Old Barracks at Trenton*, p. 14.

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originally erected. The restoration was not difficult,—only expensive, and the State of New Jersey generously provided the necessary funds.

That part of the structure on the south side of Front Street has never been altered externally, though the interior was undoubtedly changed by a division into rooms for renting to individuals, and that division is still maintained. The projection of Front Street westward was through the north end of the main building where it joined the north wing running easterly. None of the walls of that part which was left standing was demolished (except for the substitution of brick for stone in the front wall of the officers' quarters, now restored) and they stand today as originally built.

When the Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Home Society, which had occupied that portion of the structure known as White Hall on the southerly side of Front Street, removed to its new home on Spring Street, the Old Barracks was put up for sale. To prevent it from passing into the hands of speculators or contractors, and save it from demolition, some of the patriotic ladies of Trenton, through a committee, known as the Purchase Fund Committee and composed of Mrs. Samuel D. Oliphant, Mrs. Eliza Warren Hook, Mrs. William S. Stryker, Mrs. Washington A. Roebling and Mrs. James B. Breese, assisted by others, by great effort raised a fund and purchased the property, which they opened and maintained as the Old Barracks. The State, becoming interested, persuaded the City of Trenton to vacate so much of West Front Street as extended through from Willow to Delaware Streets and all of Delaware Street; bought the houses and lots on the vacated streets, and restored the Barracks to exactly the state that they were in when built, except as to the interior, which at first probably consisted of large rooms, some of which were afterwards undoubtedly made much smaller. The purchase fund committee and other ladies interested formed on June 13, 1902, the Old Barracks Association of Trenton, New Jersey, which the State has graciously continued as managers and custodians of the Barracks as an historical landmark and repository forever.

By deed dated February 10, 1914, the Old Barracks Associa-

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tion conveyed, to the State of New Jersey, White Hall or that part of the property which was owned by the association.¹⁵ The State, therefore, now owns the entire property, with the management and control, as stated, in the Old Barracks Association.

The Old Barracks are now largely used as a museum of Colonial and Revolutionary relics. The main entrance is in the old officers' quarters, the ground floor of which is one large reception room. On the second floor is an armory, where weapons are displayed. The ground floor of the main building contains the administration quarters and rooms of patriotic societies; and so, generally, does the second floor. The doors are open to visitors from 9 to 5 daily and the entire premises are open to inspection. On the second floor there is an auditorium running through the north wing, turning at right angles and running southerly for some distance through the main building, with the speaker's rostrum at the middle or turning-point, so that observation from that point can be had both ways. A similarly arranged banquet hall is located in the basement, with facilities for about 175 guests, where patriotic societies and the like may give dinners.

DOUGLASS HOUSE

On the front of the German Evangelical Trinity Lutheran Church, on South Broad Street nearly opposite Livingston, is a bronze tablet bearing this inscription:

Here in the house of Alexander Douglass Washington called a council of war on the evening of January 2, 1777, when the flank movement to Princeton was decided upon.

Erected by the Trenton High School Class of 1903, February 22, 1902.

The church stands upon the original site of the Douglass House, in which the conference between Washington and his generals took place on the night preceding the momentous Battle of Princeton.¹⁶ The modest little two-and-a-half-story frame building was then owned by Quartermaster Alexander Douglass,

¹⁵ Deed recorded in the Mercer County Clerk's Office, Vol. 366, p. 434.

¹⁶ See Frederick E. Ferris's chapter, above, on "The Two Battles of Trenton."

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who had turned it over to Brigadier General Arthur St. Clair for his headquarters. Situated farther from the enemy's gunfire, incident to the second Battle of Trenton, than was General Washington's own headquarters in the True American Inn, the Douglass House was selected as the meeting place of the little group of patriots upon whose determination the fate of the new-born nation depended.



After painting by W. E. Pedrick

THE DOUGLASS HOUSE COUNCIL OF WAR, JANUARY 2, 1777.

PORTRAITS

(From Colonel William E. Pedrick's private notes)

Standing in front of the fireplace at left of picture are General Sullivan and General Greene.

Seated at left of table is General John Cadwalader.

Standing in the foreground with back turned is General St. Clair.

Standing at left of table is General Mercer and at his left is General Ewing, whose face only is seen between Mercer and St. Clair.

Washington is seated at table opposite St. Clair and standing at Washington's left is General Dickinson.

Standing at right of table, pointing to map, is Colonel Reed and seated at Reed's left is Colonel Knox.

Standing in a group in the background at extreme right of picture are seen Colonel Hand, Colonel Stark, General Mifflin and General Stephen in the order named.

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The Douglass House was built by George Bright about the year 1766 on lot No. 9 in the "New Town of Kingsbury." Bright had purchased the lot from Robert Lettis Hooper on September 21, 1756, and conveyed it to Alexander Douglass on May 12, 1769. Douglass remained in possession of the property for over 66 years, and upon his death on April 4, 1836, devised it to Joseph Douglass, son of his brother William. Quartermaster Douglass had been one of Trenton's true patriots, serving his country throughout the Revolution. He took part in the Battles of Long Island, the Assunpink and Princeton, and the battle at Springfield, N.J., on June 23, 1780.

Upon the death of Joseph Douglass, intestate, on October 16, 1847, the property descended to Ann Douglass, his daughter. She was the last of the family to occupy the historic house, parting ownership with it in 1852. Ann lived to the ripe age of ninety and died on December 17, 1893.¹⁷

The Douglass House came into the possession of the German Lutherans soon after they had organized a church here in 1851. Thereafter it was used as a parsonage adjoining the small house of worship. In 1871 a larger church building was found necessary; the Douglass House was thereupon sold and removed to 478 Centre Street, where it was remodelled for tenant purposes. For many years its historic significance was lost sight of, until the writer's interest was aroused in 1912 and he eventually succeeded in positively identifying the building.¹⁸

Following upon this discovery and identification, the late Adjutant General Wilbur F. Sadler became interested in the preservation of the shrine. In 1913 he obtained an option to purchase the house, and this was turned over to the Trenton Catholic Club with the understanding that the club should supervise the financing of the purchase of the property.

Patriotic societies and the school children of Trenton were solicited to aid in raising the money needed for purchase and restoration. Within a few weeks a sufficient fund was raised

¹⁷ Her body is interred in St. Michael's churchyard, Trenton, an exception having been made in her case after the cessation of burials in that graveyard.

¹⁸ *Trenton Sunday Advertiser*, March 3, 1912.

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wherewith to purchase the property but not sufficient to carry on the work of removal and restoration. The World War then interfered with the collection of further funds, but in 1923, ten years after General Sadler had turned his option over to the Catholic Club, Dr. William A. Wetzel, principal of the Trenton High School, successfully supported the club's campaign for collection of funds, appealing to the children of the city and parochial schools for small contributions. The response was quick and generous. The total amount of money collected from all sources for purchase, removal and restoration of the Douglass House was \$14,699.18. In 1923 the Douglass House was moved from Centre Street to a site in Mahlon Stacy Park set aside for its permanent location by the State of New Jersey. Here the house was restored. On January 2, 1926, the 149th anniversary of the second Battle of Trenton, the building was dedicated to the public.

The officers of the Douglass House committee, a corporation not for pecuniary profit, which had charge of the entire project, were: William J. Backes, president; Vincent P. Bradley, secretary; Thomas M. Durnan, treasurer.

BOW HILL AND ANNETTE SAVAGE

Bow Hill, or "Beau Hill," as the local wits of a century ago called the house, was the property of Barnt De Klyn, who, so the story goes, leased it for a season to his friend, Joseph Bonaparte, as a sequestered retreat for his protégée, the beautiful Annette Savage. Here on the outskirts of South Trenton, at the head of a long lane surrounded by beautiful shade trees, stood and still stands today the old red brick mansion to which over a century ago the former King of Spain brought the lovely Quakeress. The highly decorous society of Philadelphia had previously declined to "know" the fair Annette, when she lived there, and her friend and protector, Comte de Surveilliers, as he called himself, sought for her what he hoped would prove a more favorable social atmosphere in the little provincial town on the banks of the Delaware. But if such was his expectation it was soon made evident that the local dispensers of social

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favours were no more inclined to take a complacent attitude towards Bonaparte's "friend" than were the moral arbiters of the more sophisticated Quaker capital. Little is known of her life here, but it must have been a lonely one. In the early 1820's Bow Hill was vacated, and its occupant departed for the wilds of Jefferson County, N.Y., where Bonaparte laid out a town which he called Diana, and built a villa to which he gave the title "White Horse." Here Annette Savage presided as mistress until the Revolution of 1830 called Bonaparte back to France. Subsequently she was married to Joseph de la Foille, a young Frenchman then living in Diana. In addition to the child, Pauline Josephann, whose grave is in St. Michael's churchyard, there appears to have been a younger daughter, Charlotte, who grew to womanhood and died in Richfield Springs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

"Pine Grove," a house which stood on the bluff overlooking the Delaware River, now a part of Riverview Cemetery, was also occupied by Annette Savage for a period.

Bow Hill is now, and has been for many years, in possession of members of the Lalor family, descendants of Barnt De Klyn, though none of that name is living in Trenton today. Miss Caroline Lalor, who died about twenty years ago, was the last of the family to occupy the mansion. The house since her death has remained closed, with a caretaker in charge of the property.¹⁹

THE DICKINSON HOMESTEAD—THE "HERMITAGE"

The "Hermitage," originally built and occupied by the Rutherford family previous to the War of the Revolution, was purchased by General Philemon Dickinson in 1776, shortly before the Battle of Trenton. It was occupied for many years by the Dickinson family, being the home of Samuel Dickinson, son of the General, who married Ann, a daughter of General Samuel Meredith. Subsequently it was the home of his son Philemon. Many famous people were entertained in this mansion during

¹⁹ See Heston, *South Jersey, a history*, p. 120; Woodward, *Bonaparte's Park, and the Murats*; Mills, *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, "Bow Hill"; Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church*, p. 358.

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the Dickinson régime. John Adams, a personal friend of General Dickinson, was a frequent guest. Later Madame Moreau "the beautiful Parisian," and Louis Philippe, a future King of France, together with many other notables, enjoyed the hospitality of the Hermitage. A partial list of the celebrities entertained was compiled some years ago by Philip Wharton Dickinson. It includes the names of Washington, Adams (John), Jefferson, Livingston, Franklin, Morris (Robert and Gouverneur), Clymer, Witherspoon, Rutledge, Pinckney, Middleton, Carroll, Lafayette, Steuben, Rochambeau, Greene, Putnam, Stirling, Wayne, Knox, Lincoln and two kings, viz., Louis Philippe, mentioned above, and Joseph Bonaparte. The mansion, subsequently rebuilt, came into the possession of the Atterbury family, and early in the present century was sold by them, and is now occupied as an apartment house. "Sic transit gloria mundi!"²⁰

BELLEVILLE

This mansion formerly stood near what is now the corner of West State and Prospect Streets. Attached to it was an estate of several hundred acres. It was first occupied by Sir John Sinclair, of the baronetcy of Nova Scotia. The Rev. Andrew Burnaby, an English traveller, visited Belleville when he was in Trenton in 1759. Subsequently it belonged to Brigadier General "Lord" Stirling whose correct name was William Alexander, but who claimed a title from the English Crown and immense tracts in Nova Scotia.

He was a native of New York, was born in 1726 and had been in service in the French and Indian War on the Staff of General Shirley, but his home was near Baskingridge in Somerset County. His wife was a sister of Governor Livingston of this State. He was Colonel of the first battalion, Somerset Militia, at the breaking out of the war; was appointed Colonel of the first battalion New Jersey Continental line November 7, 1775, Brigadier General by Congress, March 11, 1776, and Major General nearly a year later.²¹

²⁰ See Mills, *Historic Houses of New Jersey*, "The Hermitage"; and Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church*, p. 206.

²¹ Stryker, *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, pp. 348-9.

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The mansion was afterwards occupied by Robert Lettis Hooper, III, at one time vice-president of the State, who died there July 30, 1797, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Soon afterwards is advertised for sale "that elegant seat called Belleville, late the residence of R. L. Hooper on the Delaware and containing one hundred acres." In September 1806 Belleville was advertised by John Rutherford as "the summer residence of the subscriber in the City of Trenton, having three hundred and thirty acres on both sides of the river and one of the lots between the new street and Calhoun's lane including Prospect Hill." The Sinclair, Alexander and Rutherford families were all related.²²

THE GROVE

The Dickinson house, the old stone mansion, sometimes known as the "Grange" but more properly as the "Grove," so called because of the fine grove of trees which surrounded the house, situated at the corner of North Clinton and Girard Avenues, is the oldest building in East Trenton. It was built, probably in 1792, by Samuel Dickinson, son of General Philemon Dickinson. He was born in 1770 and died in 1839. By profession he was a lawyer but did not practise. His wife was a daughter of Samuel Meredith, the first treasurer of the United States. After the death of his father in 1809, Samuel Dickinson moved from the "Grove" to the Hermitage. His eldest son, John Dickinson, and family, were the last of the name to occupy the mansion. John Dickinson, among others in the locality, attempted the culture of silk-worms and planted many mulberry trees for the silk-worms to feed on. Mulberry Street took its name from these trees. Silk culture as a local industry proved a dismal failure. About 1860 the "Grove" passed out of the Dickinson family. Since that time the house has changed hands a number of times. At one time it was a saloon and later a branch of the Y.W.C.A. In 1928 it was bought by the trustees of the Free Public Library for branch library purposes.

²² Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, 2nd ed., p. 151.

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II. Inns and Taverns

THE inns and taverns²³ of long ago filled a large place in the life of the community. They were the social clubs of an age which had so few of our modern conveniences. Public bodies utilized their chambers for the transaction of official business. Travellers over poor roads had to break their journey frequently for comfort and refreshment and the little inn with its lights aglow after nightfall was a welcome sight to many a stranger. Therein were food and shelter for man and beast. In coaching days, Trenton was an important stopping point and Warren Street, on the direct line of traffic between New York and Philadelphia, was lined with houses of public entertainment. As the capital of the State and the place of meeting of the Courts and the Legislature, this city had to be prepared for unusual numbers of transient guests. The following pages describe in some detail many of the hostelries which have served Trenton's residents and visitors from early Colonial times until the present.

THE LIGONIER OR BLACK HORSE TAVERN

The Ligonier stood on the northwest corner of Queen (Broad) and Second (State) Streets, and was kept by Robert Rutherford. It is described by many writers as located at the northwest corner of Queen and Front Streets, but this is an error.

Samuel Tucker, sheriff of Hunterdon County, on November 29, 1764, advertised the tavern for sale in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, as follows:

By virtue of several Writs of Fieri Facias to me directed, will be exposed to Sale, at public Vendue, to the highest Bidder, on Tuesday, the 15th Day of January next, between the Hours of Twelve and Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the Premises, that commodious, and most agreeable situated House, which has long been known to be an elegant and well accustomed Tavern, with the Lots of Land thereunto belonging, situated in Trenton, is on the Corner 67 Feet front on Queen-street, and 174 Feet front on Market-

²³ "Ordinary" was the general term applied to public places where transients were accommodated. Afterwards the terms "inn" and "tavern" were applied to them. These terms have been used interchangeably by almost everyone. However, there is this distinction—that an inn is a house which is held out to the public as a place where all transient persons who come will be received and entertained as guests for compensation, while a tavern, according to the early nomenclature, signifies a place where food and drink without lodging may be obtained.

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street, adjoining the Lands of William Morris, Esq; William Clayton, Esq; James Smith, and Robert Singar, containing Half an Acre, more or less; the House is built of Brick, 35 by 35 Feet square, two Stories high, four Rooms on the lower Floor, a spacious Entry through it, there are three Rooms on the Second Story, one of which is a genteel Assembly Room, with a Door that opens into a fine Balcony fronting on Queen Street, good lodging Rooms in the third Story or Garret, neatly finished, convenient Fire-places, in the House, and excellent Cellars underneath the whole. Also, a large Brick Kitchen, 21 Feet front on Queen-street, and 41 Feet back, two Stories high, in which is a Wash-house, with good lodging Rooms in the second Story and Garret; the whole compleatly finished, large Stables fronting Market-street, with Cow-houses, Hen-houses, Pigeon-houses, a good Garden, with a large Yard, in which is an excellent Well; late the Property, and now in the Possession of Robert Rutherford; Seized and taken in Execution at the Suit of Moore Furman, Robert Lettis Hooper, and others, and to be sold by

SAMUEL TUCKER, Sheriff.²⁴

Robert Lettis Hooper evidently purchased the property at the sale. He in turn advertised it for sale, along with other property, in March 1767, and described it as "one handsome brick house, lately the property of Robert Rutherford, and allowed the best stand for a tavern or a gentleman in any part of Trenton." There followed a detailed description of the property.²⁵

The land on which the house was erected was owned by Benjamin Smith in 1733. Smith purchased it from Enoch Andrews and built the house on it. Some time prior to 1744 he conveyed the property to William Morris, who on February 26, 1748, conveyed it to Thomas Cadwalader, the first chief burgess of Trenton. Since the house was "allowed the best stand for a tavern or a gentleman in any part of Trenton," we presume it was Dr. Cadwalader's residence while in Trenton.

In August 1750 Dr. Cadwalader advertised all his Trenton properties for sale, among them "a large commodious corner brick house, two stories high furnished with three good rooms on the lower floor and a large entry through; four good rooms on the upper floor and four lodging rooms plaistered in the upper story, with good cellars, stone kitchen, garden and stables, situated in Queen Street in a very public part of the Town of Trenton, very convenient for any public business."²⁶ He conveyed the property on February 4, 1754, to James Rutherford, "yeoman," who in turn conveyed it to Robert Rutherford, his nephew, by deed dated July 27, 1759. The deed refers to the grantee as "tavern keeper"; Robert Rutherford had been licensed to keep a tavern three years before.

Robert Rutherford was imprisoned in Trenton gaol for debt in 1765. On November 27, 1766, he made an assignment for the benefit of his creditors and was discharged from confinement by the court. He continued to conduct the Ligonier Tavern, as a license was granted him afterwards on May 3, 1768.

²⁴ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 460.

²⁵ *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 314.

²⁶ *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 661.

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Under execution of several judgments entered in Hunterdon County, John Barnes, sheriff of that County, on April 10, 1771, sold the Ligonier Tavern, as the property of Robert Rutherford, to John Johnson of Perth Amboy.²⁷ The latter on April 23, 1778, conveyed it to Joseph Millner, and it was afterwards commonly known as Millner's corner.

No account of the Ligonier Tavern would be complete without some reference being made to the romance which budded there and the fate which befell Robert Rutherford and his family. In May 1856 London papers carried the report of a suit then in the equity court, of which the following is an extract:

Robert Rutherford [as the result of a family quarrel] quitted his father's house [in the north of Ireland], and shortly afterwards enlisted in Ligonier's troop of Black Horse. After a time he . . . settled at the village of Trenton, in the United States, where he opened a tavern, which he called "The Ligonier or Black Horse." . . . About that period [1770] there one day drove up to the tavern, in a carriage and four, an English officer, by name of Fortescue. Colonel Fortescue dined at the tavern, and after dinner had a conversation in private with one of Rutherford's daughters. Within two hours after this conversation Francis Mary Rutherford had, notwithstanding her sisters' entreaties, quitted her father's house in company with Colonel Fortescue. With him she went to Paris, where after a few years he died, leaving her, it is supposed, a considerable sum of money. On his death she quitted Paris and came to England; and here she married a gentleman of considerable property, named Shard. In 1798 Mrs. Shard had a great desire to discover what had become of her father's family, [but] inquiries were fruitless—her brother and three sisters were dead. . . . In 1819 Mrs. Shard died a widow, childless and intestate. No next of kin appearing, the Crown took possession of the property. In 1823 an attempt was made to set up a document as the will of Mrs. Shard, but it was declared a forgery. In 1846 the present plaintiff made a claim to the property, setting up that claim through a Mrs. Davies, who was alleged to be first cousin of the deceased. . . . The Vice-Chancellor came to the conclusion that as between the Crown and the claimant the latter made out a case . . . but as it did not follow that there might not be still nearer relatives than the claimant, . . . the matter must go back to chambers for further inquiries.

ROYAL OAK

After Robert Rutherford left the Ligonier, Rensselaer Williams occupied the building in 1768 as the Royal Oak. Williams was from Middlesex County, and was first licensed to keep a tavern in Trenton as early as 1766. Where his first inn was located has not been ascertained.

Early in 1773 Williams removed the Royal Oak inn to Trenton Ferry, the notice of the removal appearing in the Philadelphia papers on March 22.²⁸ Before March 1, 1776, Williams left the inn at Trenton Ferry and

²⁷ Deed Book G. 3, p. 78, Office of the Secretary of State.

²⁸ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 461.

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opened a public house in Trenton, "at the sign of the Royal Oak, in the house where the late Mr. Cottnam dwelt." Williams' advertisement describes his new stand as well accommodated with good stables, carriage house and hay.²⁹ The Mr. Cottnam here referred to was Abraham Cottnam, one of the leading lawyers of Trenton before the Revolution.³⁰

Former writers have stated that in the latter part of his life Cottnam removed to Dowd's Dale, locating his tenement at what is now the northwest corner of Bank and Warren Streets, and that at his death it became the inn of Rensselaer Williams.³¹

This seems to be an error, in view of existing evidence indicating that Abraham Cottnam lived elsewhere. Under his will, bearing date December 16, 1775, Cottnam devised to his wife Elizabeth Ann Cottnam "the house and Lott of land wherein I now live, together with the gardens, barns, stables and all the outhouses belonging thereto, for and during her natural life" and after her decease to his son-in-law Robert Hoops and to his son George Cottnam, forever, as tenants in common. On March 2, 1779, Cottnam's executors advertised the property for sale:

To be sold and may be entered on the first day of April, next. All that tenement whereon Abraham Cottnam, Esq., lately lived, situate on the east side of Queen Street, in Trenton. There are on the premises a large commodious brick dwelling house two stories and a half high, four rooms on a floor, with convenient upper lodging rooms, a convenient kitchen adjoining, an elegant brick out house fronting the street at a small distance a large convenient barn, stables, carriage house and other out building; a garden containing about three quarters of an acre. It has been a tavern for upwards of two years past, and is a very convenient and an excellent stand for that business or any other, being situate on the street leading directly through the town, and is a very agreeable situation for a private gentleman.³²

The house in which Abraham Cottnam dwelt at the time of his death was the northeast corner of what is now Broad and Hanover Streets.³³

George Cottnam on behalf of himself and the other executors of Abraham Cottnam, on April 20, 1779, entered into a written agreement to sell and convey this property to Rensselaer Williams for £5000. The agreement states that it was then in the actual possession of Williams.³⁴

References to Rensselaer Williams' inn are frequently found in the early records. Thus we learn that many prisoners of war were sent there upon their parole during the Revolution; notable among them was Dr. John Lawrence of Monmouth County.³⁵ The Admiralty Courts met at the Inn

²⁹ *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, pp. 8, 79.

³⁰ See Chap. XII, below, "Courts, Judges and Lawyers."

³¹ See footnote, *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. I, p. 59.

³² *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II, p. 149.

³³ See Deed, Highbee to Tucker, Vol. XXXV of Deeds, p. 175, recorded February 2, 1856, in Mercer County Clerk's Office; and Deed, Morris to Smith, Book A.F., p. 236, Secretary of State's Office.

³⁴ Book A.L., p. 428, Secretary of State's Office.

³⁵ *Minutes of Provincial Congress and Committee of Safety*, p. 495.

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in January, February and March, 1778,³⁶ and on December 8 of the same year the law library of Daniel W. Coxe and the household goods of John Barnes, two prominent loyalists, were sold there.³⁷

THE CITY TAVERN

On the southwest corner of King and Second (Warren and State) Streets, where the Mechanics National Bank now stands, stood the City Tavern. On September 20 and 21, 1730, Peter Bard conveyed to John Dagworthy a lot 66 feet on King Street by 330 feet on Second Street. Dagworthy at that time owned and lived in the house located immediately south of this corner lot. On the corner lot Dagworthy built a stone house two stories high with gable roof. The building measured 45 feet front by 53 feet in depth, with a kitchen in the rear containing rooms for servants on the second floor. It was the handsomest and most commodious house in Trenton in its day. From 1740 to 1742 it was the official residence of Governor Lewis Morris. Mr. Dagworthy died in 1756 and in 1760 the property was sold by his executors to Samuel Henry, who occupied it as his residence until 1780. Henry leased the property to Jacob Bergen, who, after making extensive changes, opened it as a tavern under the name of the Thirteen Stars.

In 1780 the General Assembly of New Jersey is said to have held its sessions in this place. About 1781, Mr. Bergen went to Philadelphia to conduct the Bunch of Grapes, and one John Cape took over the Thirteen Stars, changing its name to the French Arms. Cape quit the inn in 1783 and Bergen returned to take over the management of the place.

When the Continental Congress met in Trenton in 1784, its sessions were held in the Long Room of Mr. Bergen's French Arms. It was here that the Marquis de Lafayette took leave of the Congress on December 11, 1784. When that body adjourned on December 24, 1784, the commissioners who had leased the property for the use of Congress for a period ending March 31, 1786, assigned the unexpired term to Francis Witt.

Witt had entered the tavern business a few years previously by taking over Joseph Clunn's inn, the Alexander the Great, later changing its name to the Blazing Star. Carrying the Blazing Star sign with him to his new stand, Witt substituted it for the French Arms. After Witt left the inn on April 1, 1789, Henry Drake took possession, naming it the City Tavern. Here it was that Washington was dined and received by the citizens of Trenton, April 21, 1789, while on his way to New York to be inaugurated the first President of the United States. Earlier in the day he had been received and greeted by the ladies of Trenton at the Triumphal Arch erected over the Assunpink Bridge.

Drake was followed by Joseph Broadhurst in 1793. Broadhurst, as well as the many subsequent proprietors, continued the inn under the name of the City Tavern. In 1837, when The Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank purchased the property, the tavern was taken down and the banking house erected.

³⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II, pp. 10, 48, 92.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 555.

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THE AMERICAN HOUSE

The American House corner has been the site of a tavern or hotel for over two hundred years. The present American House is on the southwest corner of Warren and Hanover Streets. Prior to 1849 it was known as the Rising Sun Hotel. On July 30, 1725, James Trent conveyed the lot, on which the American House now stands, to James Severns. The latter, on August 13, 1730, conveyed it "together with the new house or tenement built by the said John Severns on the hereby granted premises" to William Allen. The deed conveys a lot 66 by 165 feet commencing 330 feet from the northwest corner of State and Warren Streets. This is the northerly part of the present lot occupied by the American House.

It was advertised for sale by Samuel Tucker, sheriff, under an execution as the property of John Allen in 1764.³⁸ This execution was satisfied as Isaac Allen, a Trenton lawyer, inherited the property from his father John Allen. During the Revolution Isaac Allen remained loyal to Great Britain and joined His Majesty's troops under the command of Sir William Howe in New Jersey in December 1776. As a consequence he was attainted August 1, 1778, and his whole estate confiscated and sold. Included in his property was his dwelling house of stone, two stories high, in Trenton. Stephen Lowrey purchased it from the commissioners of forfeited estates on March 20, 1779. On July 26, 1792, Lowrey conveyed the premises to Colonel Isaac Smith, who by profession was a physician and not a lawyer, but was placed on the Supreme Court bench in February 1777. He was later elected to Congress and was the first president of the Trenton Banking Company, serving from February 13, 1805, until his death August 29, 1807.

The first mention of the Rising Sun Tavern appears in an advertisement in the *Federalist* of May 2, 1808, wherein John V. Hart and Samuel T. Mahette announced that they had opened a new store in Warren Street next door south of the Rising Sun Tavern. At that time the Rising Sun was conducted by John Anderson who, in 1801, had quit the Indian Queen to be succeeded there by Peter Probasco. Anderson ran the Rising Sun until 1821 when he was succeeded by Jacob Herbert, who had formerly been at the City Hotel. Herbert died in 1825 but Mrs. Hannah Herbert, his widow, continued the Rising Sun until 1828, when she removed to the City Hotel. In 1828 Joseph Wildes, who came from Mount Holly, took over the tavern and ran it until 1831. In December of that year we find Hannah Wildes running it. Joshua Hollinshead followed in May 1834 and ran it until 1842. The next proprietor was Joshua English, who remained until February 2, 1847, when a great fire practically destroyed the Rising Sun. At the time, the hotel was pretty well filled with members of the Legislature and other guests but they were either at the State House or at a lecture at the City Hall. The loss to the owner, Joseph Wood, was estimated at \$12,000. Mr. Wood immediately rebuilt the house and on June 8, 1847, it was opened as the American Hotel with Charles Wyckoff as its new proprietor.

Mr. Wyckoff continued at the hotel for a number of years. Then Isaac Heuling had it for a while. In February 1857 John V. D. Joline, formerly

³⁸ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 324.

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of Princeton, purchased it. Some of the subsequent proprietors were Edmund Bartlett, Walter F. Bartlett, Charles Kropp, and others. The American House Realty Company (all members of the Kuser family) are now the owners, with Benedict C. Kuser as manager. It contains about seventy-five rooms.

For many years this was the principal hotel in the city and many great men have been guests there. President Monroe arrived in Trenton on June 7, 1817. He was escorted to the Rising Sun Hotel and remained in Trenton until the morning of June 9. President Jackson stopped at Trenton on June 11, 1833, when on his tour through the States. He was received by the citizens in large numbers, and dined at the Rising Sun Hotel. General William H. Harrison stopped there on September 9, 1836. President James K. Polk who had been invited to be present at the Independence Day celebration on July 4, 1847, was received by the citizens of Trenton with great rejoicing and after the speeches at the State House he was escorted to the American Hotel where he dined. Daniel Webster was a guest at the American Hotel March 20, 1852, when he appeared as counsel for the Goodyears in the celebrated India rubber case in the United States Court, which is discussed elsewhere in this History.

THE INDIAN KING

The Indian King Tavern is said to have stood on the west side of North Warren Street, facing East Hanover. As far back as 1782 we find a printed reference to the Indian King in a notice of Jacob Beck, a blue-dyer, of Germantown, Pa., which informed his customers that they might send their yarn, cloth, etc., to him by leaving it "at Mr. Isaac Britton's, inn-keeper, at the sign of the Indian King in Trenton."³⁹ No other mention of this hotel by name appears until August 16, 1853, when the *State Gazette* informs its readers that the ancient building occupied by Benjamin S. Disbrow at 88 Warren Street was being torn down. The newspaper then went on to say that the place had at one time been known as the "Indian King Tavern" and that it dated back to the Revolution. In 1800, continued the article, Peter Probasco kept the place, then known as the Eagle Tavern, but for the past twenty or thirty years it had not been used as a tavern.

The next reference to the Indian King is found in E. M. Woodward's *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (p. 709) where we read:

"The Indian King was located in Warren Street facing East Hanover Street. Benjamin S. Disbrow afterwards erected his large iron building on the same spot, where he kept a furniture store until his death."

Thus Woodward embalmed the error made earlier in the century by the *State Gazette*, for the fact is that the Indian King did not stand on the site of the Disbrow building. The truth of this is evidenced by several considerations, the first among them being the taverns that flourished here in 1782. We have heretofore noted that Francis Witt conducted the Alexander the Great before moving down to the French Arms. Witt was at the Alexander the Great, then the Blazing Star, on January 23, 1782,⁴⁰ and remained there until January 1785, when he took possession of the French Arms. The

³⁹ *New Jersey Gazette*, March 6, 1732.

⁴⁰ *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. V, p. 364.

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Jacob Beck advertisement, set out above, bears date of February 27, 1782. It is quite evident that Isaac Brittain's "Indian King" and Francis Witt's "Alexander the Great" were not one and the same tavern. The truth of the matter is that Isaac Brittain's tavern was located at what is now the north-west corner of Warren and Hanover Streets. It was advertised by John Anderson, sheriff, to be sold under execution on July 12, 1783, as late the property of Isaac Brittain, and is described as "that house and lot where the said Isaac Britton [*sic*] now dwells, which has been a noted and well accustomed tavern for many years past, with a lot of land containing 16 acres adjoining the tavern."

John Howell and Abner Scudder advertise the tavern in October 1817 as the Union Tavern, then occupied by Mr. Runyan.⁴¹ In April 1818 one Hugley informs the public that he has moved to the house lately occupied by William J. Leslie (the Phoenix Hotel) between the Indian Queen Tavern and the Union Hotel, "where he will continue the business of clock and watch-making."⁴²

A word as to the Alexander the Great site. William Trent conveyed the lot on which the tavern stood to Barbara Talbot on April 25, 1723, and the latter's daughter, Sarah, conveyed it to Samuel Johnson on July 1, 1731. The deed to Johnson designates the lot as No. 4 in the plan of Trenton, and this is the only evidence we have of the fact that Trent numbered his lots. The southerly 28 feet of the lot belonged to Dorothy Wright in 1787. The remaining 38 feet of lot No. 4, and the land between it and Isaac Allen's (the American House to the north), was conveyed to William and Robert Chambers by Harrison Palmer on July 22, 1780.⁴³ These two, by deed dated September 8, 1781,⁴⁴ partitioned the property between them, William releasing the lower 38 feet to Robert and retaining the balance. This remaining acreage, measuring about 33½ feet by 165, was sold by the sheriff of Hunterdon County under execution against the Chambers, to James B. Machett, by deed dated February 11, 1796.⁴⁵

The Alexander the Great was sold to Francis Witt, then located at the French Arms, by Robert Chambers and Francina, his wife, on August 22, 1787.⁴⁶ Witt never moved back to the stand he had once kept, nor was the place ever used again as a tavern. It is described in the deed from the Chambers to Witt as lying between the house late of Dorothy Wright on the south and James Machett on the north. The tavern lot was conveyed by George T. Olmstead to Theodore Blackwell on June 30, 1842,⁴⁷ and the latter on March 31, 1853, conveyed it to Benjamin S. Disbrow. In the same year the old structure was pulled down and a large iron-front building erected in its place.⁴⁸ Mr. Disbrow used the new structure as a furniture store until his death. After that it was used by William S. Sharp as a book-

⁴¹ *Trenton Federalist*, October 20, 1817.

⁴² *ibid.*, April 6, 1818.

⁴³ Deed Book I, p. 267, of Hunterdon County.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Deed Book I, p. 442, of Hunterdon County.

⁴⁶ Deed Book I, p. 269, Hunterdon County.

⁴⁷ Deed Book D, p. 613, of Mercer County.

⁴⁸ *State Gazette*, August 16, 1853.

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and job-printing establishment. The *Daily Public Opinion* was printed in this office. Later the ground floor was turned into a billiard-room, restaurant and saloon, which at different times bore the names of the Galaxy and the Alhambra, Frederick Caminade, Edward Updegrave and James H. Letts being proprietors. Finally, in 1928, the building was torn down to make way for the Lincoln Theatre.

THE CITY HOTEL

The City Hotel used to stand on the west side of North Warren Street, opposite Perry Street, the present site of St. Mary's Cathedral rectory and the offices of the Trenton Roman Catholic Diocese. It was the commodious residence of Stacy Potts until 1784. In January 1785 we find it advertised to let:

To be let until the first day of November next and may be entered immediately, the House wherein Stacy Potts lately lived in Trenton, which was taken for the use of the President of Congress, and is now vacant by his removal. The house is two stories high, spacious and elegant, having three rooms with fireplaces, besides a large dining room with two fireplaces on the lower floor, five rooms on the second floor, a large convenient kitchen, a cellar under the whole, a pump at the door, a convenient lot with a stream of running water through it and an excellent garden—a stable sufficient to contain eight horses, with room for hay to keep them, may be had with it. . . .⁴⁹

Colonel Gottlieb Rall had made the Potts house his headquarters when he and his Hessians came to Trenton in 1776. After the Battle of Trenton, General Washington and General Greene visited the wounded Colonel at this house and offered their consolations before leaving him.

In 1784, Potts' tenancy of the house came to an end. In that year Congress located in Trenton and the State, through Moore Furman, Conrad Kotts and James Ewing, commissioners, leased it for the use of the president of Congress for the term of one year, beginning October 30, 1784. Colonel Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, having been chosen president of the Congress on November 30, 1784, immediately took possession and continued to reside there until January 5, 1785. The place was then advertised for rent for the remainder of the lease.⁵⁰

After Mr. Potts had sold the house in 1785 it was converted into a tavern. When General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Ambassador to France, visited Trenton early in November 1798 he was tendered a reception at the tavern, then known as the City Hotel. James Ewing, mayor, made the address of welcome and the distinguished guest replied.

The hotel was the scene of many receptions and meetings in years following. In February 1803 the question of uniting the Delaware and Raritan Rivers by a canal was discussed here by a meeting of the citizens. The State Bank opened its subscription books at the City Hotel in February 1812.

⁴⁹ *State Gazette*, June 12, 1857.

⁵⁰ See reprint in *State Gazette*, June 12, 1857, of the original advertisement which ran January 10, 1785.

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In 1816, Richard Davis and William Scott advertised the hotel as "long kept as a public house" and one of the finest stands in Trenton. Soon after, the building was turned into a boarding house, John Mount, Jr., being one of the keepers. On December 28, 1838, the place was reopened as a tavern under the name of the Trenton City Hotel, by John Van Fleet.⁵¹ During Mr. Van Fleet's proprietorship, travelling shows frequently set up their attractions at the City Hotel.

Dr. Jacob Quick became the owner of the property under a conveyance made by Samuel Evans, July 23, 1853. He demolished the building four years later⁵² to make room for a brick dwelling house in which he afterwards lived and had his office. On March 27, 1865, Dr. Quick sold the property to the Right Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, Roman Catholic Bishop of Newark. In 1866, Father Anthony Smith began the building of Saint Mary's Church over a part of the site of the old tavern, leaving Dr. Quick's house undisturbed that it might be used as a rectory. A few years later Dr. Quick's house gave way to the present five-story brownstone rectory, whose foundation covers about two-thirds of the foundation of the old tavern.

Some of those who operated the City Hotel at one time or another, besides those mentioned, were: John Anderson, Peter Howell, Scott and Herbert, the Widow Harvey, Hannah Herbert, Nicholas Bendel and Samuel Heath.

WILLIAM YARD'S INN

Probably the first inn to be built in Trenton was that owned by William Yard. He had settled here in 1710, and in 1712 purchased from Mahlon Stacy, Jr., about two acres of land. On this land he built a substantial stone dwelling, part of which is still standing at 24 East Front Street, at the corner of Warner's Alley. Before the old Hunterdon County Court House was built in 1719, the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions Courts were held in public houses. It was at William Yard's house, then in Hopewell township, that the first session of the courts of the newly created county of Hunterdon were held. Yard was appointed the first clerk of these courts, and was such in 1720, when he issued a subpoena to several witnesses to appear "before our Justices of the Peace at the next General Quarter Sessions of ye Peace, to be held in and for the said county, at Trenton, then and there to give evidence," etc. This indicates that as early as 1720 the town was recognized by the courts as bearing the name "Trenton." It also shows that there was a court house here in 1720, for had the court met in any private building the witnesses would have been specifically directed to come to such place in the subpoena.

MADISON HOUSE

The Madison House was an ancient inn standing on Greene Street (North Broad) nearly opposite to Academy Street, where a number of brick houses and stores were built in the centennial year (1876) and called the Cen-

⁵¹ *New Jersey Gazette*, December 28, 1838.

⁵² *State Gazette*, June 12, 1857.

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tenial Row. Its last proprietor was Charles Fow, who remained until the building was taken down. From time to time it had been kept by William Morton, Nathaniel Richardson, Solomon Sutphin and Samuel Mulford. During the Rebellion this tavern was used as a recruiting station.

Like the Lafayette House close by, the Madison flourished while the street markets on Greene Street were maintained.

THE LAFAYETTE HOUSE

The Lafayette House stood on the west side of Broad Street, between State and Hanover Streets, where the S. P. Dunham & Co. store is now located. The original dwelling which stood on this site (a lot fronting 70 feet in Greene Street and 166 feet deep) was two stories high and had two parlors on the first floor and a number of lodging rooms on the second. The house belonged to Dr. Nicholas de Belleville and was occupied by the Rev. William Johnson, rector of St. Michael's Church, in 1830.⁵³ It was opened as a tavern in 1845 by A. H. Reed, who was granted a license to run "the New Tavern in Green Street, formerly the residence of Dr. Clark" on November 18 of that year.⁵⁴ Charles Howell owned the place in 1848 and in November of the next year removed the roof of the hotel, known as the "Lafayette House in Greene Street" and added two stories to the structure.⁵⁵ The improvement brought popularity to the hotel. Elijah Mount conducted it from 1853 to 1855, when it was taken over by Charles Fow, who was a popular host, until 1863 when he sold it to William P. Brewer. In 1864 the hotel was managed by Richardson and Sutphin, and in 1866 by David Wagner. Mr. Richardson again took charge in 1867 and in the following year John Barnet and others purchased the property. The old hotel was torn down in the late '70's to make room for a row of stores, known for years afterward as "Lafayette Row."

BULL'S HEAD TAVERN

On the south side of State Street (15 and 17 East State Street), about 150 feet east of Warren Street, stood the Bull's Head Tavern. Sylvester Doyle was the proprietor prior to 1801. In May of that year it was taken over by Amos Howell. From 1808 to 1824 Thomas Atkinson ran it. In the latter year Atkinson removed to the large three-story building on the northwest corner of Front and Warren Streets. A livery stable used by him in connection with the latter site was on the opposite side of Warren Street, the northeast corner, which remained for many years the exchange stable for the post riders going through Trenton.

The Bull's Head Tavern on State Street was sold in 1817 as the property of the late Sylvester Doyle. It was a two-story frame building. Thomas Combs became its proprietor in 1824 and named it the Farmers Inn. Charles Green kept it later.

In 1847 Joshua English built the large stuccoed building, still standing on the same site. He called it the Mansion House, and ran it until his death.

⁵³ *State Gazette*, February 20, 1830.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, November 19, 1845.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, November 1, 1849.

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For upwards of fifty years past it has ceased to be an hotel and has been occupied as law offices and stores. The Bull's Head Tavern (saloon) of the latter quarter of the nineteenth century was on the east side of North Warren Street opposite the Reading Railroad station, formerly Lamb Tavern. This building, a three-story dwelling, had been used as a tavern from a time prior to 1763, and was then the Sign of the King of Prussia, kept by Richard Cox.⁵⁶

UNITED STATES HOTEL

The United States Hotel was located on the site of the present Trent Theatre on the west side of Warren Street. On this site as early as 1788 stood the Indian Queen Tavern. It was built of stone, two stories high with a large brick kitchen adjoining. A large stable, carriage house, shed, ice house, etc., were in the rear. In 1801 the Indian Queen Tavern was in possession of John Anderson, who advertised that he "is about to leave Town and will dispose of his household goods." Enoch Green took possession of the Indian Queen about 1820 and ran it until his death in 1827. John D. Green then conducted it until his death on December 25, 1830. His widow Frances ran it until 1835 when she went to the City Tavern. During the Green régime the tavern seems to have been the museum of Trenton. On March 31, 1823, an exhibition was advertised to be held there on April 1 and 2, of "a large and learned Elephant." An "Egyptian mummy three thousand years old" was on exhibition there during the second week of May 1825; and during the first week of June 1826 "live rattlesnakes lately taken in the interior of Pennsylvania and New York" were on exhibition at the inn.

Joshua English took over the tavern in 1835, and advertises that he has furnished it "in a style inferior to none in the said city." English left the inn sometime in 1842, after which we find him interested in the Mansion House on State Street. Charles Howell next followed him as tenant from 1842 to 1847. In January 1847 Samuel Kay became proprietor of the Indian Queen and opened it under the name of The United States Hotel. It saw several other landlords up to the time it was razed, including Austin Walton and J. J. McCarthy.

PHOENIX HOTEL

The Phoenix Hotel stood on the west side of North Warren Street where Hanover Street now cuts through. On its site previously stood a dwelling which is commonly supposed to have been the residence of President John Adams when he, along with the other heads of the federal departments, fled the yellow fever prevalent in Philadelphia in 1799.

The first mention of the dwelling being used as an inn or tavern is found in an advertisement of William J. Leslie⁵⁷ in which he announces that he has opened a hotel in Trenton directly opposite the postoffice, next door to the Rising Sun Tavern. Leslie ran the Phoenix Hotel until 1824, when he removed to the house of Philip F. Howell on the east side of Warren Street, immediately south of St. Michael's Church, to open an hotel known

⁵⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212, 375.

⁵⁷ *Federalist*, April 30, 1821.

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as the Mansion House. In 1831 he changed its name to Temperance Hall. Mary Wright was the owner of the Phoenix in 1842; at that time it was called the Phoenix and Cornucopia Hotel.

John Miller, it would appear, was in possession of the Phoenix Hotel from 1848 to 1864. In the latter year, Captain Michael Dewan became the proprietor. On his death in 1869 his brother, William, took over the place. Other proprietors of the hotel include: Peter Smick, Charles Green, Enoch Cook, Norbury Bashford, William S. Yard and James Davison.

In 1870 the city bought in the lot on which the Phoenix stood in order to extend the present West Hanover Street. The price paid to Mrs. Miller, the then owner, was \$14,780. At that time William Harley ran the hotel. After he had conducted a sale of his personal effects in February 1871, he moved out and the building was demolished to make way for the new street.

THE FOX CHASE TAVERN

General William S. Stryker in his *Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 101, in speaking of the Hessians under Colonel Rall in Trenton in December 1776, says that "the principal picket of the Trenton cantonment was at the Fox Chase Tavern, kept by Mrs. Joseph Bond, on the Maidenhead Road, now Brunswick Avenue, and nearly opposite to what is at the present time the head of Montgomery Street. It consisted of one commissioned officer, three under officers, and about seventy men. This picket did sentinel and watch duty in the town. A captain was always at this post, on duty as inspector."

From the following advertisement appearing in the *Emporium and True American*, on January 31, 1835, it would seem that the tavern stood much nearer to Broad Street: "The old established Tavern Stand, long kept by Mrs. Bond, sign of the Fox Chase, in the city of Trenton, at the head of Greene Street, on the commencement of the straight Turnpike to New Brunswick, is to be let, and possession given on the first day of April next." Joseph Bond ran the Fox Chase Tavern in 1776, and continued to do so until his death on October 25, 1826, an aged inhabitant of Trenton. He had married Mary, the widow of William Cain, a former proprietor. She survived Bond also.

THE TREMONT HOUSE

The brick stuccoed building, forty feet square and three stories high, on the northwest corner of East State and Canal Streets, is the Tremont House. It was erected by Peter Grim, Jr., between March and September 1847, and was first named the Rail Road House. The announcement of the opening of the house for guests, as published in the *State Gazette* of September 16, 1847, reads:

The subscriber, having completed his new and spacious building at the Depot in State Street,⁵⁸ is now prepared to receive visitors. His house has been built for a hotel, and the rooms have been arranged as to afford every convenience to those who may occupy

⁵⁸ The old Camden and Amboy Railroad station stood across the canal from the hotel.

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them, having been thoroughly furnished with beds, bedding and furniture.

Gentlemen and Ladies, who may visit Trenton for a short time, will find every accommodation at this Hotel, besides the desirable convenience of being near the Depot, and but a few steps from the cars. The location is a very pleasant one, being near the cottages, and an equal distance from Trenton and South Trenton.—Peter Grim, Jr.

The Rail Road House for a number of years was a popular stopping place for travellers, members of the Legislature and theatrical performers. Grim ran the hotel until his death in 1847 when Joseph Cunningham, an active Democratic politician and postmaster at Trenton by appointment from Andrew Jackson, purchased the property and changed the name to the Tremont House.

On March 13, 1848, Henry Clay, the famous statesman and orator, visited Trenton, while touring the States as a candidate for the presidency. Upon his arrival at the depot he was escorted to the Tremont House. Here in response to the greetings of a large crowd of citizens gathered about the building, he ascended the balcony in front of the second-story windows and made a brief address.

Following the death of Cunningham in 1869 Lucius R. Wright became the proprietor. The late John J. Brown owned the building in 1904 and remodelled it. It now belongs to his widow, but is no longer used as an hotel.

NATIONAL HOTEL

The National Hotel stood on the north side of Hanover Street, midway between Broad and Warren, at 10 and 12 East Hanover. It was a three-story brick building, with a driveway at the side and a spacious stableyard in the rear. The hotel was patronized by legislators during the sessions of the Legislature and by many of the show people who came to Trenton after the middle of the last century. Buffalo Bill and his troupe made this place their headquarters.

One of the earliest owners of the National Hotel was Runyon Toms. We find his advertisement in the June 22, 1860, issue of the *Daily True American*, wherein he announces that he had but recently enlarged his yard and stable room. Henry Earley and William H. Earley were two other proprietors. After them, the Johnson family, originally of New Brunswick, took over the operation of the hotel. Mrs. Johnson, a widow, and her four popular sons, John, Thaddeus J., Oscar and Frank, managed the hotel so that it soon became a favorite eating and stopping place for those remaining overnight in Trenton.

Competition soon put the National Hotel out of the race. The lower floor was divided into three stores while the upper stories were turned into apartments. Late in 1928 Sears Roebuck and Company purchased the property and tore it down. In its place a three-story brick building was built, to be used as show-rooms and a place for the sale of that company's goods.

THE GOLDEN SWAN

The Golden Swan Tavern, known variously as the Sign of the Swan,

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Swan Inn and Mechanics Hall, stood on the southwest corner of Warren and Front Streets. The building in which it was located is commonly believed to have been erected about 1815. In its day it was one of the largest buildings in the town. An advertisement by William Hancock, probably its original owner, appearing in the *Trenton Federalist* of May 22, 1815, offers for sale "a new three-story brick house, constructed of the very best material, five rooms and pantry on the first floor, six rooms on the second, nine on the third, finished garrett with six rooms, also good four-room kitchen attached."

In the summer of the same year, Thomas Barnes, Jr., and William Van Hart opened a shoemaking establishment on the site, trading as William Van Hart and Company. In February 1822 David McKean advertised the corner for rent, John Voorhees being named as occupant.⁵⁹ In 1824 another advertisement, announcing the place for rent or sale, mentions Peter Smick as the occupant. Smick kept a tavern on the premises. In April 1826 Joseph Palmer took over the tavern, his notice announcing that he had removed to "the tavern stand, Sign of the Golden Swan."⁶⁰ Following Palmer as proprietors came Joel Gordon, Isaac Pitcher, Mrs. Pitcher and then Samuel Quicksall.

Judge David Naar, who had been publishing the virile Democratic sheet, *The Daily True American*, at his establishment one door north of the old City Hall, which stood on the northeast corner of State and Broad Streets, purchased the Golden Swan corner in December 1855 and moved his publishing house there about two years later. The offices and printing shop were located on the first floor, while the Naar family occupied the upper stories. At about this time, Jewish religious services were held on the second floor of the building.

On April 1, 1872, the *Daily True American* removed to the southeast corner of State and Broad Streets. Mathias Miller and John Hartman, trading as Miller & Hartman, conducted an upholstering and furniture business on the Golden Swan corner after the departure of the Naars. A few years ago, Carll Sons' Company occupied the place as a tinsmith shop. In 1907 J. Harry Hearnen began business as a locksmith next to the corner; in 1921 he took over the corner property and set up an extensive business in electrical, auto supply and radio goods, in addition to a lock and safe establishment.

TRUE AMERICAN INN

Just south of the Assunpink Creek stood the True American Inn, destroyed by fire in 1843 during the proprietorship of Henry Katzenbach, whose young daughter lost her life in the flames. This inn was the headquarters of General Washington on the morning of the second Battle of Trenton, January 2, 1777. At that time it was conducted by Jonathan Richmond. The inn was located on the east side of South Broad Street just below the line of Factory Street. About 1834 it was kept by Joseph Palmer, and on his death was advertised for sale in the *True American* for January 19, 1835.

On the same lot Judge John H. Stewart, in the latter part of the '70's,

⁵⁹ *Trenton Federalist*, February 4, 1822.

⁶⁰ *The Emporium*, April 15, 1826.

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erected the building now occupied as a clothing and haberdashery shop by Harry Haveson.

NATIONAL HOTEL

On the opposite side of Broad Street, about 200 feet farther south, long stood South Trenton's National Hotel. It was once called Iron Hall. It is said to have first been kept as an hotel by Margaret Gordon; John McGuire acquired it in 1841 and kept it as an hotel until his death in 1856. Robert Dowling was its proprietor during the '70's and '80's of the last century and from him it derived the name of Dowling's Hotel. This place was conducted as an hotel continuously for about one hundred years. Dowling greatly enlarged it.

When the Knights of Labor became powerful as a national and local body, the hotel was acquired as Trenton headquarters. Transfer of the property from Robert S. Dowling to Knights of Labor representatives occurred July 1, 1886. For some years it figured as an industrial center where labor's cohorts assembled at frequent intervals, T. V. Powderly and other national labor leaders appearing on various important occasions. This interesting stage of the old hotel's existence ended April 13, 1893, when the "Organized Labor Hall Association of Mercer County" transferred its title to John A. O'Neill. Litigation followed and the property was held from April 29, 1893, to April 1, 1901, by Hugh H. Hamill and Benjamin M. Phillips. Later landlords were William C. Cobine, John J. McCarthy, Harry and Samuel Levin, Benjamin Robinson, Leo Eisner and Solomon and Samuel Shankman.

About 1915 Samuel Levin took it over and added rooms, increasing its size to double of what it had been. Samuel Shankman in 1925 purchased the property and turned it into fifteen apartments and several stores.

MERCER COUNTY HOTEL

The Mercer County Hotel was located on the northeast corner of South Broad and Market Streets, the present site of The Mercer Trust Co. It stood directly opposite the court house—hence its name. Its proprietors successively were Margaret Gordon, Charles D. Warner and George Davis. It was discontinued as an hotel long before the coming of the bank building, and was used for years as a drug store with a boarding house overhead.

EAGLE HOTEL

The oldest hotel building south of the creek, though it is no longer kept as an hotel, is the Eagle Hotel, on the northwest corner of South Broad and Ferry Streets. It is said that this building was occupied as an hotel during the Revolution. The lot on which it was built was No. 34 on the plan of lots of Kingsbury, laid out by Robert Lettis Hooper about 1754. Hooper conveyed the lot, 60 by 181½ feet, to George Bright by deed dated July 27, 1763. Bright conveyed it to Robert Waln on October 10, 1765. The latter built a house on it soon after obtaining title, the house being but one-half of its present size, and standing on the northerly part of the lot. It is referred to by Evan Runyan in his advertisement in the *New Jersey Gazette* of Feb-

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ruary 6, 1782, as the brick house at the ferry lane.⁶¹ Gideon H. Wells was the owner of the property on October 1, 1805.

The Eagle Hotel was closed as a tavern when its present owner, Dr. Henry M. Beatty, acquired it in 1896. Prior thereto it had been the scene of many Third Ward political gatherings and earlier still, in the period when the Eagle race course was at the height of its success, it was the stopping place of many of the well-known horse owners of the country who used periodically to assemble in Trenton for races of national importance. There was abundant stabling in the rear. Among the Eagle Hotel's landlords the most famous was William Doble of country-wide fame in the equestrian world. This tavern in Revolutionary times and later was a landmark where many travellers halted, coming from or going to the ferry at the foot of Ferry Street. The usual route was up Ferry to Broad and thence to the center of the town, in the era before Warren Street was opened below Front Street.

OTHER SOUTH TRENTON HOTELS

Other hotels of note in South Trenton were located in the Fourth Ward.

The *Jennie Lind*, named after the famous singer, stood on the southeast corner of South Warren and Ferry Streets. It was taken down when the present row of brick houses was built about 1900. At one time this was the hotel connected with the Trent Ferry, and was called the *Ferry House*.

The *Bloomsbury House* is located at the foot of Ferry Street and faces it. It now belongs to the city, having been purchased for purposes in connection with the municipal wharf. It was built prior to 1800 but its history is unknown.

The *Railroad House* (which is not to be confused with the Rail Road House, as the Tremont House was first named) was situated at the northeast corner of South Warren and Bridge Streets. When the railroad ran through this part of Bridge Street, the house stood just north of its line of travel—hence its name. The house still stands, having been converted into an automobile salesroom. Cornelius Vanderveer, Charles Fow, Dominick Caminade, Peter Rafferty, Joseph O'Neil and John Aiken, have been a few of its proprietors.

The *Delaware House* on South Warren Street was prominent as a political and sporting headquarters for years.

In the Sixth Ward there were but two inns, the one located on the almost forgotten "prairie" between Race Street and the River, south of Cass (formerly Washington) Street. It was kept by S. Lake and called the *Raftsmen's Inn*. The other was the *Delaware Inn* on the east side of Lamberton Street below Landing. The building is still standing. These were frequented by the rivermen, when rafting and the catching and curing of fish were real industries at Lamberton.

HOTEL WINDSOR

The Hotel Windsor was erected in 1881 by the late Captain Woodbury D. Holt, an able and prominent lawyer of the latter part of the past century. The hotel is on East State Street, opposite the First Presbyterian Church,

⁶¹ *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. V., p. 370.

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with a frontage of 63 and a depth of 240 feet. Captain Holt was able to keep the property only for a few years. In July 1884 it was sold in foreclosure proceedings to the late A. V. Manning, the furniture dealer. After several proprietorships it has passed to The Trenton Trust Company. Originally the lobby was on the ground floor in the west half of the front of the building and the parlors were on the second-floor front. After Mr. Manning acquired it the ground-floor front was turned into stores. At the present time F. W. Woolworth's five-and-ten-cent store occupies the entire front floor. In 1924 the hotel was completely remodelled, the lobby, parlors and dining-rooms being transferred to the second floor, and all the furniture renewed. Besides this an entirely new heating and lighting system was installed, and practically all the rooms equipped with private baths. The hotel has 125 rooms. Remodernized, it was opened for business on April 21, 1925, by the present proprietor, Joseph G. Buch.

THE STERLING HOTEL

The Sterling Hotel stands on the northeast corner of State Street and Chancery Lane. The site originally belonged to Daniel Coxe whose lands were forfeited and sold by the commissioners of forfeited estates for Hunterdon County after he had been found guilty of aiding and assisting the British during the Revolution. The hotel lot was sold to Charles Pettit on April 20, 1779,⁶² who in turn sold it to Moore Furman on January 31, 1780.⁶³

In March 1798, Moore Furman sold this lot and his residence thereon to the State to be used as the official residence of the governor, and it was thereafter popularly known as Government House. Several attempts were made by the State to sell the place during the early years of the nineteenth century, but the efforts were not crowned with success until April 2, 1845, when Samuel R. Gummere, Samuel R. Hamilton and Stacy Paxton were appointed commissioners to make sale of the house and lot. Messrs. Joseph Wood, Dr. John McKelway, John A. Weart and Joseph C. Potts purchased the property for the sum of \$13,800. The new purchasers immediately set to work to turn the place into an hotel, which was ready in December 1845.

The building was considerably enlarged in 1862 and opened by the new managers, Daniel Peixotto and Charles M. Norcross. Samuel K. Wilson purchased the property in 1866 and held it to his death. His executors sold it to Ogden D. Wilkinson, the present owner, on March 16, 1902.

The hotel was known as the State Street House until 1903. Some of its proprietors were: Thomas Crozer and William P. Brewer, George H. Snowhill, John W. Souder, and Henry P. Paul and Eli K. Ale. In 1903 Mr. Wilkinson remodelled the State Street House and leased it to John J. Fleming, who formed the Fleming Hotel Company. The company bought new furniture and completely renovated the place, formally dedicating it as the Hotel Sterling on New Year's Eve, 1903, with a banquet given to newspapermen and other guests. The place was opened to the public about ten days later.⁶⁴

⁶² Deed Book A.T., p. 169, Secretary of State's Office.

⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 171.

⁶⁴ *Trenton Times*, January 11, 1904.

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The Fleming Hotel Company was unable to meet the bills incurred in the purchase of the new furniture, so that the Court of Chancery appointed a receiver for the company in 1905. Charles J. Fury bought in the furniture and equipment at the sale, later purchasing the unexpired term of seven years under the lease. Edward J. Mahoney took charge of the hotel for about one year when Mr. Fury, who had been conducting a hotel in Somerville, returned to Trenton to conduct the Sterling. He ran it until 1919. The hotel contains sixty bedrooms and is now under the management of L. L. Hudders.

THE TRENTON HOUSE

The Trenton House is the only hotel in Trenton which has had continuous existence for over one hundred years without a change in its name. It is located at the southeast corner of North Warren and East Hanover Streets. The beginning of it is succinctly given in a notice appearing in the *True American* of May 8, 1824, reading as follows:

The subscriber has removed from the City Tavern to a house on the East side of the Main [Warren] Street, to be designated the "Trenton House."—J. M. Bispham.

Bispham ran the hotel until May 1, 1829, when he went to New York to take charge of the Clinton House. He let the Trenton House to H. G. Herbert, who ran it for about three years, Joseph Thomas taking it in 1832. The latter was in possession when the hotel was sold at public vendue by John E. Bispham, the administrator of Joseph Bispham's estate, in 1830.

Joseph Bispham was a famous boniface of his day and the Trenton House was commonly called "Bispham's at Trenton." A traveller who came to Trenton at about this time gives us this impression of the Trenton House and its proprietor:

He said he stopped at fifty such, some not quite so good and some better than the one he chooses to describe, namely, Bispham's at Trenton, New Jersey. We were received by the landlord with perfect civility, but without the slightest shade of obsequiousness. The deportment of the innkeeper was manly, courteous, and even kind; but there was that in his air which sufficiently proved that both parties were expected to manifest the same qualities. We were asked if we all formed one party, or whether the gentlemen who alighted from stage number one wished to be by themselves. We were shown into a neat well-furnished little parlour, where our supper made its appearance in the course of twenty minutes. The table contained many little delicacies, such as game, oysters, and choice fish, and several things were named to us at hand if needed. The tea was excellent, the coffee as usual indifferent enough. The papers of New York and Philadelphia were brought at our request, and we sat with our two candles before a cheerful fire reading them as long as we pleased. Our bed-chambers were spacious, well-furnished, and as neat as possible; the beds as good as one usually finds them out of France. Now for these accommodations, which were just as good with one solitary exception (sanitary) as you

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would meet in the better order of English provincial inns, and much better in the quality and abundance of the food, we paid the sum of 4s. 6d. each.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the exact date of the building of the original Trenton House, but prior to 1794 William Churchill Hous-ton was the owner of the land and the building thereon. His executors on March 13 of that year conveyed the property to Thomas Yardley. The lot was 62 by 234 feet and lay between Job Moore's lot on the south and an alley which ran eastward from King to Queen Street.

The building on this lot was two stories high, built of brick, 42 feet front (running to the alley) by 32 feet in depth and contained twelve rooms.

The alley referred to was laid out in 1736 by William Morris. On March 31 of that year he purchased from Joseph Green twelve feet of land on King Street, running back to the rear of his own lots on Greene Street, for the purpose of laying out a public alley. At various times afterwards it has been known as Morris', Paxton's, Pinkerton's and Yardley's Alley after the several owners who had acquired lots on its several corners. In 1837 it was widened and laid out as it now appears, and named Hanover Street.

From 1804 to 1814 George Abbott was the owner of the building and in it conducted a dry-goods store. Adjoining the store on the south was a two-story frame storehouse 15 by 32 feet, and on the rear of the lot was the coach house and stabling for twelve horses.

Samuel Evans owned and lived in the house in 1813.

Colonel William Snowden leased the hotel property about 1834 and ran it until his death on September 21, 1846. His widow Maria, as his executrix, conducted it for a few years after his death, with Peter Katzenbach as her manager. He became lessee of the hotel in 1851, and the owner of it in 1854. At that time the hotel consisted of only twelve rooms. During his ownership many improvements were made to the old house. In 1854 he raised it to four stories and added the large dining-room on the Hanover Street side. This enlarged the hotel to fifty rooms; seventy-five more were added in 1869.

Room 100 on the second floor was a famous meeting place for politicians in the latter quarter of the past century, and many political deals (and some not political) were made there. Room 100 was permanently engaged by the late General William J. Sewell, and the proprietor was well pleased with the yearly rent paid him, although the room remained unoccupied the greater part of the year. It is alleged that much money exchanged hands in room 100 in those days, and that more than one legislator returned to his home and paid off the mortgage.

Secretary of State Henry C. Kelsey and Henry "Staff" Little, both deceased, occupied rooms on the second floor of the Trenton House for thirty-five years. Many famous men have been guests at the Trenton House, especially during Peter Katzenbach's proprietorship. Abraham Lincoln was given a reception by the citizens of Trenton and dined there on February 21, 1861, while on his way to Washington to be inaugurated President of the United States.

Peter Katzenbach died January 14, 1906. About 1895 he had made extensive improvements in the rear of the building on Hanover Street, laying it out first as a spacious, modern billiard room with bedrooms overhead, the bil-

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liard room later being converted into a grill room, banquet hall and bar-room. Frederick F. Katzenbach, a son of Peter Katzenbach, continued to run the hotel for about ten years after his father's death. The Trenton House Company acquired the property from the estate of Peter Katzenbach in April 1906.

THE STACY-TRENT

Trenton's largest hotel is located at the southeast corner of West State and Willow Streets. It was officially opened on September 19, 1921, and named after Mahlon Stacy, the first settler here, and William Trent, who afterwards laid out the town and from whom it derives its name. The Stacy-Trent is described in some detail in Chapter XIX below, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century."

THE HOTEL PENN

This hotel stands on South Clinton Avenue, opposite the Pennsylvania Railroad Station and immediately south of the Mercer Cemetery. Ground was broken for its erection by the late Richard Barlow in May 1893, and it was opened for guests on the Saturday preceding Christmas Day of the same year. After Richard Barlow's death his son, George H. Barlow, a member of the present Board of Freeholders, conducted the hotel until October 1, 1920, when it was taken over by its present owner and manager, Joseph G. Buch. He immediately refurnished and renovated the place, turning it into a comfortable, up-to-date hostelry. It contains fifty rooms. The lobby, office, dining-rooms and kitchen are on the ground floor. On the same floor on the north side was the barroom, now unoccupied, which was one of the largest and best equipped barrooms in the city during Mr. Barlow's ownership.

HOTEL HILDEBRECHT

The hotel stands on the corner of State Street and Chancery Lane, fronting 67 feet on State Street and running back to Front Street. The first two floors of the building were erected in 1921. The first floor is used for soda and lunch-rooms and also for a lobby-lounge for patrons of the restaurant. Eight additional stories are to be erected in 1929 and will contain 216 guest rooms with bath. In the rear of the first floor is an automobile garage, and above it is a junior ball room and a large banquet room, seating five hundred guests.

The total cost of the building is approximately a million and a half dollars. It is under the management of Charles F. Hildebrecht, who has been associated with the restaurant business in Trenton for the past thirty years, succeeding his father, who conducted a restaurant here for ten years previous.

THE MANZE HOTEL

The Manze Hotel is a four-story brick building containing thirty-six sleeping and six bath rooms. It stands on South Clinton Avenue opposite the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. In pre-prohibition days it had one of the

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finest barrooms in the city, A wide hallway on the north side of the bar-room leads to a large dining-room, capable of seating upwards of one hundred and twenty-five guests. The hotel was erected and opened by Frank Manze in 1907. It was operated by his son John until his death in 1917, and afterwards by another son Joseph until 1924. Since it passed out of the Manze family it has had a rather checkered career and at the present time is closed.

OTHER TRENTON TAVERNS

Several taverns deserve passing mention. The *New Jersey Dragoon* stood on the corner of Warren and Union (Bank) Streets in 1798. It was called the *Union Inn* when kept by John C. Hummell and later by his widow in 1803. *Sorrel Horse Tavern* was located on the southeast corner of Broad and State Streets and was kept by Henry Drake (1799). In 1831 Thomas Combs was in charge of the tavern and five years later we find Asher Temple at the spot. On the southwest corner of Broad and State Streets stood the *Washington Hotel*, kept by Gabriel Allen in 1827 and by Joseph English from 1832 to 1834. There was, also, the *Sign of the Buck*, on the northeast corner of Broad and Ferry Streets. John Sully owned it in 1824 and in 1834 we find Patrick Carrigan taking out a license to run the place. Finally we note the *Franklin House*, situated on the northeast corner of Warren and Hanover Streets. Charles Weber ran it in 1868. The tavern stood on a 100-foot-deep lot, facing 33 feet on Warren Street.

There were, of course, many other places in the city which carried the name of "hotel," but for the greater part they hold no especial interest for us. In almost every case they were wine-shops or saloons where whiskey and beer were served and consumed on the premises. Few of these establishments had a restaurant or sleeping quarters attached, and therefore need not be mentioned in connection with the inns and taverns discussed above.

III. Markets and Fairs

THE fair and the market, institutions transplanted here by those who came from England and the Continent, appeared on the American scene at an early date. By the end of the eighteenth century they were quite common throughout the Colonies along the north and middle Atlantic coast. In England fairs were looked upon as privileged markets, maintained under a franchise granted by the Crown. There, as well as over here, they were held at stated times and places, for the sale of either goods of a special sort or of a general character.

By the Colonial charter granted to the township of Trenton on September 6, 1745, King George II authorized the establish-

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ment of a market, Monday, Thursday and Saturday being designated as market days. Two fairs were also authorized, to be held on the third Wednesday in April and October and to continue for three days on each occasion. At that time there was to be a selling and buying of all manner of live stock and merchandise, subject to the regulations imposed by the burgesses and the Council. The chief burgess was to appoint a clerk of the market who was to "have assize and assay of Bread Ale Wine Wood Weights and measures."

Immediately following the grant of the charter, a notice appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of October 3, announcing that a fair would be held at the "Burrough Town of Trenton" on Wednesday, October 16, for the purchase and sale of:

All and all Manner of Horses, Mares, Colts, Cows, Calves, Steers, Hogs, Sheep and all other Cattle, Goods, Wares, and Merchandizes whatsoever. Which said Fair will be held and kept the same Day above mentioned, and two Days next following pursuant to a Clause in a Charter of Privileges lately granted to the said Burrough Town for that Purpose.

Similar notices appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in March 1746, April and October 1748, and April 1749. With the surrender of the borough charter on April 7, 1750, the fair at Trenton was discontinued. Public notice was given in the *Pennsylvania papers* "to all Persons, to prevent their Trouble and Attendance at the Fairs, which will not be held as usual."

An Act of the Legislature, passed in 1797, abolished all fairs throughout the State and thus put a definite end to the possibility of the 1750 fair ever being revived. The selling fair of the eighteenth century was, as far as New Jersey was concerned, a thing of the past.

A MARKET IN EXISTENCE BY 1762

That a market existed in Trenton as early as 1762 is indicated by a notice appearing in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 21 of that year, announcing that "the Shop lately kept by Moore Furman in Trenton, at his house at the Corner, below the Market, is now kept by Furman and Hunt."

In 1765 the market was conducted in a market-house, as appears from a notice in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 19, 1765, advertising a sale "by Way of public Vendue, at the Market House in Trenton." When and by whom this market-house was built is not known. It must have stood in what is now State Street, else how explain the name "Market Street" which State Street then bore? Andrew Reed, who had a large brick house on the

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northeast corner of King and Market Streets, advertises it for sale in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of April 2, 1767, describing it as "pleasantly situated at the corner near the Market House."⁶⁵

Certainly there was no market-house in Warren Street in 1772 such as John O. Raum describes in his *History of Trenton*. On January 30 of that year a terrible fire almost destroyed the center of the town. The fire, starting in the store of Dunlap Adams, burned several of the houses on the east side of King (Warren) Street above Morris' (Pinkerton's) Alley (now East Hanover Street).⁶⁶ The wind, blowing at first from the north, carried sparks to the houses in the neighborhood; presently it changed to northeast, setting dwellings as far away as Mr. Coxe's office on Market (State) Street, near what is now Chancery Lane, on fire. Mr. Hunt, on the northwest corner of King and Market Streets, and Mr. Clayton, on the northeast corner, were obliged to move their effects when their premises were threatened. It is altogether impossible to conceive of the market-house (if it stood in the middle of King Street) going untouched. Philadelphia papers, which carried items about the fire, do not even mention the market-house as being threatened, although every house in King Street south of Morris' Alley is mentioned as having been on fire at one time or another, or threatened with destruction. One can only conceive of the market-house escaping the conflagration by thinking of it as being located around the corner from the fire, on Market Street.⁶⁷

There is, too, the advertisement of Thomas Smith in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 30, 1774, announcing for sale his frame house and lot on the east side of King Street "near the Market-house, adjoining the house of William Clayton, Esq., on the south, and the lot of William Morris, Esq., on the north." This would seem to indicate that the market-house was on Market Street, for had it stood in King Street, the advertisement would have read "at the market-house." This, however, is only speculation.

EXACT LOCATION OF MARKET IN DOUBT

On June 8, 1779, Joseph Reed, the son of Andrew Reed, conveyed to George Davis, of Philadelphia, the property which Moore Furman had conveyed to him on May 3, 1776: "BEGINNING at the corner of King Street, at the southeast corner of the market-house and running thence down to the Court House; thence along by the Prison Wall to land now belonging to William Clayton; thence along the said line to the street running east and west through the said Town, and so to the place of beginning."

The only location of the market-house which will square with this description is the site on King Street, north of the intersection with Market. It must be noted, however, that it is stretching the point to describe a lot at least 60 feet away from this site as being "at the southeast corner of the

⁶⁵ See also *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXIV, p. 330.

⁶⁶ Confusion is caused by the changing of the names of streets from time to time during the early and middle period. Thus Second Street (today State Street) was apparently known also at one time as Market Street. Warren Street was formerly King Street, and Broad Street was Queen Street and subsequently Greene Street.

⁶⁷ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46.

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market-house." Can it be that the description is wrong and that "southeast" should read "southwest," thus continuing the market-house site in State Street?

The historian, Stryker, makes no mention of a market standing in King Street during the period of the Revolution. He does, however, mention a small market between King and Queen Streets, on the north side of what is now Front Street, and just off the line of the street.

In 1780, when a large body of troops was encamped on the town common, there was an informal market there which attracted the custom of the neighborhood. The common is described in a letter sent from the camp, as being "below the town."⁶⁸ The market was held in the open air and after the troops departed, the market was discontinued.

The market-house of which Raum makes mention must have been built in the interval between the 1772 fire and the date of its removal late in 1792. Raum describes it as standing in King Street, commencing at Second (State) in front of Abraham Hunt's store, and extending north up the middle of the street for about sixty feet. At its southern end, he writes, stood the old town pump, and nearby, the whipping post and pillory.

Before the incorporation of Trenton in 1792, the market was under the supervision of the town magistrates and the overseers of the poor. They rented out the stalls. An entry in the Town-Book under date of March 1785 makes mention of one James Chapman, who agreed to pay 30s. per year for one of the stalls. When Trenton was incorporated, the Act of incorporation (November 13, 1792) gave Common Council the power to appoint a clerk of the market and to administer the affairs of the market-house.

A NEW MARKET AUTHORIZED

One of the first official acts of the newly constituted Council was to appoint Charles Axford, an assistant on the Council, to sell the market-house, which had finally outlived its worth. The minutes of the Council meeting of December 29, 1792, mention that Axford reported that "he had sold the same at publick vendue for five pounds one shilling and ten pence half penny to James B. Machett, and that it was removed agreeably to ordinance." At a meeting held on January 19 following, Messrs. Abraham G. Claypoole, Charles Axford and Alexander Chambers were appointed a committee to report at the next meeting on a site or sites for a market-house, the terms on which such site might be purchased, the plan of the buildings and their probable cost. On July 19, 1793, it was agreed that the market-house be built "in the middle of Second Street, between King and Queen Streets . . . leaving a square from King Street to the Market House of fifty eight feet." The committee on construction consisted of Aaron Howell, Charles Axford and James B. Machett, and £200 was appropriated towards the project.

The market-house was erected in the fall of that year. At the time that the Council was deciding on the Second Street site, many of the citizens manifested a great deal of opposition to the location. In October, while the market-house was in process of construction, unknown persons pulled down the brick pillars. Prosecution was threatened, but the culprits went un-

⁶⁸ *New Jersey Archives*, 2nd Ser., Vol. IV, p. 596.

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apprehended. Common Council ordered new and stauncher pillars to be erected, two citizens were appointed as watchmen, and the construction went on to completion. Later a market-house of similar size was built to the east of this building, in the middle of State Street, as appears from a reference to the "old" and the "new" market-houses in the market ordinance of 1842. On one of these structures was a cupola with a bell that announced the opening of the market for business. The market-houses were separated by a narrow space; the one nearest King Street was used as a meat market, and the other for a produce market, as indicated by a provision in the 1842 ordinance which forbade the renting of a stall in the eastern market to a butcher or vendor of meats unless all the stalls in the western market should have previously been rented. By the same ordinance, the space between the market-houses, as well as the open squares between the western market-house and King Street, and the eastern market-house and Queen Street, were to be used as stands for truck people "for the sale of watermelons, muskmelons, nutmegs, peaches, sweet potatoes, pickles, and green corn, at the discretion of the committee." The sale of fish was limited to the eastern end of the eastern market-house and the space between this market and Queen Street.

There were 32 stalls in these market-houses, renting at 20s. each under the 1799 ordinance and at \$12 to \$16 each under the 1842 ordinance per year. Stalls 17-22 remained free for the accommodation of farmers attending the market, who could not find space in the open areas mentioned above. The clerk attended the market every April 1 to rent stalls "to such persons as might first apply to him for that purpose"; each stall keeper had to display his name in large letters above his stall. So narrow was the space between the market-houses and the sidewalks that no wagons were allowed to stand there. Under the 1799 ordinance, they had to be kept in the open areas at the ends of the market-houses. An 1807 ordinance closed the market area on Second Street to the passage of wagons, two chains being stretched across the thoroughfare at Queen and King Streets. By the 1842 ordinance, wagons coming to market were allowed ten minutes for unloading, no vehicles could stand in the market limits, and wagons passing through had to keep to the right side of the street.

DUTIES OF THE CLERK OF THE MARKET

The clerk of the market was appointed by the Common Council. It was his duty to attend the market on market days, to enforce the rules of the market; he was to keep the market clean, prevent unwholesome provisions from being sold, attend the public scales, and settle all disputes regarding weights and measures. His was the duty, then, of preserving the reputation and cleanliness of the market. Under the 1799 ordinance, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, from April to September, and every Wednesday and Saturday during the rest of the year, were market days. Later, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday were the market days during the whole year. The market began at dawn and lasted until 9 a.m. from April 1 to October 1, and until 10 a.m. the rest of the year. The bounds of the market were Second Street between what is now Broad and Warren Streets, and any person found selling provisions within fifty yards of these limits during market hours was subject to a fine.

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The ordinances of March 2, 1799, and February 21, 1842, concerning the market and the duties of the clerk of the market, were framed to preserve the reputation of the market. Standard weights and measures were to be used, steelyards were prohibited, the purchase and resale of goods at a higher price within market limits was punished by a fine. No person might hold more than two stalls, goods brought to market were to be unloaded and unpacked before sale, passages in the market-houses were to be kept clear, and the clerk was to scrape the market thoroughly at regular intervals.

The Second Street market enjoyed a good reputation from the very first. The English tourist, Henry Wansey, wrote in his *Journal of an Excursion to the United States in the Summer of 1794*: "The town [Trenton] has a very good market, which is well supplied with butcher's meat, fish and poultry."

The market served not only as a place for the sale of food and domestic products, but it was also a stand for itinerant preachers, lecturers and medicine men. The *Sheet Anchor of Democracy* (May 16, 1843), under the heading, "Varieties in Trenton," says: "For two or three nights last week the Market House was crowded with attentive listeners, first to an eccentric preacher on some doctrine of his own, and afterwards to a melodramatist, who recited Shakespeare with a stentorian voice." These lectures and entertainments took place, of course, after market hours.

A MARKET-HOUSE AT MILL HILL

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the erection of a market-house on old Mill Hill, in the middle of what is now Market Street, facing Broad. Who built it, and in what year, is unknown. It had five stalls, ranged three on the north side and two on the south. Due to the competition of the Second Street market above the creek, and because of the few people who lived in the neighborhood, the Mill Hill market had only a brief existence. In 1837 the lower story was boarded up and used as an engine house by the Eagle Fire Company. The upper story, supported by eight brick columns rising twelve feet above the ground, had been used as a school, known as the Mill Hill Academy. The school-room was reached by a box stairway at the southeast corner of the building. The instruction given was of a primary sort, the Mill Hill children being obliged to go to the Trenton Academy for more advanced learning. In 1837 this school-room became the meeting place of the members of the Eagle Fire Company.

The structure was surmounted by a steeple whose bell used to summon the children to school. In the '40's, further use of the building for any purpose became dangerous due to a decay of the timbers, and so, shortly after Mill Hill had incorporated with South Trenton, the old market-house was demolished.

THE BLOOMSBURY MARKET

This same period witnessed the erection of a market-house in Bloomsbury, on the northwest corner of what is now Warren and Bridge Streets. The structure was longer and narrower than the Mill Hill market-house, and contained seven stalls, housed in a frame building which occupied the entire west side of the street and extended out beyond the curb line in Warren

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Street. There was a footpath extending the length of the market,—it was a narrow affair between the west wall of the building and a fence, and allowed for the passage of a single person only.

In connection with the markets of this time it is interesting to note that at a meeting of Common Council held on December 27, 1806, a committee was appointed to draft a bill authorizing "the procuring of sealed weights and measures for the use of the city." These sealed weights and measures were in the charge of the clerk of the market. On February 9, 1838, an ordinance was passed providing that all weights and measures thereafter used in Trenton were to correspond with the standards used in Pennsylvania. The clerk of the market was authorized to inspect annually all the measuring and weighing devices used in the city, and to collect fines of those persons found violating the ordinance.

At this period the right to maintain the city hay scales was rented out by the Council. Thus, on January 25, 1806, Common Council accepted the proposal of Isaac Barnes, Jr., to erect and maintain the city hay scales. In 1836, the city ordinances mention Barnes as the one in whom the exclusive right of maintaining such scales was lodged. He paid the city \$60 annually for the privilege. In 1848 Lafayette Stradling held the privilege.

STATE STREET MARKETS OUTGROW THEIR USEFULNESS

By 1845 the markets in State Street had outgrown their usefulness; on March 15 of that year we find an ordinance authorizing the erection of a new market-house, to be not more than 20, nor less than 18, feet wide, nor less than 250 feet long. The market was to be built in the middle of Broad (then Greene) Street, beginning on the line of intersection with Second Street and continuing northward, toward Academy Street. Recalling the difficulties encountered with the narrow passages on either side of the market-houses in Second Street, the Council provided that the western row of supporting pillars was to be placed not less than $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the front of the houses on the western side of Greene Street. Messrs. Hunt and Anderson were to be the contractors for the new market-houses. It was also determined to widen Greene Street by 15 feet on the east side to a width of 80 feet, and an ordinance of June 12, 1845, authorized the issue of proposals for a loan of \$1600, "the amount of damages awarded by the commissioners for widening Greene Street." At the same time, a loan of \$3750 was authorized for paying for the erection of the market-houses.

GREENE STREET SITE CHOSEN

The Greene Street site was not chosen without a show of opposition by property owners along Second Street. Joseph Wood, Joseph C. Potts and John A. Weart were especially active in seeking to have the market brought west of Warren Street, on Second. Their proposition was that the city build the market in the middle of Second Street, between Warren and the west line of the government lot—a distance of 350 feet. Weart pledged himself to give a 15-foot strip for this entire distance on the north side of Second Street, that the street might meet the demands of the Council for an 80-foot width. Potts collected promissory notes of property owners in the vicinity, to the amount of \$3150, which were to be placed in the hands of

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the mayor should the proposed site on Second Street be chosen. A special election for the choosing of the market site was called for May 22, 1845. The Greene Street site received a majority of the votes cast, and the contractors immediately proceeded with the building of the market-houses.

The market was completed by late fall. Market days were Tuesday and Thursday, from dawn to 1 p.m., and Saturday, from dawn to 2 p.m. and from 6 to 9 p.m. The bounds of the market were Greene Street, between Second and Academy, and no person was allowed to sell goods outside of market limits during market hours, under penalty of a fine. The market ordinance of September 18, 1845, laid especial stress on measures which would insure the cleanliness and good name of the market. As before, the clerk of the market was in general charge and was responsible for its cleanliness, the honesty of transactions, the quality of the goods offered and the general order of the market.

There were two markets in Greene Street, the lower, near Second Street, and the upper market to the north of it. The markets soon proved inadequate for the volume of business transacted. On August 21, 1848, Common Council authorized an addition to the upper market, to be 130 feet long (thus almost doubling its size) and built along the same lines as the market-houses already standing.

Various supplements to the 1848 market ordinance were passed in subsequent years. One extended the market hours to 2 p.m.; another limited the sale of fish to the north end of the lower market and between this market and Hanover Street; still others forbade smoking in the market during market hours, or the defacing of the market property in any way. Yet another forbade the sale of fresh meat anywhere within the city limits except at the market, an exception being made in favor of those butchers who rented a stall at the market and also owned a store. They could sell meat before or after market hours. Only wheelbarrows were allowed in the market limits; wagons could enter only to unload or pass through.

Toward the close of the '60's, property owners along Greene Street began to object to the presence of the markets, claiming that they lessened the value of their properties. Accordingly, Common Council voted to relinquish the city's right over the markets, and in the spring of 1870 they were torn down and the material sold for \$800. The Greene Street market was the last of the city-owned markets.

PRIVATE MARKETS

Private enterprise, noting the benefits that might be derived from having a market in the lower wards of the city, sought permission to carry out such a project. On March 13, 1854, an ordinance empowered John Whittaker "and such other persons as may associate with him" to erect a market-house in Market Street between Broad and Jackson, which was to be built on the same general plan as the Greene Street market. These associates were given the franchise of holding the market and taking fees, subject to the city's right to take over the market upon paying them its original cost. Market limits and market hours were established, and an agent of the associates was authorized to attend the market as clerk and complain to the mayor when the ordinance was violated. No person was allowed to sell goods

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intended for the market in any street of the Third Ward north of Bridge Street on market days. This market, like the uptown markets, eventually yielded to pressure of public opinion and was removed, following the sale of the sheds on May 11, 1874.

On April 1, 1870, John Taylor, who had been prominently associated with the movement to abandon the street markets, erected a permanent market inside the house-line on the east side of Greene Street, just south of Academy. The building measured 51 by 120 feet and contained 53 stalls and a restaurant. Shortly after this, Samuel K. Wilson and Jacob R. Freese built a market in Chancery Street, near Quarry (now Hanover), on what is now the site of the First Precinct police station. Those who had sought to have the city build its market in Second Street in 1845 had also offered the alternative proposition of opening a street 80 feet wide through the government lot (which Joseph Wood, Joseph C. Potts, John A. Weart and Dr. John McKelway had bought), from Second Street to Potts Alley, and to build markets thereon, to be given to the city should the Council choose to accept their proposition. This alternative offer also fell through when the citizens definitely voted for the Greene Street site.

The Chancery Street market—known also as Freese Hall or People's Market—was 50 by 100 feet, with an extension in the rear of 20 by 120 feet. It contained 119 stalls and a restaurant. On the second floor were a hall, seating about 700 people, a gallery and two anterooms. The hall was used for meetings of secret organizations and for dances.

On December 15, 1869, the company comprising the Washington Market Association was formed. It was incorporated on February 8, 1870, the incorporators being: George Fitzgeorge, Joseph B. Yard, Henry N. Barton, Adam Exton, John Taylor, Casper Martino, Imlah and Charles Moore, Joseph G. Brearley, David Naar, Henry B. Howell, David Manko and John F. Klein. It was the three first-named gentlemen who had originated the idea of the Washington Market enterprise. The market, which was torn down in 1928, stood on the west side of South Broad Street, between Front and Lafayette Streets. The land for the market cost the association \$69,000, the building \$36,000. The market proper contained 209 stalls and a restaurant, and was surrounded by an inside gallery. The second floor, which was 108 by 135 feet deep, contained a large hall, equipped with a stage and seating 1200 persons, and nine rooms which were rented to various enterprises. It was in this hall that the dances and balls of many local fraternities were held. Company D of the local militia for a long time used it as its drilling quarters.

In the middle of the Broad Street front of the market was a niche in which stood a brownstone statue of Washington, by Thom, the Scotch sculptor. In later years this statue was painted white, to give it a semblance of being marble. It was unveiled on December 26, 1870, the anniversary of the Battle of Trenton. On that occasion Judge Alfred Reed presented the statue to the association, and David Naar, president of the association, accepted it. The statue was the gift of Christopher Wentz and Captain Martino.⁶⁹

Just before Washington Market was demolished in 1928, Messrs. Sam

⁶⁹ The statue has been preserved by Mr. John W. Schlegel.

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Page, John W. Schlegel and Joseph Hollies, all renters of stalls in the market, decided to build a market directly in back of Washington Market, to be known as the New Washington Market. This market was built in 1926 and has a 65-foot frontage on Lafayette Street, between Broad and Warren, and runs through to Front Street. There is room for twelve stalls.

Yet another private market was built in Trenton in the '70's—the Central Market, on the northwest corner of Front and Stockton Streets. The building was one story high, and had fifty stalls. After a brief and unprofitable existence, the market became defunct. The Conner Millwork Company occupies the building today.

With the passing of the private market, the city-owned market again came into prominence, this time in an entirely different form from the city markets so familiar to the nineteenth century. The city markets of today are farmers' markets, open-air affairs to which housewives come in the early evening to buy fresh products direct from the farmer. Farmers within a radius of twenty-five miles come to Trenton to take advantage of these markets, thus eliminating the wholesaler and making for a greater profit to the farmer and a saving to the consumer.

THE FARMERS' MARKETS

The original farmers' market was in Front Street, between Broad and Warren Streets, where most of the wholesale produce dealers had their stands. The street proved too narrow for the quantity of produce brought there for sale, and in 1918 the farmers agitated for a new market site. The City Commission's cooperation was secured, along with that of the State Department of Agriculture, and a farmers' market was established on South Broad and Third Streets. Walks and lights were installed and the market placed under the supervision of the sealer of weights and measures, with a market master in charge. The South Broad Street market was originally planned for farmers desiring to sell in wholesale quantities or to retail produce dealers, but because of the increasing demand from the consuming public to buy direct from the farmers at lower prices, the trading gradually drifted into the selling of smaller quantities. Wholesaling was allowed from 4 to 7 p.m. and retailing from 6 to 11 p.m.

The farmers who wished to sell on a wholesale basis exclusively did not like this combination market and soon moved back to Front Street. The city then established a wholesale market on city property adjoining the Municipal Wharf; at first this market proved popular with the farmers, but within two years they had drifted away and the market was abandoned. The site, however, came into use again on August 1, 1924, when the retail market on Broad Street, which had proved to be highly successful, was moved down to the Municipal Wharf. The land was graded and two walks laid that would accommodate stands for 125 loads of produce. In 1926, sheds, 140 feet long and 20 feet wide, were built over the walks. The sale of produce by anyone other than the producer is prohibited, an exception being made in favor of reliable hucksters who carry only the freshest of produce the year around. Even then they may not display or sell any product offered by farmers attending the market. The market is under the direct supervision of a market director, who has full charge of all the markets of the city.

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He rents spaces to the farmers, requires of each one an affidavit to the effect that he has raised at least 90 per cent of the produce he offers for sale, and makes monthly reports on the condition and progress of the market.

Branch markets for farmers have been established at three places in the city: in the Tenth Ward, at Roebling Park, the market being a curb market, established September 1, 1924; in the Eighth Ward, at New York Avenue and Pine Street, opened June 15, 1926, after having had an existence of almost a year at a site two blocks away; and at Chestnut and Grand Streets, opened July 20, 1926. Market hours for the sale of produce at retail are from 7 to 11 p.m. every week day. No farmer may occupy more than two stalls.

THE FAIRS REVIVED

During the period that witnessed the beginning of the private markets in Trenton, the fairs, dormant since the end of the eighteenth century, came back into being. But this time it was not the old-time selling fair,—that had been abolished by statute. The eighteenth century fairs were agricultural fairs, the invention of a prosperous Albany, N.Y., merchant, Elkanah Watson. At these agricultural fairs one might see displays of products of the vegetable, animal and mineral kingdoms, exhibitions of all sorts of live stock, agricultural machinery, manufactured goods, home products and fancy work. There were present the inevitable side-shows and victualling stands, and horse racing was a feature of almost every fair.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY FAIRS

The first appearance of a fair locally in the last century was the fourth annual fair of the State Agricultural Society, which opened here on September 14, 1858, and lasted three days. The *Daily Gazette* gave a great deal of space to details of the fair and the awarding of prizes. The fair was held just outside of the city, according to newspapers, but just where they do not say. The probable site was the Eagle Race Course, which was set back quite a distance from South Broad Street and extended almost to what is now Hamilton and Chestnut Streets. Admission to the fair was 25 cents. The State Agricultural Society held its exhibition here in 1858 only.

What promised to be a permanent fair organization established itself in Trenton in 1866. The Central Agricultural Society of New Jersey purchased land close to the present site of the Inter-State Fair Grounds, enclosed its one hundred acres, and held its first fair almost at once. This fair of 1866 was an exhibition giving every evidence of the haste which had attended its preparation; it was not until the following year that the fair showed itself to be a planned and finished exhibition. Permanent buildings had been built and a mile race-track laid out. The 1867 fair witnessed one of the finest exhibitions of blooded and race horses that had ever been assembled

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in the East. The most celebrated stables sent in entries, and \$7000 was awarded in prizes. The fair lasted four days and offered the usual displays, entertainment and attractions.

The last fair of the Central Agricultural Society was held in 1871. The next year it decided to sell out, one of the purchasers being Henry N. Smith, Jay Gould's partner, who established the famous Fashion Stud Farm, described fully in Mr. Cleary's chapter on "Recreations," below.

The Mercer County Board of Agriculture held its first fair on Wednesday, October 7, 1885, and after three years was succeeded by the Inter-State Fair Association, whose activities are also recorded in the same chapter on "Recreations." It may be added that fire has twice destroyed the grandstand which faces the race-track—in 1900 and again in December 1909—but both times a larger and stronger structure replaced it.

The only other fair ever held in Trenton was the National Horse Fair of 1870. It began on May 24 and lasted four days; \$10,000 in prizes was awarded for the performance and quality of the horses.

CHAPTER VII

Municipal and Corporate History from the Charter of 1792

BY LEON D. HIRSCH

I. Trenton's Governmental Structure

THE granting of the legislative charter of 1792 to Trenton marked the end of a long struggle on the part of its inhabitants to attain a permanent corporate existence, and laid a substantial foundation upon which its governmental structure of later years was built.

There is a strong dramatic element in the strivings of Trenton's people over a long term of years to obtain self-governing powers suitable to the status and aspirations of a growing community whose misfortune it was, by the mere tyranny of fixed boundary lines, to be located in two Counties and, for some years, in three—and at one particular period, in four—townships.

A CLASH OF JURISDICTIONS

For many years the settlement, and later the town of Trenton, had suffered the disadvantage arising from its geographical location on both sides of the Assunpink Creek. As early as 1713-14 this stream was made the dividing line between Hunterdon County to the north and Burlington County to the south, and the inhabitants living on the site of Trenton (then known as "The Falls") were separated into two County jurisdictions. Even as far back as 1706 the little community was divided by its boundaries into three townships—Hopewell, Maidenhead and Nottingham. The old records disclose the inevitable clash of jurisdictions. The rivalries of the towns of Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) and Hopewell for the honor of holding the

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County Courts ended in 1719 when the Colonial governor directed that the Hunterdon County Courts be held in Trenton, which established the beginning of Trenton as a shire town. The same year marked the separation of Trenton from the townships when new boundaries were fixed by order of the court. Trenton remained the County town of Hunterdon until 1780.

Petitioning the Crown as King George II's "loving Subjects the principal Inhabitants of the township of Trenton in the County of Hunterdon," a Royal Charter of Incorporation was granted in 1745 and Trenton became a "free borough town." This proved to be but an experimental essay in town government because less than five years later the borough surrendered its charter to the Crown on account of the charter having been "found very prejudicial to the Interest and trade" of Trenton.

A long span of years passed by, during which the American Revolution had occurred, before any further attempt was made by Trenton to secure a new corporate government. In 1784 citizens living both north and south of the Assunpink Creek joined in the presentation to the Legislature of a petition accompanied by a bill entitled "An Act for erecting part of the township of Nottingham, in the County of Burlington, and part of the township of Trenton, in the County of Hunterdon, into a city, and for incorporating the same by the name of the city of Trenton, and for declaring the same a free city and port, for the term of twenty-five years." The bill passed the House on November 15, 1785, but was rejected by the Council on February 22, 1786.

On March 2, 1786, citizens of both Trenton and Nottingham townships again presented a petition to the House, asking for incorporation, and leave was granted to present a bill in conformity therewith. But two days later another petition was received from other citizens of Nottingham township asking that such township be excluded from any charter of incorporation granted to the township of Trenton.

Efforts were now concentrated to obtain a charter for the inhabitants of Trenton living north of the creek, which would obviate the difficulty of chartering a town having citizens who lived in two Counties. Yet the very next attempt to secure a new

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town government along these lines was doomed to failure, for on May 23, 1792, the Hunterdon County townships of Trenton, Hopewell and Maidenhead petitioned for a borough government embracing these townships, but such a plan, taking in so great an extent of territory within a single jurisdiction, proved futile.

FIRST CHARTER AS A CITY

Undeterred by the obstacles and failures of past years, the citizens of Trenton again went to the Legislature with a petition and bill to incorporate a part of the township of Trenton, the bill being taken up on June 1, 1792, and postponed. The House passed the measure on November 5. It was amended by the Council a week later, and on November 13, 1792, the Legislature granted Trenton its first charter as a city by passing the bill entitled: "An Act to incorporate a part of the township of Trenton in the County of Hunterdon." The Act provided that the territory embraced within the boundaries set forth in the measure be "erected into a city" and "called by the name of the City of Trenton." Such was the birth of the corporate Trenton of today. The boundaries of the new city as fixed by the Charter Act were as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Assunpink Creek and running up the same to Bernard Hanlon's mill dam; from thence along the road to the line between Trenton and Maidenhead; thence along the said line to the road leading from Trenton to Maidenhead; thence on a straight line to the northwest corner of a lot late of David Brearley, deceased; thence on a straight line to the northwest corner of the land of Lambert Cadwalader, whereon he now lives; thence down the western line thereof to the river Delaware; thence down the same to the mouth of the Assunpink Creek aforesaid, being the place of beginning.¹

¹ A description of the boundaries of Trenton under the 1792 Charter Act, in the nomenclature of the present day, as prepared by Engineer of Streets Joseph E. English, follows: Beginning at the mouth of the Assunpink, the line ran up the center of the creek to a point beyond Nottingham Way about opposite Mulberry Street; thence along Mulberry Street to a point about where Klagg Avenue now enters Mulberry Street; thence in a westerly direction, approximately parallel with Klagg Avenue, to a point in or near Sherman Avenue; thence in a northerly direction, crossing the Delaware and Raritan canal, to a point in the intersection of Brunswick Avenue and Spruce Street; thence in a westerly direction, crossing Princeton Avenue diagonally at a point near Miller Street and passing through the intersection of Ingham Avenue and Calhoun Street, to a point in the north line of Reservoir Street at an angle in said street west of Pennington Avenue;

MAP OF THE CITY OF TRENTON SHOWING TERRITORIAL GROWTH, 1792-1928

*Prepared by JOSEPH E. ENGLISH,
City Engineer*



LEGEND

- 1, 2, 3, 6—Shaded area shows territory included by first municipal charter of 1792.
- 2—Lands of Thomas Cadwalader, Jr., taken from the City of Trenton in 1831 and annexed to Trenton Township. (Later returned to Trenton—see 10.)
- 3—Taken from the City of Trenton in 1844 and annexed to Lawrence Township. (Later returned—see 8.)
- 4—Borough of South Trenton, annexed in 1851. This included the sections called Mill Hill and Bloomsbury.
- 5—Part of Nottingham Township, known as Lamberton, annexed in 1856.
- 6—Taken from Trenton in 1858 and annexed to Ewing Township. (Later returned—see 10.)
- 7—Borough of Chambersburg annexed in 1888.
- 8—Areas marked 8 and 3 constituted Millham Township, annexed in 1888.
- 9—Borough of Wilbur, annexed in 1898.
- 10—Areas marked 10, together with 2 and 6, taken from Ewing Township, were annexed to Trenton in 1894 and 1900.
- 11—Part of Hamilton Township, annexed in 1900.
- 12—Part of Hamilton Township, annexed in 1921.

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Trenton, as so constituted under the charter, embraced all of the present First, Second, Seventh and Thirteenth Wards, most of the present Fifth Ward and parts of the present Eighth and Fourteenth Wards. The Act did not include the district directly south of the Assunpink Creek which was called Kingsbury, afterward Kensington Hill and still later Mill Hill, until it was incorporated with Bloomsbury and formed the borough of South Trenton which was annexed to Trenton in 1851. A petition was presented to the Legislature in 1817 by some of the citizens of Mill Hill and Bloomsbury for annexation to Trenton, but proved ineffectual upon the filing of a remonstrance by other citizens of these districts.

Trenton's corporate structure erected by the 1792 charter reposed governing powers in the hands of the mayor, who was the keeper of the city seal; a recorder who was also deputy mayor; three aldermen and six assistants (common councilmen). The mayor, the recorder and the three aldermen were appointed by the Legislature and received their official commissions from the governor, and these five, by virtue of their office, were justices of the peace. The people elected the six assistants (common councilmen) and also the town clerk, assessor and collector. A component part of Common Council was also the mayor, recorder and aldermen. The councilmanic body appointed subordinate officers and granted tavern licenses. The charter empowered the "freeholders and inhabitants" of the city at their annual town-meeting to "vote such sum or sums of money as they may think necessary for the ensuing year for the exigencies" of the city, which sum was to be "assessed upon the inhabitants by the assessor" and collected by the collector. On failure of the inhabitants to vote the necessary moneys for the support of the city, Common Council was authorized to call a town-meeting and propose the sum necessary to be raised.

The first city officers of Trenton as appointed by the Legis-

thence in a northwesterly direction, crossing the right-of-way of the Reading Railroad about opposite Laurel Avenue, to a point in Whittlesey Road about midway between Stacy Avenue and the Reading Railroad; thence in a southerly direction along Whittlesey Road, crossing Cadwalader Park and skirting the east side of Lenape Avenue, to the Delaware River; thence along the Delaware River in a southeasterly direction to the Assunpink Creek and the point of beginning.

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lature in 1792 were Moore Furman, mayor; Aaron D. Woodruff, recorder; Samuel W. Stockton, Abraham Hunt and Alexander Chambers, aldermen. The first election to choose the remaining officers of the city corporation was held on December 10, 1792, "at the House of Joseph Vandegrift, Inn-Keeper"² and the poll of votes resulted in the election of the following: assistants (councilmen), Charles Axford, Abraham G. Claypole, William Tindall, Bernard Hanlon, Aaron Howell and Isaac Barnes; town clerk, Benjamin Smith; assessor, Joseph Brumley; collector, Joseph McCully. The first meeting of Common Council was held December 21, 1792.

Viewed from this day and generation, the powers of self-government that were conferred upon the citizens of Trenton in 1792 were but meagre. The Legislature appointed the higher officers of the corporation and those remaining to be chosen by citizen suffrage were voted for by a small class of electors entitled to do so by property qualification. There was no popular voice in the city's government as now understood in these days of mass voting. However, with the adoption of a new State constitution in 1844, which superseded the constitution of 1776, broader franchise rights were granted.

Within four weeks after its first sitting, the new Common Council functioning under the 1792 Charter Act had before it a plan of municipal government comprising the subject matter for a code of new ordinances, the enactment of which was deemed essential for the proper administration of public affairs. The ordinance requirements, as reported by a committee of Council on January 19, 1793, were set down under separate headings, in the original phraseology, as follows:

1. Regulations for holding elections for corporation officers at town meetings.
2. The fixing a Market House.
3. The fees and fines of all officers to be chosen by the Common Council or town-meeting, the security to be given by the officers, the duty of the officers and the penalties of officers neglecting to serve.
4. The penalty of Breaches of bye-laws.
5. The mode of taxation and collection of taxes.
6. The levying, recovering and appropriation of all fines, penalties, etc.
7. The seal of the Corporation.
8. The regulation of the Market weight and measures.

² *Minutes of Common Council*, p. 9.

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9. Of the streets and highways within the city, of the publick lights and lamps.

10. Nuisances within said City.

11. The trespasses committed in gardens and other inclosures and to Buildings, publick and private.

12. The sweeping of Chimnies.

13. The preventing and extinguishing of fires.

14. The restraining of Horses, Cattle, swine, etc., from running at large.

15. The fixing of stated meetings.

The subsequent enactment into ordinances by Council of a number of the features of the proposed plan not only laid the foundation for a substantial body of municipal laws, but operated to solve many of the problems which Trenton had faced in its previous township government. The minutes of Common Council in the early days of the new corporation give many an illuminating paragraph portraying the difficulties and the trials that beset the infant municipality, the beginnings of municipal improvements and services, and the quaint usages of the time.³

On July 13, 1793, Council adopted a city seal: "The Dvice of which is a Sheaf of Wheat proper, the inscription around the Seal, 'City of Trenton' with the motto E Parvis Grandes (once Small, now Great)."
In later years the seal was modified by the placing in of the date "1792" and the elimi-



nation of the motto. Three wheat sheaves displaced the one sheaf, and there was added a nag's head, as in the great seal of New Jersey.

A NEW CHARTER ADOPTED, 1837

For a number of years there was no radical change in the fundamental form of Trenton's city government, excepting that by virtue of a legislative Act of December 14, 1826, the num-

³ To cite but a few: Council sold the old market-house for £5 10½d. (December 29, 1792). Appointed a committee to have a pair of stocks built near the Court House (June 15, 1793). Ordered the street commissioners "to procure a plow and such other implements for repairing the Streets" (April 30, 1796). Appointed a city corder of wood, who received a fee of 8d. for measuring each cord (September 4, 1797). "This being the time of the stated meeting of the Common Council, and being also the Day on which Dr. Samuel S. Smith delivered a Funeral Oration on the Death of the late General George Washington, no members attended" (February 22, 1800).

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ber of assistants or common councilmen was increased to thirteen. However, the steady growth of Trenton from the stature of a village to that of a thriving town eventually emphasized the restrictive and unsuitable character of the old charter of 1792. This consideration coupled with the effect of the political revolt in favor of a truer democracy in government that swept the country during the administration of President Andrew Jackson, militated strongly in favor of Trenton receiving a new charter. Therefore a new charter was given to Trenton March 7, 1837, which was adopted by the voters of the city on April 1, 1837, and which conferred full corporate powers. The officers were such as were provided for by the 1792 charter excepting that there were twelve members of Common Council. The mayor, recorder and three aldermen constituted a Court of General Quarter Sessions with jurisdiction within the city, and granted tavern licenses. The city clerk was clerk of the court. Overseers of the poor, three or more school committeemen, two or more constables, one judge of election, three or more commissioners of appeals in taxation, two chosen freeholders and two surveyors of the highway were elected by the citizens of the city. The powers of Common Council were enlarged. It now had the appointment of president of council, marshal, treasurer, clerk of the market, jail keeper, and such other subordinate officers as Council might deem necessary. To raise money by taxation and to borrow money for municipal needs, to pave sidewalks and to open new streets were among the added powers of the governing body.

Committee appointed to ascertain the cost of "procuring Boards with the names of the Streets painted thereon" (July 31, 1802). Council ordered the mayor to employ a surveyor to ascertain the boundaries of the city (September 25, 1802). Committee appointed on November 26, 1803, "to enquire into the Expediency of affixing Lamps in the City and providing for their being kept lighted," reported at the next meeting that such measures were inexpedient "for certain reasons at the present time." On December 31, 1803, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of "procuring Kirb [curb] stone for the city." On September 27, 1806, Council appointed a committee to circulate a petition among the citizens, asking for the consent of the Legislature to open new streets "as increasing trade and population of the city may require," but the committee reported back that the proposition did not meet with the approbation of the people. On August 29, 1812, the city weigh master filed his report for the six months ending in June, showing that 322 loads of hay had been weighed in that period.

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In 1840 the Legislature abolished the city Quarter Sessions Court which was transferred to Mercer County, the County having been created on February 22, 1838, and Trenton having been selected as the County seat.

Four wards were established by the Legislature in 1844. On March 26, 1845, this four-ward system was abolished and the East and West Wards substituted therefor. These two wards were divided by a line running along the center of Princeton Pike from the city line to Warren Street, and thence along the center of Warren Street to the Assunpink Creek.

By Act of 1847 Common Council was empowered to lay out streets and accept dedicated streets and alleys. Roads laid out by surveyors of the highway were validated. The consent of two-thirds of abutting property owners was required for street openings.

By Act of February 28, 1849, Common Council was prohibited from borrowing money unless by authority of ordinance after a favorable referendum vote by the citizens of the city.

The legislative Act of March 6, 1850, provided for the establishment of a board of health clothed with full authority to pass regulations in promotion of the public health, and the statute established adequate penalties for violations. The same Act gave Council the power to elect the city clerk, set up a system of tax-assessing, and provided that aldermen for the one-year term be elected by wards instead of from the city at large. In 1850 Trenton was also created into one school district and the educational age was set between the ages of five and sixteen. The voters were also authorized to select a superintendent of schools—formerly appointed by Council along with a school committee—and two school trustees from each ward. For the support of the educational system an amount not to exceed \$2,000 a year was permitted to be appropriated by the vote of the people. Power to order by ordinance the grading and paving of sidewalks by property owners was conferred by the Legislature in 1851.

NUMBER OF WARDS INCREASED

Trenton's two-ward topography was changed by the 1851 Act which annexed the borough of South Trenton to the city.

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The East Ward became the First Ward, the West Ward became the Second Ward and the annexed borough of South Trenton became the Third and Fourth Wards whose division line was Bloomsbury Street from its intersection with the creek to Lamberton Street, thence along Lamberton Street to the Nottingham line.

The Legislature created a Fifth Ward on March 18, 1852, the lines of which were altered the following year.⁴

On March 6, 1856, a portion of the township of Nottingham was annexed to the city and became the Sixth Ward. On April 2, 1867, the Seventh Ward was created by Act of the Legislature and consisted of all that territory of the city north of the Delaware and Raritan Canal and feeder. By the Act of March 19, 1874, the city was divided into seven wards which continued until 1888. On March 30, 1888, the Legislature passed an Act entitled "An Act to consolidate with the city of Trenton, in the County of Mercer, the borough of Chambersburg and the township of Millham," Millham becoming the Eighth Ward and Chambersburg the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Wards. By virtue of the Act approved February 28, 1898, the borough of Wilbur was annexed and became the Twelfth Ward. Under authority of the legislative Act approved March 14, 1895, Common Council on December 24, 1898, passed an ordinance establishing thirteen wards. The Act of March 23, 1900, brought into the city a portion of Ewing township which became the Fourteenth Ward. This annexation also added a section of township territory to the Fifth Ward and another to the Eighth Ward. In the same year a part of the township of Hamilton was annexed and became a part of the Eleventh Ward. In 1921 a portion of Hamilton township adjacent to the Sixth Ward and bordering on the Delaware River was annexed to provide a site for the sewage disposal works.

⁴ The boundary lines of the Fifth Ward, as altered in 1853, were: Beginning at the intersection of Warren Street and Hanover Street, running easterly along the center of Hanover Street to the Delaware and Raritan canal, thence up the center of the canal to Perry Street, thence easterly along the center of Perry Street to the Assunpink Creek, thence along the creek to the Lawrence township line, thence to the branch turnpike road, thence along the branch road to Warren Street, thence to the place of beginning. Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 74.

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Legislative authorization was given Council in 1852 to pave gutters and lay sewers for drainage purposes, and in 1854 Council was permitted to establish fire districts and to levy special taxes on owners of buildings for the installation of fire plugs. In conformity with additional powers granted in 1855 Council was permitted to fix grades, widen streets and impose assessments for such improvements. The registration of lot-owners was now begun in a city atlas.

The beginnings of the present system of improvements were initiated in the years from 1852 to 1858. Municipal gas-lighting extensions were made during the early '50's, the city having agreed to subscribe \$10,000 to the proposed works of the Trenton Gas Light Company, and the company in return having obligated itself to lay pipes in Warren Street from the creek to the Five Points, in Broad Street from Lafayette to the feeder, on Front between Willow and Montgomery, on State from Calhoun to the canal, and on both Hanover and Perry Streets from Broad to Stockton.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1866

Then for a decade, covering the period prior to and during the Civil War, there was a lull in municipal progress although Trenton had become a city in fact as well as in name, and had outgrown its 1837 charter. In compliance with the demands of local public sentiment the Legislature on March 15, 1866, passed an Act granting a new charter to the city, which marked an advance in the democratization of the city government by greatly broadening the elective powers of the citizen body. An entire city ticket of officials consisting of the mayor, city treasurer, school superintendent, overseer of the poor, councilmen, school trustees, assessors, constables, commissioners of tax appeals, freeholders and judges and inspectors of election was chosen at the annual spring election. Each of the six wards elected four councilmen. The mayor's term was one year and the receiver of taxes two years. In Common Council was lodged the appointment of a city clerk, city surveyor, clerk of the market, city marshal, city solicitor, street commissioner, sealer of weights and measures, two police justices and other subordinate officers.

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The enlargement of the powers of Common Council by the new Charter Act was a salutary medium in the interest of city progress and development. Hitherto no such sweeping power had reposed in the governing body. Councilmanic jurisdiction and control now extended to the real and personal property of the city, the care and maintenance of the streets, the regulation of buildings, the licensing of saloons and restaurants, street lighting, regulation of private water-supply, public property and grounds, markets, weights and measures and the police and fire departments. In the realm of taxation Council was empowered to raise money for public improvements and the maintenance of city departments, free from many of the limitations of the past.

THE ACT OF 1874

The 1866 charter was in operation for eight years during which period there was a marked quickening of municipal enterprise and activity, but nevertheless Trenton had not yet attained its ideal of city government, and in the march of progress the restrictions of the existing charter created public sentiment for a change. Responding to this civic desire the Legislature on March 19, 1874, passed a bill entitled "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the City of Trenton," a comprehensive and beneficial charter that became the basic municipal constitution upon which the city government functioned until the adoption of Commission Government in 1911. By the 1874 Act the people of Trenton obtained a genuinely representative form of government based on the power of popular franchise.

By order of Common Council, in 1888 there were revised and consolidated, by Garret D. W. Vroom and William M. Lanning, the general ordinances of the city, which, together with the 1874 charter and supplements and the legislative Acts relating to Trenton, were published in 1889.⁵

⁵ Trenton's 1792 charter, with the ordinances and acts of Common Council, was first published in 1799. Another publication by order of Common Council was made in 1814 and contained city ordinances and acts, and also legislative Acts applicable to Trenton. The new charter of 1837, with ordinances revised by James Ewing, was published in 1842. In 1847 and 1856

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A DRASTIC CHANGE MADE IN 1892

A drastic change in the organic structure of the city government occurred from the passage of the legislative Act of March 23, 1892, which set up a board of public works for Trenton, Camden and Paterson. The board consisted of five members appointed by the mayor and had sole control over public construction work, streets, sidewalks, sewers, water works and water supply, and was empowered to pass ordinances in matters affecting those subjects, to such extent depriving Common Council of its legislative functions. This Act also gave the mayor the authority to appoint the city clerk, city comptroller, city treasurer, city counsel, receiver of taxes and inspector of buildings, lamps, wells and pumps.

The mayor's appointees to the board of public works were Garret D. W. Vroom, who became president of the board; Anthony A. Skirm, Joseph T. Ridgway, James E. Hanson and John W. Brooke.

The board of public works was abolished by Act of Legislature on May 8, 1894. Of its accomplishments during its brief term, Lee in his *History of Trenton* says:

Under this Board Trenton's advance in the building of her sewers, the care of her streets and the bettering of her water department will ever be a bright page in the history of the city. Trenton made marvellous progress in every direction, and the impetus the city received threw her forward in progress and stability.

Trenton under the 1894 repealer went back to the govern-

ordinances were again published. In 1866 was published the legislative Act of that year repealing the 1837 charter. By order of Common Council, Edwin Robert Walker, now chancellor, and George W. Macpherson in 1903 published their revision and compilation of the general ordinances of the city and the 1874 charter and supplements; likewise the special ordinances of Common Council, the ordinances creating boards of fire and police commissioners, establishing the local board of health with the sanitary code passed by that board, and ordinances relating to the public schools and to the water works. A book of ordinances passed during the years from 1903 to 1908 was compiled by Charles A. Remsen, then deputy city clerk, and published in 1909. Former City Clerk Harry B. Salter, while in office, compiled the ordinances for the year 1909, 1910 and up to the advent of commission government in August 1911, and these were published. Under the supervision of the present city legal department a revision and codification of ordinances relating to human conduct passed by the City Commission since 1911 and including those for the year 1929, are now being made and the publication date will be in 1930.

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mental system established by the 1874 Act and then for nearly two decades the two major political parties battled for control of Common Council and the prizes of public office which that body dispensed, and for the mayoralty which carried with it a high political prestige sought by both the Democratic and Republican organizations. During this period local party lines were infinitely more tightly drawn than at present; the independent vote was scarcely worth the name, and oftentimes the contests for election to Council in particular wards took on the proportions of a major political battle in which candidates for the higher offices were all but ignored.

COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED

The popular agitation for the elimination of machine politics in municipal government that was characteristic of the country in the latter part of the first decade of the present century, found a sympathetic response in Trenton and was undoubtedly one of the prime factors that resulted in the adoption of the commission form of government by Trenton's voters in 1911.

The petition requesting the submission of the question of adoption at a special election was filed with the city clerk on June 5, 1911, and bore the names of 5,365 signers. The adoption election was held on June 20, 1911, at which there were 11,906 ballots cast, and the result was: For Adoption, 6,792; Against Adoption, 4,890.

The Walsh Commission Government Act at that time provided for a primary, for which 68 candidates filed their nomination petitions. This primary election was held on July 18, 1911, at which 14,943 votes were cast, and the ten highest candidates became eligible for the final election of five city commissioners held on August 15, 1911. A total of 13,280 ballots was cast at this election. The new commissioners took office on August 22, 1911.

This method of electing city commissioners was changed by the enactment of the so-called Hennessy Preferential Voting Act passed in 1914, with amendments thereto, which now permits the voter, after voting for his first-choice candidates for commissioners, to vote for remaining candidates for second choice, third choice and other choice. Under this Act were con-

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ducted the succeeding municipal elections of May 11, 1915, May 13, 1919, May 8, 1923, and May 10, 1927.

With the swearing in of the new commissioners in 1911, the Walsh Act automatically terminated the official existence of all boards and commissions, excepting the board of education and the city district court,⁶ that had functioned under councilmanic government, and the powers and duties of the extinct boards were transferred to the city commission—its legal title being the Board of Commissioners of the City of Trenton. A thorough reorganization and consolidation of municipal departments were speedily effected,⁷ an administration along strictly business lines was launched, and public employees obtained a stability of tenure based on merit, which was fortified by the subsequent adoption by the voters of civil service. A supplementary Act approved April 9, 1913, in its preamble declared the cardinal principle of the Commission Government Act to be "the concentration of the power and responsibility of municipal government in one elec-

⁶ While the Public Library board was abolished by operation of the Walsh Act, it was reconstituted shortly thereafter by the city commission. On July 8, 1927, the city commission passed a zoning ordinance under the provisions of which a board of adjustment was erected to hear appeals from the decision of the building inspector in cases in which he has refused to grant permits under the ordinance.

⁷ The distribution of authority over municipal departments and officers, as provided in the resolution adopted by the city commission on May 18, 1923, and in effect at the present time, follows:

Department of Public Affairs: city clerk, legal department, overseer of the poor, city physicians, sealer of weights and measures, Municipal Colony, harbors and public markets. Also the duties devolving upon the mayor as the chief executive officer of the city.

Department of Revenue and Finance: commissioners of assessment of taxes, city comptroller, city treasurer, clerk of the district court, receiver of taxes and treasurer of the water department.

Department of Public Safety: police department, fire department, fire and police telegraph and telephone systems, bureau of health, electrical bureau, inspector of plumbing, excise inspector, meat inspector, milk inspector, magistrate and clerk of police courts, dog catcher, public pound, crematory and garbage and ashes.

Department of Public Works: streets, alleys, street cleaning, sewers, drains, bridges, water-mains, engineer of streets, engineer of sewers and water, superintendent of streets, inspectors, water department, public works and public utility corporations.

Department of Parks and Public Property: public property including City Hall, public parks, public playgrounds, department of building inspection, comfort stations and grounds, shade trees and public lighting.

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tive board," which enunciation the experience of the past fifteen years has ratified. The placing of personal responsibility on each director for the work and activities of his department was another salutary provision of the new plan. An annual audit of municipal finances was made mandatory. The non-partisan ballot combined with the good faith of the commissioners in carrying out the spirit of the act, eradicated partisan politics in the city government.

The board of school estimate consisting of two member representatives of the board of education, the mayor *ex officio*, and two other members of the city commission, annually determine the amount of money necessary to be raised and appropriated for school purposes. Similarly, as under the old councilmanic form, the power of appointing members of the board of education is vested in the mayor who also names the members of the sinking fund commission, the Public Library board and the zoning board of adjustment.

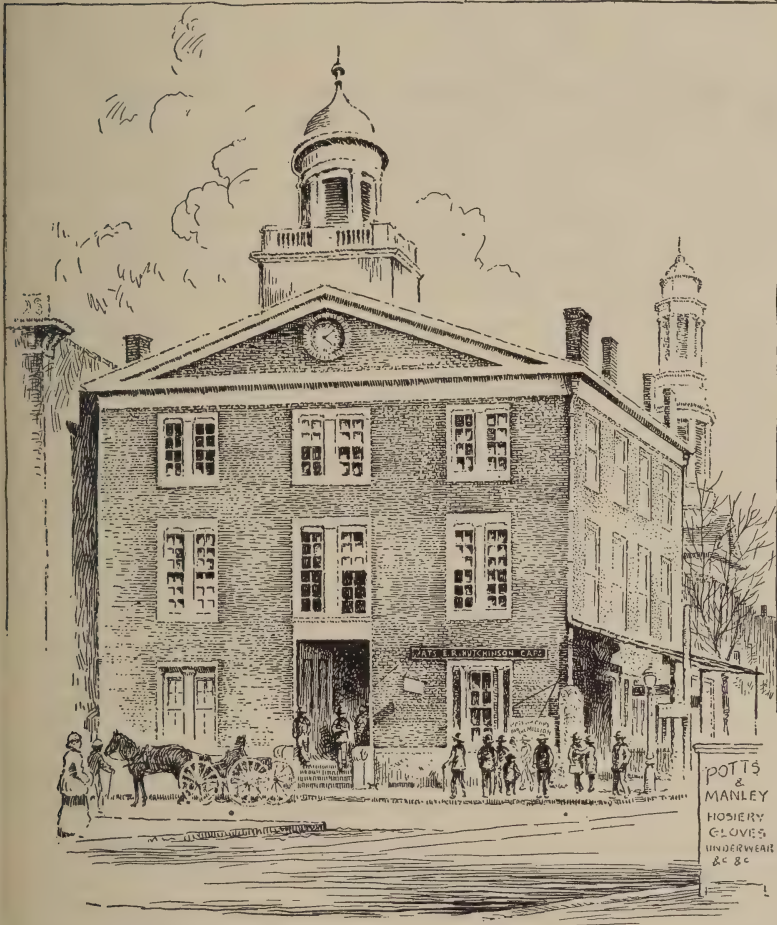
On April 1, 1926, was passed the legislative Act providing for the permanent registration of voters, the operation of which in Trenton resulted in the registration of 47,303 voters for the presidential election of 1928, at which a total of 43,700 votes were cast.

THE CITY HALL

Previous to 1837 there was no City Hall but Trenton possessed, in connection with the lock-up and whipping-post on Academy Street, what was known as a Town Hall. Agitation for something of a more convenient and prepossessing character began in 1835 and a committee of Common Council later reported in favor of a building in which there would be a council chamber, court room and other city offices, together with provision for meetings of "a public or political character." A site was selected at Greene and Second (now Broad and State) Streets and a City Hall, designed by Joseph Witherup, was determined upon by Council on April 19, 1837. It was three stories high and of rough-cast brick and was completed in the autumn of the same year.

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Part of the ground floor was rented out for stores and in the second story was a hall which was for many years rented out for meetings, conventions, balls and entertainments. While



OLD CITY HALL, BUILT 1837, NORTHEAST CORNER OF STATE AND BROAD STREETS.

the County of Mercer was completing its buildings, the surrogate and county clerk had their offices in the City Hall.

The City Hall was remodelled in 1882, its attractive original architecture suffering for the sake of enlargement. This re-

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modelled structure, wholly devoted to municipal uses, continued until the erection of the present modern City Hall.

II. The Police Department

TRENTON owes its incorporation as a city in 1792 in no small measure to a situation involving the preservation of law and order within its boundaries. One of the most powerful reasons that led to the passage of the 1792 Charter Act was the inability of the authorities of the then existing township of Trenton to control local disturbances, a small mob having rioted near the Methodist meeting-house a few months prior to the charter grant, thereby emphasizing the necessity of enacting the pending bill.

The embryonic beginnings of the Trenton police department hark back to the election of John Potts as city marshal and David Wrighter as constable and jailer by Common Council on December 29, 1792. On November 11, 1793, Council took action to launch prosecution "against those persons who were concerned in pulling down the pillars of the market-house lately erected," and authorized the managers of the market-house to employ two nightwatchmen for its protection.

Following an agreement of the citizens of the city "to associate themselves together and form Guards to patrol the city nightly, to prevent Fire," Council on January 12, 1797, fixed the routes to be patrolled and ordered the guards to arrest "all suspicious Persons who may be found in their routs lurking about the city." The guards, who consisted of nine men including an officer chosen by themselves, were ordered "to perform their Rout without calling the Hours of the Night or making any other noise or disturbance." However, these volunteer protectors of the safety of the city eventually tired of their official duties, and the work fell back upon the legally constituted peace officers.

An ordinance passed in 1799 required the city marshal, when ordered by Council, "to carry in his hand a small staff or wand, similar to those usually carried by sheriffs," and he was, in fact,

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vested with the powers of a sheriff. He was also required to tour the whole city at least once a week.

Evidently crime waves were not unknown in that unsophisticated age for in 1803 the citizens of the city petitioned Council, "praying that measures might be taken for securing the City against Fire and Robbery," and Council called a mass-meeting of citizens. On January 7, 1804, Council directed the mayor to have posted a number of handbills for the discovery and conviction of the incendiaries who had made an attempt to "set fire to a certain Part of the City."

In 1811 the annual salary of the city marshal was \$30 a year, but he undoubtedly must have obtained a grain of comfort from the knowledge that the city treasurer's salary was only \$10 per annum.

In 1814 a committee of Common Council was appointed to employ "a Nightly Watch" to serve for a period of about ten weeks.

A city marshal and one watchman from each ward were employed as late as 1856, these men being under control of the mayor; they had constabulary powers and were charged with the duty of lighting and extinguishing street lamps.

In 1874 Common Council passed an ordinance reorganizing the police, and the title of chief of police was given to the city marshal whose force consisted of two aides and fourteen policemen. The title of chief of police, however, was not actually used until 1886 when the title of city marshal was abolished. Under the 1874 reorganization plan the night men went off duty at six o'clock in the morning and the day force began their duty at eight o'clock in the morning, thereby leaving the city without police protection for two hours daily. The aides of the marshal were required to perform the duty of roundsmen and to act as special officers at the police station and police court.

Up to the year 1889 the police force was wholly the creature of politics, and its personnel changed from time to time with the rise and fall of either political party. Common Council elected the members of the department and no special requirements of personal fitness for police service were demanded.

While the Tenure of Office Act was passed by the Legisla-

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ture in 1885 it was not formally recognized and accepted by Common Council here until March 30, 1887.

Council had passed an ordinance on April 6, 1886, creating the position of chief of police and giving Council power to name such officer and subordinate officers. A new Council of opposite political complexion came into power on April 18, 1887, and an attempt was made by that body to obtain control of the appointments in the police department by challenging the legality of the ordinance creating the office of the chief of police, and on May 3, 1887, Council passed an ordinance repealing the ordinance of April 6, 1886. On May 17, 1887, Council also passed a repealer of the ordinance of March 30, 1887, accepting the Tenure of Office Act. The courts afterward set aside both repealers.

FIRST POLICE BOARD ORGANIZED

At the spring election of 1889 the voters of Trenton adopted the legislative Act erecting a board of police commissioners, and on May 23, 1889, the first police board organized with a membership consisting of Charles A. May, president; Lawrence Farrell, Joseph Rice and William H. Earley. Colonel Ernest C. Stahl was elected secretary.

The act creating the bi-partisan police board had for its primary purpose the divorcement of the police from political domination. The members were appointed by the mayor and the term was four years. Police-board government of the department brought about beneficial results not only in improving the quality and efficiency of the personnel but also in raising the departmental morale. Thus the groundwork of the present police system was laid.

When the first police board took office the police department was headed by Chief of Police Charles H. McChesney (the last to hold the title of city marshal), and consisted of two lieutenants, six sergeants, fifty patrolmen and a police surgeon.

In 1890 the city was divided into two police districts, the Assunpink Creek being the dividing line between the First District to the north and the Second District to the south. In 1902 the police board adopted the provisions of the legislative Act

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providing for the establishment of a police pension or retirement fund.

The detective branch of the police service was created in 1888 when a patrolman in the ranks, Charles H. Pilger, was selected as a special officer in citizen's dress to act as a detective in the department. In March 1891 the detective bureau was created, headed by the chief of police, and two detective sergeants, Charles H. Pilger and Harry Leahy, were appointed. No additions to the detective bureau were made until June 1, 1912, when the rank of captain of detectives was created and Detective Sergeant John J. Clancy (appointed as such in 1899 to fill a vacancy) was elevated to the new captaincy. The detective bureau at present numbers twelve members consisting of a captain of detectives, three lieutenant-detectives, five detective-sergeants, a mechanic-detective, and two detectives.

Important sub-divisions of the detective bureau are a "Rogues' Gallery," instituted in 1892 and now thoroughly modernized; the bureau of identification and investigation, a missing persons' bureau and the "auto squad."

The traffic bureau was created in 1915 and the Trenton school safety patrol in 1921. The Police Training School dates back to 1895 when bi-monthly drills were given by the police captains.

CITY MARSHALS AND CHIEFS OF POLICE SINCE 1854

In 1854, the first year of record, the office of city marshal was held by John Q. Carman who was succeeded by Thomas Wagner in 1855. Samuel Mulford followed, continuing in office until 1859 when J. M. Bennett became the incumbent, holding office for one year. James F. Starin then held the office from 1860 to 1865 and was succeeded by Caleb Van Sickle who served in 1865 and 1866. In 1867 the office was held by James H. McGuire, followed by Joseph J. Hawk in 1868, 1869 and 1870. Matthew Moses was marshal in 1871, followed by Charles Jones in 1872. John Tyrell came next, serving in 1873, 1874 and 1875, then Charles P. Brown from 1876 until 1879. Charles H. McChesney succeeded to the office in April 1881, becoming chief of police upon the change of the title of the office, in April 1886, and serving until July 1, 1899, when he resigned from the department.

Judson Hiner was appointed chief of police on June 19, 1899, succeeding Chief McChesney. On March 1, 1912, Chief Hiner retired on a pension and was succeeded on that date by John J. Cleary. Chief Cleary died in office on December 1, 1917, and on March 1, 1918, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of William Dettmar. He served until January 1, 1922, when he retired on pension and James T. Culliton was appointed to the position on April 1, 1922. Chief Culliton served until May 1, 1925, when he retired on pension, and his successor, the present chief of police, William P. Walter was appointed August 26, 1925, effective September 1, 1925.

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III. Trenton Water Department

THE primitive beginnings of Trenton's public water supply, by force of time and circumstance, diffuse an element of historic importance over the personality of one Stephen Scales who lived on a farm now a part of the Fifth Ward near the old reservoir (now the site of the Stadium). Scales had on his land one of the best springs in this section of the country, and he determined to capitalize a demand then existing for a permanent water supply. With enterprising spirit he applied to the Legislature and received on December 3, 1801, the necessary charter to convey water from his spring through the streets of Trenton to supply the people of the city "with plenty of sweet and wholesome water." Scales was now in possession of full franchise rights for a public utility in embryo, and for some time he supplied a few families, but whether from lack of funds or initiative, or both, he failed to avail himself of the extensive construction rights under his charter, and he eventually made known his desire to sell out. At this time the inhabitants took their water from springs on their own property or from the springs in the neighborhood.

A group of the more prosperous men of the town had become interested in the project of forming a company to supply water to the city, and banded themselves together in a company under the name of "The President and Directors of the Trenton Water Works" with the aim "of erecting works for the purpose of conveying water from the spring of Stephen Scales through the streets of the city of Trenton for the use of the inhabitants thereof." The company was capitalized at \$1,200 to consist of sixty shares at a par value of \$20 each. On September 18, 1802, Scales by agreement of that date sold his spring and franchise rights to the company. At a meeting of the company three days later the following officers were elected: James Ewing, president; Peter Gordon and Thomas M. Potts, directors; Gershom Craft, secretary, and Alexander Chambers, treasurer. The sixty shares of stock had been subscribed for.⁸

⁸ The sixty shares of stock were subscribed for by the following: Isaac Smith, Peter Gordon, Ellett Howel, Thomas M. Potter, Henry Pike, Jeremiah Woolsey, William Scott, Jacob Herbert, Abraham Hunt, Gershom

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FIRST WATER COMPANY INCORPORATED

The company was incorporated by Act of the Legislature passed on February 29, 1804, under the name of "The President and Directors of the Trenton Water Works," and began the construction of a fountain to supply the wooden trunks or pipes, which were nothing more than bored logs fitted together to make a pipe line. The plant operated successfully for three years when twenty additional shares were issued for the purpose of enlarging the works. The report of that year, which was the first report issued by the new company, showed receipts from water rents of \$105.07; total receipts, \$143.47; expenditures \$95.33. The officers decided not to declare a dividend so that additional improvements might be made by laying the trunks down Warren Street to Front Street in order "that four families might be supplied." The company declared its first dividend, \$3 per share, in April 1811.

Opposition came into the field when the Legislature on February 8, 1811, passed an Act to incorporate the proprietors of the Trenton Aqueduct Company which proposed to take its water supply from the Assunpink Creek. The officers were Andrew Reeder, president; Charles Rice, treasurer; and Stacy Potts, Joseph Broadhurst and Peter Howell, directors. The capital stock was not to exceed \$3,000. The records of the Trenton Water Works show that its stockholders declined to combine with the Aqueduct Company, after many overtures had been made, and eventually the new company was absorbed in the old one.

In 1848 the Trenton and South Trenton Aqueduct Company was incorporated for the purpose of supplying both Trenton and South Trenton with water, the company proposing to use the water of the Delaware River or of the Assunpink Creek below the dam. Its capital stock was \$30,000 and its incorporators were John McKelway, William Halstead, Samuel McClurg, Charles Wright, Xenophon J. Maynard, John Sager and Alexander Armour.

Craft, George Dill, Ellett Tucker, Joseph Milnor, Joshua Newbold, Hannah H. Barnes, William Potts, Mary and Sarah Barnes, Joshua Wright, Stephen Scales, John R. Smith, A. Chambers, John Chambers, James Ewing and George Henry. Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 86.

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In 1823 the report made at the annual meeting of the Trenton Water Works company showed an excess of liabilities over assets of \$267.40½. New officers were elected and the following year the indebtedness had been discharged and the company had a balance of \$200.

Due to the continued growth of the city a modern water supply was deemed necessary and in April 1839 a committee was appointed by the corporation to make inquiry as to the ability of the fountain or spring to furnish an adequate supply; the cost of substituting iron pipes for the wooden logs then in use; the number of persons who paid water rents, and the probable increase of income from an increased and adequate water supply. The committee made its investigation and a few months later decision was reached to lay iron pipes. Four thousand dollars of additional stock was issued for this purpose and on October 18, 1839, the first iron pipe was laid. Mains and branches totalling 13,343 feet, at a cost of \$19,774.59, were laid during the next two years.

The company had been organized forty years before but comparatively few citizens had given up the use of springs and pumps, because the report for the year 1840 shows that the receipts from water rents amounted to but \$1,428 in a population of 4,035. In the period from 1840 to 1850 the records show that many of the stockholders were dissatisfied with the manner in which the company operated. In 1850 Jonathan Steward was elected president; Thomas J. Stryker and William P. Sherman, directors; Samuel Evans, treasurer; and Joseph G. Brearley, secretary. These officers issued a statement to the stockholders that apparently quieted the discontent. In 1855 the receipts of the company amounted to \$2,313.44.

In 1851 the capacity of the Stephen Scales spring or fountain began to fall short of the demand for water, and in 1852 the Legislature authorized the company to take water from the Delaware River and store it in basins or reservoirs. The capital stock of the company was thereupon increased by 1,076 shares for the purpose of constructing a reservoir and making other improvements. A tract of land facing on Reservoir Street was purchased for \$6,000 and a basin built, twelve feet in depth

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with a capacity of 1,414,082 gallons. On the river bank was built a pumping-station costing \$3,000.

PLANT ACQUIRED BY THE CITY

Municipal ownership of the city water supply was now being agitated and in March 1858, in accordance with an enabling statute, the citizens of Trenton at a referendum election voted to purchase the company-owned water works, and on March 1, 1859, the Legislature gave authority for the transfer of the plant to the city. The city paid \$88,000 in cash for the plant and the sum of \$12,000 remained in the hands of individual stockholders who refused to part with their stock until some time later. The administration of the water works became vested in a board of commissioners created by legislative Act, who were appointed by Common Council. The first water board consisted of Charles Moore, Philemon Dickinson, Daniel Lodor, David S. Anderson, Jacob M. Taylor and Albert J. Whittaker. From that time to the present the control of Trenton's water supply has been in the hands of the municipality.

Erected in 1853 the old reservoir was enlarged in 1855 and again in 1871. In 1874 a serious leak occurred which flooded a part of the city near the reservoir, but it was found that the trouble was not in the reservoir itself but in the pipes through which the water entered the basin. These pipes were in such dangerous and menacing condition that radical changes in plant and equipment were found necessary. The board authorized the construction of a new pump-house, the erection of a pump and engine of one hundred horse-power with a capacity of two million gallons daily, the repairing of the faulty pipes and the raising of the reservoir bank six feet. In 1884, due to population increase, it was found necessary to augment the pumping power, and a Worthington pump was purchased with a daily capacity of five million gallons.

The management of the water works passed into the control of the board of public works in 1892 and this board erected the river wall at the pumping station, installed a triple compound engine capable of pumping ten million gallons daily, and adopted plans for the building of a new pump-house. The board of public works having been legislated out of office in 1894, the erection

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of the pump-house was left to the incoming water board that took office in June 1894 and consisted of Charles H. Skirm, Joseph Stokes, Charles G. Roebling, Lewis Lawton, Duncan Mackenzie and Robert B. Bonney. Mr. Roebling did not qualify and A. V. Manning was selected in his place. This board erected a pumping station, boiler house and electric light plant at a cost of \$26,000. The public opening of the new buildings occurred on June 9, 1896.

Additional reservoir capacity was now required. Frequent breaks were also occurring in the bank of the old reservoir, and the Seventh Ward was being supplied with water from a stand-pipe. In 1896 a site needed for a new reservoir was purchased on the high land centering at the corner of Prospect Street and Pennington Avenue at a cost of \$52,245 from James Brook, George E. Fell and Mrs. Feran. The contract was awarded in 1896 to Lewis Lawton, and C. A. Hague was appointed hydraulic engineer. The contract price was \$349,489, and with extras including professional fees, pipes, etc., the cost reached the sum of \$444,930.

Due to the provisions of the law governing its functions and powers, the water department under the board system was viewed as a separate entity of the city government. The members, although appointed by Common Council, administered the department as an independent body without check or interference from any other constituted municipal authority. With the abolition of all boards and commissions in 1911, the water department was assigned to three of the municipal departments, but today is under the control of the department of public works with the exception of its business office and fiscal system which come under the administration of the department of revenue and finance.

IV. Parks and Playgrounds

PUBLICLY owned parks were unknown in the earlier days of Trenton. The machine age with its industrialized thousands living in congested districts was undreamed of. Within the city limits were fields and lots sufficient for the needs of the

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playing children who were not versed in the intensively developed sports and athletics that have come to the fore in this era. There were no serried walls of built-up streets. Trees and foliage and flowers abounded. Fresh air and wide breathing spaces there were in plenty.

Although Trenton was permitted by Act of Legislature passed on February 18, 1856, to expend \$50,000 for the establishment of a public square, no action was ever taken by the city to put this improvement into effect.

PARK SYSTEM INAUGURATED IN 1888

Trenton's park system was not inaugurated until May 22, 1888, when an eighty-acre tract that comprised the major part of the present Cadwalader Park was purchased of George W. Farlee for \$50,000. Included in this tract was the present baseball field facing on West State Street. On October 17, 1888, the city bought from the Cadwalader estate for \$9,500 a tract of eight acres which is now the site of Junior High School No. 3, and on September 21, 1891, the city purchased from the same owners a strip of land seven and seven-tenths acres in extent adjoining the eastern boundary of Cadwalader Park and running along the west side of Parkside Avenue from Stuyvesant Avenue to the canal feeder. On March 1, 1926, the city purchased from the State of New Jersey a fifteen-acre tract adjoining Cadwalader Park and facing on Stuyvesant Avenue, of which five and five-eighths acres will be used as a school site by the board of education and the remainder is to be developed for park purposes. Cadwalader Park was named in honor of Thomas Cadwalader who became the chief burgess of Trenton in 1746. It was embellished and improved in accordance with the plan of Olmstead Brothers, of Brookline, Mass. On May 19, 1888, the city purchased from the Atterbury estate a strip of land running about 1,500 feet along the river front from Overbrook Avenue to near Fisher Place, the purchase price being \$10,205. On October 17 of the same year the city acquired from the Cadwalader estate another river-front strip, running from Parkside Avenue to Overbrook Avenue for a distance of 2,000 feet and comprising five acres. The purchase price was a nominal one—\$100. These two tracts, once thought of as part of a future

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River Drive, are now included in Mahlon Stacy Park, Trenton's beautiful waterfront property, the inception and development of which are treated by Mr. Kerney elsewhere in this History.

The Borough of Chambersburg, in April 1888, purchased a tract bounded by Chestnut, Morris, Emory Avenues and Division Street for a public park for the sum of \$13,000, the land comprising one and eight-tenths acres. On the annexation of Chambersburg this park, known as Roebling or Tenth Ward Park, became a part of the city park system.

Monument Park at the Five Points was acquired under the provisions of an ordinance passed June 28, 1893, and affords a splendid setting for the Trenton Battle Monument.

Back in September 1906, through the interest of Edmund C. Hill in park expansion, a plan for the improvement of the valley of the Assunpink Creek north of East State Street was prepared and presented to the city by the Olmstead Brothers. This project for a fine recreational park with proper drainage and sanitation features was submitted to a committee on park extensions appointed by Common Council and was also taken up by the park board. However, no formal action occurred until March 1914, when the city commission moved to acquire lands and develop the creek park. Under a resolution of the city commission on February 10, 1915, a plan was adopted for the improvement of the land. Beyond Olden Avenue an ideal recreation field has been established, including a shelter house, comfort station, sewer, and a bridge over the Assunpink. These improvements, undertaken during the period from 1917 to 1923, have cost \$27,000. This park has been named Assunpink Park and the improvements planned for the future should make it one of the most attractive units of the park system.

Franklin Park, a triangular tract of two and six-tenths acres bounded by Franklin, Remsen and Woodland Streets, was acquired in 1922 from Edmund C. Hill for \$11,000, and was improved under a plan of Black, Burris & Fiske, Inc., landscape engineers, at a cost of \$12,359 and was officially admitted to the park system on June 27, 1924.

North Trenton Park, fronting on Brunswick Avenue with

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an area of four and four-tenths acres, was purchased in June 1923 at a cost of \$41,000 and was embellished according to a plan prepared by Joseph E. English, engineer of streets, at a cost of \$28,000 which included comfort station, play area and lights.

Lyndale Park was purchased in December 1917 from the Villa Park Improvement Association for \$8,000, and is two acres in extent. It was improved according to the plan of Mr. English, and it includes among its features four tennis courts and a quoit court.

Prospect Park, a narrow strip of land along the canal bank at Prospect, West Hanover, and Passaic Streets, is also a part of the park system.

PLAYGROUND SYSTEM ESTABLISHED IN 1908

The board of playground commissioners, appointed by Mayor Walter Madden, took office in 1908 and under their direction the playground system was established. On the adoption of commission government this governmental branch was assigned to the department of parks and public property. At the present time fourteen playgrounds are operated covering fifty acres of city-owned grounds out of a total of eighty-seven acres used for playground purposes. In 1928 there were 5,500 children enrolled. The winter program includes basketball leagues, soccer leagues, handball and skating. The quoits league has been one of the most successful features of the playground department, in point of players and attendance leading any city in the United States.

V. The Fire Department

IT BEING the province of this chapter to treat of purely governmental functions and activities, it does not come within our purview to present the colorful history of those valiant bands of men who composed the volunteer fire companies of Trenton. Much of interest relating to the old-time fire-fighters, especially on their social side, is contained in the chapter written by Miss Elma Lawson Johnston. To Mr. Kerney in his chapter

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has been given the task of writing of Trenton's paid department of recent years. Consequently the present narration must be confined, more or less, to a bare recital of the official acts and processes of the municipal government in relation to the fire department.

EARLY FIRE COMPANIES INDEPENDENT

The early fire companies, with their strength of membership and their sway over public opinion, were much of a law unto themselves. The city government stood apart and permitted the public safety problem of fires to be handled by these citizen bands, serving voluntarily and with a high sense of public duty. In the matter of fire prevention, however, the city government did take some action. An ordinance passed January 28, 1797, provided that if the chimney of any householder "shall be seen to blaze out of the top thereof, unless the roof of the House is covered with Snow, or sufficiently wet with snow or rain, or during the time of a fall of snow or rain," such householder was to be fined two dollars and costs unless the fire occurred within a month after the chimney had been swept. Chimney sweepers were subject to a fine of one dollar if any chimney they had swept within the month caught fire. The same ordinance provided that stovepipes "fixed through any parts of Houses" were to be "two inches clear of any wood," and were to project eighteen inches beyond the house.

On September 28, 1805, Common Council also appointed a committee to make inquiry as to "the most convenient, the most practicable and the least expensive mode of procuring and establishing a sufficient supply of water, in case of fire in the city."

Yet it was fifty-four years after the incorporation of the city before the fire department was placed under an organization plan. On May 5, 1846, Common Council passed an ordinance entitled "An ordinance organizing and regulating the fire department of the City of Trenton." A chief engineer, two assistants and eight fire wardens were provided for under this measure which also took under its control and authority the officers and men of all the fire companies. The chief engineer was clothed with "sole and absolute control and command" at all fires; he was required to inspect the engine houses and apparatus each

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year and make report to Council. Every three months he was required to inspect all fire-plugs, the repair of which came under the control of himself and of the fire department committee of Common Council, as well as the repairs to apparatus. Council was also required to appoint annually four fire wardens from each ward whose duty it was, in case of fire, to aid in procuring a supply of water, to remove goods from burning buildings and to preserve order. The city marshal and city constables were required to respond to all alarms "with their staves of office" and to maintain the peace. Fire companies were limited to a roster of forty men who were under compulsion of ordinance to attend all fires. For department members three absences from fires in the year meant expulsion. The engineers and fire wardens were required to wear a leather cap at fires, the engineers' being painted white and the wardens' having a black brim and white crown. The members of the department were exempt from paying "all personal and household tax."

The 1846 ordinance having become the subject of dissatisfaction, Council on October 9, 1854, passed another ordinance providing for a chief engineer and an assistant engineer from each fire company, all of whom were to be known as a "board of engineers," which elected the chief engineer and the two assistant engineers. The engineer representing each company was elected by the company membership. The company membership was raised to seventy for each engine company but remained at forty for hose companies; there was stipulated a membership of thirty for hook and ladder companies. The ordinance passed March 26, 1866, was in the main similar to that of 1854, but a supplement passed on September 5, 1868, provided for two instead of three assistant engineers, one to reside north and the other south of the creek, a provision that was calculated to allay the discontent prevailing among the fire companies south of the creek. This ordinance gave to the chief engineer a salary of \$400 a year and \$100 to the assistant engineers. The ordinance passed March 7, 1871, provided for an annual appropriation of \$1,200 to each engine company and \$600 to each hose company. By ordinance of May 7, 1872, Common Council became vested with the authority of appointing the chief engineer and the two

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assistants. Each company was required to keep 800 feet of hose on hand for use, the hose to be "composed of good leather." Standardized hose couplings were required.

A PERIOD OF MARKED ADVANCEMENT

The decade following the institution of the 1874 city charter was signalized by marked advancement in the fire department. The system of department control and management was improved, new engines replaced the old apparatus and the intense company rivalries were reduced to a point where the whole department could function as a well-ordered unit. There were times when the competitive spirit of the companies flared up but this disorganizing influence was not as rampant as formerly. The ordinance of October 16, 1888, inaugurated a number of changes in the department. A fire-fighting force of nine steam engines, two hose companies and two hook-and-ladder companies was provided. The chief engineer and two assistants comprised "the board of engineers of the fire department." Each of the engine companies received an annual appropriation of \$1,800 from Council, and the hose and hook-and-ladder companies \$1,000 each.

The board of fire commissioners took over the control of the department on their organization, May 14, 1889. The fire department suspended service, August 9 to 11, 1890, over dissatisfaction in several companies relative to maintenance appropriations. With the understanding that a paid department should not be effected until June 1891, the department again functioned.

The paid fire department of Trenton went into service on April 5, 1892, under the provisions of an ordinance passed September 19, 1891, which provided for apparatus consisting of nine steam engines, eleven hose carriages and two hook-and-ladder trucks.

Philip Freudenmacher, the last chief of the old department, served for twenty-four hours as the first chief of the new department, an honorary designation in recognition of his past services. He was succeeded as chief by William McGill. From the time of the passage of the ordinance of October 9, 1854, the chief engineers of the volunteer fire department were as follows:

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CHIEF ENGINEERS AND FIRE CHIEFS

John P. Kennedy, William J. Idell, Jonathan S. Fish, Charles Moore, John G. Gummere, Samuel P. Parham, A. S. Livingston, Levi J. Bibbins,⁹ Charles C. Yard (1870); John A. Weart (1871-72); Thomas E. Boyd (1873-74); William Ossenbergh (1875-79); Edwin S. Mitchell (1880-81); Charles A. Fuhrman (1882-83); Edwin S. Mitchell (1884-85); Thomas Saxton (1886-87); Philip Freudenmacher (1888-92).

William McGill, the first active chief of the paid department, served from April 6, 1892, until his death on January 25, 1901. On February 1, 1901, Charles S. Allen succeeded to the vacancy, serving until August 19, 1911, when he retired on pension. James W. Bennett was acting chief until October 23, 1911, when he was appointed chief. He retired on January 10, 1921, having reached the age of 65 years. Jeremiah McGill, son of the former fire chief, William McGill, became acting chief on the retirement of James W. Bennett and was appointed chief on June 1, 1921, which position he still holds.

(For accounts of the City Board of Health, Outdoor Relief, and the Municipal Colony, see Chapter IX, below, "Charitable Institutions, Public Welfare and Social Agencies.")

⁹ Raum, *History of Trenton*, from whom the list of early chiefs is quoted, does not give the years of service.

CHAPTER VIII

Churches and Religious Institutions

PREPARED UNDER THE EDITORIAL SUPERVISION OF
HAMILTON SCHUYLER

I. Foreword

THE editor responsible for the religious section included in this history has sought the cooperation of the men he deemed best qualified to prepare an historical sketch of the respective communions. While he has exercised editorial supervision over the manuscripts solicited by and submitted to him and gone carefully over them with the writers, and in some instances suggested additions and modifications, the history as prepared by the various writers who have generously given their assistance remains substantially as they have written it.

In the case of bodies where none was found who would undertake the task, the editor himself has done the work with such information as he could glean from reliable sources and from interviews with qualified persons.

Appended in some instances to the historical narratives of the various bodies will be found brief biographical sketches of some outstanding figures in the religious life of Trenton during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The principles in accordance with which the selection of the names is made are: (1) the relative length and value of their services in the community; (2) their place in the public esteem; and (3) their prominence in their respective ecclesiastical bodies. Doubtless many more worthy names might have been added but the exigencies of space required the strict limiting of the number.

Under the general denominational title of each main body are listed the names of the several church organizations belonging thereto in the order of their permanent establishment. The space

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available does not in most instances permit more than a brief reference to each of these, with a mention of the names of those who were responsible for their organization.

The beginnings of institutional religious life in the territory now embraced within the City of Trenton found their natural origin in the commendable desire of the adherents of the various ecclesiastical bodies to establish as soon as practical societies and churches for the benefit of themselves and their co-religionists.

The following is the chronological order and approximate date of the foundation of the main bodies represented in Trenton today, but does not take account of earlier informal services.

| | |
|---|------|
| Society of Friends (Chesterfield Monthly Meeting) | 1684 |
| Episcopalians (Church of England) | 1703 |
| Presbyterians | 1712 |
| Methodists | 1771 |
| Baptists | 1805 |
| Roman Catholics | 1814 |
| Lutherans | 1849 |
| Hebrews (Har Sinai) | 1860 |

After the middle of the nineteenth century and more particularly after the beginning of the twentieth, as the population of the town increased and especially as the high tide of immigration from Europe set in, other bodies came into existence, either as recognized branches of churches and societies already established or as new organizations answering to the racial and religious needs of the foreign people settling here. At present there are about one hundred church organizations belonging to the various ecclesiastical bodies, possessing each its own building for worship. Besides these there are miscellaneous bodies either with or without church buildings.

STATISTICS OF PRESENT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

The following statistics were furnished by representatives of the bodies here listed:

| | | | |
|---------------------|----|---------------|-------------------|
| Roman Catholics | 19 | Congregations | 48,990 |
| Presbyterians | 13 | " | 6,808 |
| Methodists | 13 | " | 4,836 |
| Methodists, Colored | 5 | " | 900 (estimated) |
| Baptists | 11 | " | 4,395 |
| Baptists, Colored | 4 | " | 1,500 (estimated) |
| Lutherans | 10 | " | 3,750 |

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| | | | |
|------------------------|----|---|-------------------|
| Episcopalians | 11 | " | 3,335 |
| Episcopalians, Colored | 1 | " | 97 |
| Society of Friends | 2 | " | 340 |
| Jews | 6 | " | 6,000 (estimated) |
| Unclassified | 7 | " | no figures |

The unclassified group includes one congregation each of Christian Science, Unitarian and Evangelical, besides one each of four different foreign-speaking peoples.

The Roman Catholics include in their figures all units of family groups affiliated with the church, infants as well as adults.

The Protestant bodies include in their stated membership only those individuals whose names are officially enrolled in the records of the congregation and do not count infants or those who may be reckoned as adherents through attendance at the services or by family association. The addition of this class would probably more than double the number of those who receive ministrations from these bodies.

There are twenty-four congregations of foreign-speaking or bilingual peoples. Of these ten are Roman Catholic with a total estimated membership of 30,635, besides one Greek Catholic of extra-diocesan jurisdiction and thirteen of other faiths. The Lutherans include four, the Baptists two, the Presbyterians two and the Episcopalians one. Other congregations are a Magyar Reformed, a Ukrainian Orthodox, a Greek Orthodox and a Polish National Catholic outside the Roman obedience.

SOME DEFUNCT CONGREGATIONS

From time to time minor religious bodies not connected with any of the existing church institutions were formed, had a precarious life, and finally disappeared. Among such was a Universalist society which was organized in 1843 and continued for ten or twelve years. This society never erected a building but held its services in the City Hall. Another society of Adventists or Second Adventists known as "Messiah Church," being a branch of a congregation in Morrisville, was established in 1863. A small church was erected on Clay Street near Market and dedicated in 1864. This building was sold in 1871 to the Evangelical Lutheran Christ Church and subsequently destroyed

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by fire. The Messiah Congregation in 1873 built a new church at Front and Montgomery Streets which in turn was sold in 1902 to the Lutheran Church of the Saviour.

Reference is elsewhere made to a Dutch Reformed Congregation which came into existence about 1840 and was dissolved some three years later. This congregation held its services in the building on Front Street which subsequently came into the possession of the Methodists who afterwards sold it to the congregation of St. Francis' Roman Catholic Church by whom it is occupied today.

NOTE: Since these pages were in type, some recent changes in pastorates and in the personnel of church officials may possibly have occurred which it was not practical to rectify in the historical sketches as they appear in this chapter.

II. The Society of Friends—1684

BY MARC P. DOWDELL

THE initial formal religious activities in and about Trenton were undertaken by members of the Society of Friends as early as 1684.

Sundry members of the Society who had landed at Burlington in 1678 soon pushed on towards "Ye ffalles of Ye De-la-Warr" to take up land in the neighborhood. Scattered clumps of log houses sprang up quickly in the region which centered loosely around Crosswicks and soon extended to the mouth of the Assunpink Creek where Mahlon Stacy had settled and built a grist mill in 1679.¹

It should be explained at the outset that the Society of Friends in Trenton was from the beginning affiliated with the Monthly Meeting which had its headquarters at Crosswicks and was known as the "Chesterfield Meeting." This was the center from which for many years radiated the Quaker influence and activities operating in this section of New Jersey. The history of the Chesterfield Meeting includes therefore that of the Trenton Meeting which cannot properly be isolated from it.

¹ See Chap. I, "The Colonial Period," above.

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THE ORIGINAL CHESTERFIELD MEETING

By August 1684, temporal affairs were sufficiently advanced for the Friends to meet together for worship at the home of Francis Davenport, their spiritual leader, at Chesterfield, or Crosswicks as it is now known, and to establish the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting of Friends. The original minute book of this meeting, now preserved among the records at the Trenton Meeting House, Hanover and Montgomery Streets, contains a paean of praise to God for His blessings in leading His people to a place where they could worship Him in peace and after a fashion of their own. This declaration was probably written by Francis Davenport and is signed by him and by John Wileford and William Watson.

On the occasion of this first meeting of Friends Davenport's house was selected as a place of worship and for the transaction of the business of the monthly meeting until otherwise ordered, the day chosen being the first Thursday of each month. Births, burials, and marriage bans were to be recorded at the monthly meeting.

It is on record that Samuel Bunting and Mary Foulkes were the first pair to signify their intention of marriage. Their bans were published on September 9, 1684, and the marriage was solemnized according to good order and the custom of Friends on September 18, following. Witnesses at the Bunting wedding numbered most of the original settlers. They were:

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Thomas Foulkes, Sr. | Robert Murfin | John Tomlinson |
| Thomas Foulkes, Jr. | Peter Fettwell | Sarah Davenport |
| Job Bunting | Thomas Lambert | Esther Gilberthorpe |
| Francis Davenport | Samuel Sykes | Mary Wright |
| Thomas Gilberthorpe | John Curtis | Elizabeth Curtis |

The first direct evidence that a considerable settlement of Friends existed at the Falls, or Trenton, appears in the action taken November 7, 1685, when the first death occurred among the colonists, that of John Brown. This brought a decision by the Society to establish burying grounds both at the Falls and at Chesterfield.

John Lambert granted a portion of his estate at the Falls for this purpose. The plot was used by Friends for a long period, finally becoming a part of the present Riverview Cemetery. The trustees named to accept Lambert's gift were: William Emley, Thomas Lambert, John Wileford, Joseph Wright, Mahlon Stacy, and Joseph Eby. All of these are presumably to be included among Trenton's earliest settlers.

At the same monthly meeting the settlers at the Falls were given permission to establish a branch meeting for week-day worship each Thursday. They were to meet in rotation at the homes of Mahlon Stacy, Thomas Lambert, Samuel Sikes, and William Black.

That there were non-Quaker settlers in the community at least as early as 1686 is established by the fact that on April 4, 1686, Alice Fulwood asked the monthly meeting to grant her permission to wed a non-Quaker. This was reluctantly given and Mary Andrews and Sarah Davenport were appointed to see that the Friends ceremony was used. The wedding took place on May 1, 1686, but Alice was too staunch in her upbringing to be comfortable, and on June 5 following she confessed in Meeting to an uneasy conscience for her act.

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On June 5, 1686, John Lambert asked permission to wed Rebecca Clower, daughter of John Clower of the Pennsylvania Falls Meeting, for which permission was granted July 2.

In July 1686 the Quakers organized their first local charity. A store of corn at Stacy's Mill was provided under the administration of John Wileford, for the assistance of Friends who had met with misfortune. This action was determined by a fire which destroyed Robert Shelby's home, and Thomas Lambert and Mahlon Stacy were sent to inquire of Shelby if he was in need of help.

Trenton's first representative to the yearly meeting, which then met alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington, was Mahlon Stacy, who with William Biddle of Crosswicks was deputized to attend that held in Burlington on July 8, 1686.

A readjustment of places of meeting was effected on May 5, 1690, when it was determined that the monthly meeting should gather in turn at the home of Francis Davenport, Chesterfield; then at Edward Rockhill's, Chesterfield; at Thomas Lambert's, Nottingham; at Robert Murfin's, Nottingham; at William Biddle's, Chesterfield; and finally at Mahlon Stacy's, at the Falls, and then in rotation down the list again. By this arrangement it would appear that the membership was about evenly divided geographically between Chesterfield and the settlement at the Falls, or Trenton, for Thomas Lambert's estate, on the bluff overlooking the river just below the Falls, is spoken of as being at Nottingham, but subsequently became a part of Trenton.

A MEETING HOUSE BUILT

On January 5, 1691, it was proposed that two meeting houses be built, one at Chesterfield and the other at the Falls. Discussion came up at each successive meeting until June 6 when it was decided that only one meeting house should be built for the present and this at Chesterfield. On November 11 of the same year definite action was taken and Davenport, Samuel Andrews, William Wood, Samuel Bunting, and Thomas Gilberthorpe were appointed to secure estimates on the cost of building the proposed structure. Nothing more appears on the record until October 4, 1692, when John Greene was awarded the contract to build the meeting house. On June 3, 1693, the first meeting was held in the new building.

Apparently Greene rendered a bill for services in excess of expectations, for on November 4 it was recorded that the meeting had reasoned with him and, according to agreement, had paid him £40 for materials, £1 for his work, and 2s. overage. At the same time Davenport reported that he had paid 6s. 8d. for the lime used and had £4 11s. 1d. left in his hands.

LEGAL AND DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

Light on the attitude of the Friends towards the sale of liquor is cast by a minute dated March 5, 1687, when the meeting was informed that one of its members, John Bainbridge, had been selling rum to Indians. John Bunting and Samuel Sykes were appointed to remonstrate with the offender. At the following monthly meeting, April 2, Friends Sykes and Bunting reported that the rum had been sold by John Bunting, Jr., who, at the time of their visit had been hard and defiant. At a quarterly meeting, which

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had been held in the interim, John had been present and at that time, so Sykes and Bunting reported, "the Power of the Lord broke his spirit" and he had confessed to Samuel Bunting his determination to abstain from the practice.

For many years subsequent to their original settlement the Quakers shunned all courts of law. They had had enough of these proceedings with their corresponding penalties in the mother country. Hence the Society insisted on settling all differences arising among its own membership and if any member failed to accede to the terms of settlement he suffered summary expulsion, and then only the offended member was permitted to appeal to the courts of the Colony for justice.

The first case for settlement before the Chesterfield Meeting was recorded on December 8, 1684, when Robert Murfin and William Black reported the need for an arbitrator. Robert Wilson was appointed to hear the testimony and make a decision. On January 5, 1685, Wilson reported that the difference had been settled to the satisfaction of both parties.

In November 1697 came the first of a long series of expulsions when Esther Gilberthorpe, wife of one who had been most prominent in meeting affairs, was read out for "scandalous gossiping." Thomas, her husband, thereafter absented himself from meeting. In 1699 a committee was sent to reason with him but without avail and he was the second to be dropped from the rolls. Gilberthorpe was carried as a member until 1703 when the Friends finally whipped themselves up to a public denunciation of him.

By this time a new wilderness-raised generation was coming on to plague the old zealots in their endeavors to maintain the traditional Quaker discipline. It is on record that several of the young bloods—Richard Fréñch, Thomas Curtis, and David Curtis—were forced to apologize publicly for "rowdy conduct." The Society thenceforth found its attempt to regulate the private lives of its members a most difficult task, and it is a tribute to the unbending fortitude of the leaders that they did not cease their attempts to disown those whom they considered to be unworthy until they thereby had reduced the Society's place among the religious bodies of the era from a dominant position to a quite minor one.

A NEW STRUCTURE PLANNED

The original meeting house, built in 1692 at Crosswicks, was found to be inadequate for its purpose and a new structure requiring forty thousand bricks was determined upon in 1706. Davenport and Wood entered into a contract with William Mott for the required number of bricks at a stipulated price of £40.

On November 11, following, the bricks were reported as having been made and Samuel Bunting, Davenport, Wood, William Tantum, Thomas Lambert, and Robert Wilson were named the building committee. Tantum was hired to do the carpenter work and John Farnsworth was sent to Burlington to buy two hundred bushels of lime. Tantum and Lambert agreed to furnish the shingles.

Early in 1707 Francis Davenport died and the meeting lost its first leader. Samuel and John Bunting thenceforth were to hold joint possession of the records, and, by implication, to assume the leadership of the meeting.

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OTHER MEETINGS ESTABLISHED

In 1709 the first of the distant meetings recognizing the authority of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting was established at Little Egg Harbor and a small meeting house was built. Six years later, in 1715, this branch was strong enough to become a monthly meeting itself.

Stony Brook Meeting House was the next to be built by the Chesterfield Meeting, a stone structure 34 feet by 30 feet being agreed upon on May 2, 1724, at a cost of £150. Some months later, on January 4, 1725, Tantum and Lambert, the building committee, reported that the cost would reach £200 and subscriptions to this amount were asked. This meeting house is still standing on the historic Princeton battlefield.

The growth of the Chesterfield Meeting was rapid from that time forward and in 1727 collections were being taken for the building of still another meeting house at Springfield, near Mount Holly.

THE EARLY STAND AGAINST SLAVERY

Friends took an early stand against slavery. In 1730 we find that the members of Chesterfield Monthly Meeting were holding prolonged and anxious discussions over a question submitted to them by the yearly meeting, and on July 3 Benjamin Clark, Thomas Lambert, and Isaac Horner were appointed to draw up a reply.

At the next meeting the paper was ready for approval and was duly recorded. It read:

"This Meeting having considered the proposal of some Friends to our last Quarterly Meeting to restrict Friends from purchasing Negroes imported into these parts. It is the sense of this Meeting that as Friends both here and elsewhere have been in the practice of it for some time past and many Friends differing in their opinions from others in that matter we think restricting Friends at this time and bringing such as fall into the same thing under dealing as offenders will not be convenient lest it create contention and uneasiness among them, which should be carefully avoided. We hope those Friends that are dissatisfied with such actings will not only be exemplary but in a Christian spirit persuade against a practice so contrary to that Noble Rule laid down in Holy Scriptures in doing to all as they would that they should do to us.

Signed by order and in behalf of
said meeting by Thomas Lambert."

Conservative ideas prevailed in 1730 in the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, but abhorrence for slavery had crept in and less than a score of years afterwards the Society had purged itself of participation in the slave traffic and was preparing for that long campaign against it which finally led up to the Civil War and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

In October 1731, Friends at Bethlehem, near Belvidere, set up a branch of the Chesterfield Meeting with Charles Wolverton and Daniel Robins as overseers appointed at Chesterfield and reporting there.

ANOTHER MEETING HOUSE BUILT

Mansfield meeting house was the next to be built, Joseph Pancoast and Isaac Horner being appointed to receive subscriptions for it in April of 1732.

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The claims of Trenton as a center were again put forward in 1734 and, in April of that year, a group headed by Isaac Harrow was given permission to hold meetings there on First Days (Sundays), for a trial period of six months. Bordentown friends received the same recognition in November following.

In 1736 a general subscription for some unreported purpose was ordered taken and the listing of those appointed to take funds shows the number of branches of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting then existing. These were located at Chesterfield, Springfield, Mansfield, Stony Brook, Bethlehem, and Trenton. For some unknown reason the Bordentown group was omitted from this list, although at the monthly meeting of September 1736 Isaac Horner, Richard French, William Morris, Joshua Wright and Marmaduke Watson were appointed to treat with Joseph Borden for land for a meeting house at Bordentown.

In October 1736, Samuel Satterthwaite, Benjamin Shreve, Thomas Newbold, Benjamin Clark, Jr., Ananiah Gaunt, and Joseph Gardiner were appointed to receive two parcels of land from Borden, one for a meeting house and the other for a burying ground. On May 7, 1737, the deeds were executed.

PROJECT FOR A MEETING HOUSE AT TRENTON REVIVED

About the year 1730 the group of Friends living at Trenton or Trent Town, as it was then called, acquired a new leader in the person of William Morris who came thither from Barbadoes and apparently established him-



FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, CORNER OF EAST HANOVER AND MONTGOMERY SREETS, BUILT 1739. SOMEWHAT ENLARGED AND MODERNIZED, IT STILL SERVES ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSE.

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self as an importer of West Indian products, probably sugar and rum, and, perhaps, slaves. Morris soon was a recognized leader in the monthly meeting and was chosen to attend quarterly and yearly meetings and appointed on various special committees. It was he, doubtless, who revived the project for a meeting house at Trenton, for on December 2, 1737, he, with Isaac Horner, headed a delegation asking permission to build the structure.

The following month Joseph Reckless, clerk of the monthly meeting, was ordered to draw a deed for a meeting house plot in Trenton. It was to be conveyed by William Morris to Benjamin Smith, Stacy Beakes, William Plasket, Joseph De Cow, Nathan Beakes and Isaac Watson. John Tantum and Benjamin Smith were named overseers to supervise the transaction. On August 5 Reckless reported that the deeds had been completed for the meeting house and burial plot in Trenton.

The committee in charge at once proceeded to erect the building, the work being completed in November 1739, when William Morris made application for subscriptions, saying that he had expended £25 or £30 in excess of the money in hand.

Meanwhile the building of another meeting house had been authorized "near the home of Robert Lawrence." For some reason Friends were not satisfied with the location they had acquired for the Bordentown meeting house, and Thomas Potts, Jr., and Preserve Brown, Jr., were authorized to see Borden in an effort to exchange the plot for one across the street from it. This was done and the transfer effected. The building of the Bordentown meeting house was begun in 1742.

SHRINKAGE IN MEMBERSHIP

In 1743 the meeting at Bethlehem broke away from the parent monthly meeting and became an independent monthly meeting. Prior to this dissolution, the Chesterfield Meeting embraced nine meeting houses which were scattered from Mount Holly (Upper Springfield) to Bethlehem, near Belvidere. It is estimated that the total membership of the Chesterfield Meeting just before the Revolutionary War numbered about eight thousand. The present membership of Friends within the same area is probably fewer than one thousand, despite the vast increase in population.

Doubtless the chief reason for this shrinkage lies in the fact that the Society set itself firmly against the tendency to exalt worldly advantage as opposed to the old Quaker simplicity. Friends were not given to compromise. When they believed a thing was wrong they opposed it at whatever cost. The Quaker equivalent of excommunication, "disownment," received its first use, as noted before, against a family which had been one of its honored founders in the wilderness. After the original leaders died off, "disownment" began to be used much more frequently and ruthlessly.

OPPOSITION TO "WORLDLINESS"

In 1724 the Society's concern for the spiritual purity of its membership resulted in the following minute being published:

This Meeting, having considered the great love of God in gathering His Church to the true knowledge of Himself, are careful that all members of it be under their immediate care and therefore think it necessary to recommend to such Faithful Friends as this

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meeting approves of for that service to have the oversight and regard to the actions and practices of such as pretend to be of us and use their seasonable endeavors by way of advice, reproof, etc., as occasion may require and advise this meeting as they find cause.

John Tantum, Isaac Horner and Benjamin Clark were named as the first elders and were commissioned to attend meetings of ministering Friends then being organized by the yearly and quarterly meetings.

The opposition to "worldliness," of which the above was a symptom, brought an ever-growing stream of charges and disownments of those who chose to lead their lives rather in keeping with the general spirit of the community than in conformity to the notions of conduct as laid down by their elders.

In 1745 England was engaged in one of her numerous wars with France and Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, first Burgess of Trenton, the friend of Benjamin Franklin and the founder of Trenton's first public library, was moved by his patriotism to join with others in fitting out a privateer warship. His membership in the Society ceased from the moment his shocked fellow members could act. Here is the indictment they drew up against him:

Whereas it appears to this meeting that Thomas Cadwalader is concerned in privateering vessels contrary to our ancient testimony and the discipline established among Friends and it appears he hath been tenderly cautioned and dealt with from time to time in order to bring him to a sense of his undue liberty, but he refusing to give such satisfaction as the offense requires, therefore this meeting appoints Isaac Horner and Marmaduke Watson to draw a paper of testification against the said Thomas Cadwalader and his practice and to declare him out of unity with us as a Society until he shall give satisfaction to this meeting suitable to the offense.

TRAVELLING MINISTERS

The period of the 1740's marked the rise of a system of voluntary travelling ministers who ranged up and down the countryside, living at the homes of the more well-to-do members of the Society and preaching on Sundays. These travelling ministers bore as credentials letters from their home meetings, testifying that their messages were in "unity" with Friends' principles. Nearly every meeting had, at some time or other, one or more of these travelling ministers and it was through them that the Society, as a whole, was led to take the vigorous stand on such moral questions as slavery and rum selling. Among the earlier travelling Friends bearing the credentials of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting were Jacob Andrews, Joshua Shreve, and John Sykes.

THE "WOMEN'S MEETING"

By 1753 the Chesterfield Meeting House at Crosswicks needed enlargement to care for the "Women's Meeting." A 16-foot addition was thereupon authorized. Among Friends it had been customary for the men and women to sit in separate sections of the meeting houses on Sundays and to meet entirely separately for the transaction of business, committees from each sex arranging the details of questions involving the meeting as a whole.

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This, perhaps, was the first recognition of woman suffrage in America and of her status as an individual apart from her husband.

The first woman to be recognized as a minister and elder of the Chesterfield Meeting was Margaret Porter, who was so named in 1760.

MANY "DISOWNMENTS"

A resumption of military activities by the Colony in 1756 brought a recurrence of disownments for participation by Friends. Joseph Thorne, Aaron Quickes, Francis Key, Marmaduke Bunting, John Schooley, John Shrieve, and Daniel Shrieve were youths who suffered this fate. Samuel Farnsworth was disowned for challenging a squad of soldiers near Bordentown to fight, by which it would appear that Farnsworth must have been a mighty man of valor, akin to one of Dumas' fire-eaters.

Two members of the Stockton family of Princeton suffered disownment in 1758. Amy Stockton had married her cousin contrary to rule and was disowned in April. The following month Daniel Stockton was found guilty of military service and of marrying outside of the meeting. Benjamin Thorn and Clement Rockhill were "dealt with" for military service. In July Abigail Schooley was disowned for the heinous offense of visiting her husband in a military camp. November brought the disownment of John Thorne for teaching the elements of military drill to William Black and Benjamin Field. December brought disownment to Joseph Bunting for training Francis Borden and Samuel Allen in military principles.

The following year brought more disownments to the Stockton family when Samuel was read out of meeting for fighting, militarism and marrying contrary to discipline.

With clouds of the Revolutionary War darkening the horizon the Friends were whirled irresistibly into dissension. Many of the younger men were sympathetic towards the cause of the Colonies. Their elders, in common with a large proportion of the more substantial citizens, abhorred the idea of a revolution which involved a bloody war fought at their doorsteps with a traditionally invincible mother country. Moreover, the conscientious members of the Society were convinced beyond any chance of conversion that war on any pretext was an inexcusable offense against the Almighty.

It thus came about that the Society took a firm stand against participation. Disownments for military activities were redoubled, the penalty being invoked against active Tories or patriots. Only a public confession of error before the meeting could excuse members embroiled on either side.

Not all of the "disowned" Quakers were patriots. Many of them, perhaps the larger number, were loyalists. They came of prosperous families who were satisfied with the established order and who looked upon the Revolution as "Rabbleism," as did many members of the propertied classes in other Colonies. And thus as loyalists, they hastened to join the British Army in Canada.

But the Revolution was the beginning of a steady decline in the membership of the Society of Friends. Meetings ceased to grow and many of the old places of worship had to be "laid down."

Many Quakers salved their consciences and the demands of the meeting by submitting more or less cheerfully to levies on their properties imposed by the new government for failure to take the oath of allegiance. Stacy

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Potts, who led in the searching out of military offenders, was himself fined £100 and submitted to seizure of goods to that value by the sheriff.

THE "HICKSITES"

Following the Revolution the Society resumed its campaign for the abolition of slavery, a campaign which helped to foment another and equally terrible war. But before that campaign had borne fruit another crisis within the body had to be faced. This was the famous doctrinal controversy precipitated by the preaching of Elias Hicks of New York, one of the itinerant preachers who travelled from meeting to meeting.

In 1827 this controversy reached the breaking point. Separation took place in a number of meetings, among them the Chesterfield Meeting. In Trenton the meeting house was retained by the "Hicksites." In Stony Brook, on the contrary, the Orthodox succeeded in the legal maneuvering which retained ownership for them. A famous lawsuit resulted,¹ one which has set precedents cited to this very day in the courts of New Jersey and other States.

In 1873 the Hicksite Friends of Trenton enlarged the original meeting house at Hanover and Montgomery Streets and changed its aspect considerably. Some of the original walls built in 1738-39 are incorporated in the present structure.

It is noteworthy that three Signers of the Declaration of Independence were members of families associated with the Chesterfield Meeting. These were George Clymer of Morrisville, whose body is buried in the Hanover Street Meeting House yard, Richard Stockton of Princeton and Joseph Hewes of North Carolina.

QUAKERS AS OFFICE-HOLDERS

Owing to the original Quaker settlement in these parts, members of the Society of Friends naturally had a share in local civic affairs in the early days. Mahlon Stacy served as justice of the peace and member of the Colonial Assembly from 1684 to 1699; Thomas Lambert served as a justice for several terms as did also Peter Fretwell. The latter was also Provincial treasurer in 1699. William Biddle served as commissioner, justice, assemblyman and member of the Council. William Emley was a justice, registrar of the Ninth Tenth, member of the Assembly and of the Council. Joshua Wright served several terms as an assemblyman. Robert Murfin and John Lambert were constables.

George Hutchinson was an assemblyman, member of Council, and Colonial treasurer. John Hooton, elected to the Assembly, failed to take his seat and was fined twenty shillings. Thomas Folke, Jr., was appointed a ranger. Anthony Woodward, John Abbott, William Wood, Richard Stockton, I, John Wilkinson, Richard Ridgway, Joseph Kirkbride, Roger Park, William Watson and Thomas Folke, Jr., were named to various offices during the first fifty years of the Colony's history. Francis Davenport, however, was the original of the famous "Pooh Bah" of Gilbert and Sullivan's opera, holding at one and the same time the offices of high sheriff of Burlington County, justice of the peace of Somerset, Essex, Bergen, Gloucester, Burlington, Salem, Cape May, Monmouth and Middlesex Counties.

¹ See under "Famous Cases Tried in Trenton," Hendrickson vs. DeCow, in Chap. XII, below.

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He was also an assemblyman at various times, and a judge of the higher courts, thus serving continuously in several important offices until his death.

As time went on members of the Society held public office less frequently, partly as a result of the influx of new immigration, and partly, no doubt, owing to the Society's policy of avoiding "worldly things" as much as possible.

Since the Civil War, however, members of the Society have had a share in public office. Former City Commissioner J. Ridgway Fell is an instance in this locality, as also is State Senator A. Crozer Reeves.

MEMBERSHIP A DWINDLING ONE

Though the membership has been a gradually dwindling one, the Quaker leaven of religious tolerance, avoidance of war, personal liberty, popular education and the spirit of benevolence towards all mankind irrespective of color or race has been a patent example and influence in the community. During the Civil War and the reconstruction period, the Trenton Society of Friends united with their associates throughout the country in corporate works of relief, nursing and education. Also in the World War and subsequently in the efforts to provide for the needs of the suffering peoples in war-stricken Europe, the Friends of Trenton have played a conspicuous part.

The present officers of the Hanover Street (Trenton) Meeting (Chesterfield Monthly Meeting) are A. C. Reeves, chairman, and a council associated with him of fifteen others. Overseers of the Trenton Meeting besides Mr. Reeves are Sarah C. Reeves, Arthur E. Moon, Elizabeth B. Satterthwaite, Sarah C. Atkinson, Caroline S. Bamford, Jane H. Armstrong, Mary T. Finley, Norman B. Zimmerman, Cassel R. Ruhlman and Dr. Joseph H. Satterthwaite. Clerks of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting are Jane H. Armstrong, Clara M. Newbold and Helen T. Hollister. The treasurer is Arthur E. Moon, the recorder Elizabeth B. Satterthwaite and the treasurer of the trustees Harvey T. Satterthwaite. The organizations include the Lucretia Mott Parent-Teacher Association, a First Day School, and a study group. The present membership is 282.

The Trenton Meeting is now the most prominent in the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting.

QUAKER SCHOOLS THE FIRST

Friends have been credited with organizing the first schools in Trenton. Occasional instruction was given in members' homes from 1684 to 1786, when the Chesterfield Meeting reported to the Yearly Meeting that schools had been established at convenient places. Thenceforward there were always schools for the children of the members until the establishment of the public school system had made such institutions no longer necessary.

THE ORTHODOX FRIENDS

MERCER STREET

After the great schism of 1827, those who adhered to the old doctrine formed a separate Meeting. Complying with the suggestion of the Courts, the Hanover Street meeting house was surrendered to the Hicksite branch and the Orthodox met until 1856 in what had formerly been a Methodist

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church located at Academy and Broad Streets. Since that time the meetings have been held in the building on Mercer Street. Weekly meetings are held on Sundays and Thursdays. Monthly meetings are held alternately here and in Crosswicks. The Quarterly Meeting, known as the "Burlington and Bucks County," is held in Burlington, and the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, designated as the Yearly Meeting "For Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity."

The present head of the Mercer Street Meeting and the preacher is William Bishop, the clerk is James W. Edgerton, the elders are Ellen P. Reeve, Martha H. Bishop, Sarah E. Wright and Caroline Allison, and the overseers are John R. Hendrickson, Eliza F. Ivens, Mary Anna Hendrickson and James W. Edgerton. There are seventy enrolled members.

III. The Episcopalians—1703

BY THE REVEREND HAMILTON SCHUYLER, LITT.D.,
RECTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH

PREVIOUS to the changes brought about by the war of the American Revolution, the Church of England in the Colony of New Jersey was under the general charge of the Bishop of London, who of course was non-resident and was supported largely by grants from The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts which appointed the missionaries and provided in part for their support. New Jersey was organized as a diocese in 1785 but did not obtain a bishop until 1815, when Dr. John Croes, then rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, was chosen for the office. He was succeeded in 1832 by Dr. George W. Doane who made his home in Burlington. Then came Dr. W. Henry Odenheimer in 1858, under whom the division of the diocese took place in 1874. Up to that time the Diocese of New Jersey included the whole State, but in that year there was a division, the portion from Elizabeth southerly retaining the old name and the northern portion taking the title Diocese of Newark. The first bishop of that portion of the State in which Trenton is located was John Scarborough, 1875, who made Trenton the see city, and where he lived up to the time of his death in 1914. The headquarters of the diocese are in the Diocesan House at 307 Hamilton Avenue. The diocese is organized under the bishop with a Cathedral Foundation composed of clergymen and laymen to which body is committed the

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missionary, educational and social service work. The general legislative body is the Diocesan Convention which meets annually.

THE HOPEWELL CHURCH (CHURCH OF ENGLAND)—1703

Shortly after the coming of Thomas Lambert and Mahlon Stacy to this neighborhood in the year 1679, a group of Church of England families appears to have settled upon plantations adjacent to the Falls of the Delaware both up and down the river. Among these families whose names have come down to us were the Pearsons, the Hutchinsons, the Tyndalls, the Eatons, the Parks and the Heaths. Naturally these families would desire as soon as possible to provide for their religious needs by securing the ministrations of their church and erecting a building for worship.

The Rev. John Talbot, a missionary of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly known by the initials S.P.G., had come to Burlington and gathered a congregation there in 1702, and he also took under his pastoral charge the Church of England families which had settled along the banks of the Delaware River in the neighborhood of the Falls. There is a record of baptisms administered by him in this vicinity and entered in the parish register of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, as early as 1702-03. The names of children of the Park, Hutchinson, Tyndall and Heath families are thus recorded.

A property comprising two acres in Hopewell Township as it then was, and identified today as being a portion of what was recently known as the "Breese farm" on the River Road adjoining the grounds of the State Hospital on the west, was conveyed in 1703 by John Hutchinson out of the extensive holdings of his father Thomas Hutchinson, one of the West Jersey proprietors, to certain others whose names are given in the deed.

The deed to the Hopewell Church property is on record in the office of the secretary of state in Trenton, in Deed Book AAA (pp. 105, 114), and bears date of April 20, 1703. The deed conveys

Two acres of land from John Hutchinson, son of Thomas Hutchinson, to Andrew Heath, Richard Eayre, Abial Davis and Zebulon Heston in trust for the inhabitants of the said township of Hopewell and their successors inhabiting and dwelling within the said township forever, for the public and common use and benefit of the whole township for the erection and building of a public meeting house thereon and also for a place of burial and for no other uses, intents or purposes whatsoever.

The map on the opposite page will show the location of the Hopewell Episcopal Church as also of the Presbyterian Churches in Ewing and Maidenhead.

A CHURCH BUILDING ERECTED, 1704-05

Upon this property in Hopewell township was erected a church building in 1704-05. Nothing is known as to the character of this building, but it was probably a very rude affair, and long before the beginning of the nineteenth century it had utterly disappeared, probably having ceased to be used

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for worship when its successor, St. Michael's Church, was built in Trenton about 1747-48.

A "License to Build," the original of which is in possession of St. Michael's Church today, was issued in 1705 by Richard Ingoldsby, lieutenant governor of the Provinces of New Jersey and New York. In this license it is distinctly stated that the church was for the worship of God "according to the forms and worship of the Church of England as by law established." Thomas Tyndall and Robert Eaton are named as church-wardens and the church was to be called by the name of "Christ Church." The document also sets forth that the minister and vestry of the church are granted "all such power and privileges as the minister, church-wardens and vestry-men usually have and enjoy in the Kingdom of England."

Besides the occasional services rendered by the Rev. John Talbot to the Hopewell congregation in the early days, there is evidence that other clergymen, mostly itinerants, officiated in the church from time to time, but there is no record of the services of a settled minister until a much later period. The Rev. John Sharpe, who came to this country in 1702 and subsequently became chaplain to Lord Cornbury, makes mention in his *Journal* of ministrations to the Hopewell Church under dates November 7, 1705, December 8, 1706, December 9, 1706, and March 10, 1706. On Whitsunday, April 23, 1706, Sharpe records that he preached at Hopewell Church and that Lord Cornbury, the governor of the Province, was present in the congregation.

The names of other itinerants and missionaries who from time to time conducted services and attended to the pastoral needs of the congregation as gleaned from the records of the S.P.G. include the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore 1705-07, the Rev. Mr. May before 1714, the Rev. Thomas Holliday 1714-17, the Rev. Robert Walker, the Rev. William Harrison 1721-23 and the Rev. William Lindsay 1735-45.²

The Hopewell Church property, the legal title to which devolved upon the congregation of St. Michael's Church as the direct heir and successor to this congregation was sold by St. Michael's Church in 1838, the parish retaining only a small section which had been used as a burying ground.

In Hall's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton* (p. 18, 2nd edition, 1912), there is a description of the Hopewell graveyard plot, evidently as Dr. Hall saw it when he published the first edition in 1859.

"The inclosure is made by a stone wall now falling into ruins and has the appearance of having been designed for a family cemetery. The only gravestones remaining are those of Samuel Tucker, 1789, and Mrs. Tucker, 1787, . . . one in memory of John, son of William and Elizabeth Clayton, who died November 6, 1757 (possibly 1737), aged 19 years; another of 'Ma [probably Margaret] the wife of John Dagworthy, Esq., who died May 16, 1729, aged 37 years'; and a few which cannot be deciphered beyond 'Grace Da-' or 'Hend,' etc. It is said that the widow of William Trent, whose name was

² For an extensive account of the Hopewell Church with full reference to documents and authorities, see Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, Chaps. III and IV.

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given to the town, was buried here, but there is no trace of the grave."

Doubtless during the period before the graveyard of St. Michael's Church was established about 1747-48, several generations of Church people were buried in the old Hopewell graveyard, but there remains no record of the names of any such, except of those who were buried in the little plot where lie the remains of Samuel Tucker and a few others.

Since the Tucker plot was originally protected by a stone wall, these



BURIAL PLOT OF SAMUEL TUCKER AND OTHERS. OLD HOPEWELL EPISCOPAL CHURCHYARD. FROM A SKETCH MADE IN 1916.

graves alone have survived the ravages of times, while the others scattered over the original two acres remain unidentified.³

It seems to be certain that Mary Trent, the widow of William Trent, from whom Trenton took its name, the record of whose death appears in the parish register of St. Michael's Church under date "December 15, 1772, 83 years," was buried in the old Hopewell graveyard. The author of

³ See Appendix I, No. 5, *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton.*

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A History of St. Michael's Church gives his reasons for believing that Mary Trent elected to be buried there because the body of her distinguished husband who died in 1724 was likewise interred in that graveyard. Of this fact there is no direct proof, but it is known that William Trent was interested in the Hopewell Church and in all probability after making Trenton his home in 1720 was a regular worshipper there up to the time of his death in Trenton, December 25, 1724.⁴

ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH (SUCCESSOR TO THE HOPEWELL CHURCH)

NORTH WARREN STREET

The date when St. Michael's parish as such came into being and a church building was erected in Trenton cannot be precisely determined. It is known that a deed for the property (deed missing since 1755) was given by John



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, NORTH WARREN STREET, AS IT APPEARS TODAY.
ORIGINAL BUILDING ERECTED 1747-48.

Coxe, son of Colonel Daniel Coxe, previous to 1748. The land had been bought by John Coxe at a sheriff's sale in 1742, the price paid being £48 10s. This land on which the church building stands was a portion of the property

⁴ See Appendix I, No. 4, "The Burial Place of William and Mary Trent," *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*.

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included in the original purchase by William Trent from Mahlon Stacy, Jr., in 1714.⁵

A church building was erected certainly by the early autumn of 1748, since Peter Kalm in his *Travels into North America* noted its presence in giving a short description of Trenton under the date of October 28, 1748. How the parish got its title "St. Michael's" does not appear, but the probabilities are that such was done because it was upon the Festival of St. Michael which falls upon September 29 that the cornerstone was laid or the church perhaps dedicated. The minutes of the vestry which have been preserved from 1755 onwards throw no light upon the subject nor tell anything as to the character of the building or its cost. The title, St. Michael's Church, does not appear upon the minutes of the vestry until 1761, references being to the "English Church" or simply the "Church" in contradistinction to dissenting places of worship which were in those days commonly termed "meeting houses."

A lottery "for raising Three Hundred and Ninety-three pounds fifteen shillings for finishing and completing the Church in said town" (Trenton) was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 20, 1751, but the lottery does not appear to have been drawn until the late spring of 1752.⁶

The earliest indication as to the personnel of the leading members of the church is found in the list of the managers of the lottery advertised in 1751, "for finishing the church in Trenton." Of the following names, those marked * indicate persons whose names are subsequently found on the roll of the vestry of St. Michael's Church.

1751, June 20 (*Advertisement*), *Colonial Documents 1677-1776*
Trenton Lottery for finishing Church in said town to be drawn under the management of *Robert Pearson, *Robert Lettis Hooper, *John Allen, David Dunbar, *Elijah Bond, *John Dagworthy, Jr., Daniel Biles and *William Pidgeon and *Daniel Coxe in Hopewell and John Berrian in Rocky Hill.⁷

In 1757 a petition for the erection of a barracks was presented to the General Assembly of the Province, "by Magistrates, Freeholders and inhabitants of the Town of Trenton." Among the signers are the following, who were then or subsequently became, members of St. Michael's vestry:

Joseph Higbee, Charles Axford, J. Warrell, Jno. Barnes, Thomas Barnes, Abraham Cottnam, and there also appears the name of Michael Houdin, at that time the resident minister of St. Michael's. The same and other names appear on similar petitions, viz.: Dan Coxe, William Pidgeon, John Dagworthy, R. L. Hooper.

In the "Act for Building the Barracks," passed April 15, 1758, also appear the names of two other vestrymen—John Allen and Richard Saltar.⁸

The earliest settled minister of St. Michael's Church seems to have been the Rev. Michael Houdin, who assumed charge of the congregation about 1750 in response to an invitation from the church people of Trenton. He remained here for about seven years.

⁵ See *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, p. 44.

⁶ *ibid.*, Appendix J, p. 345.

⁷ *ibid.*, Appendix J.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 84, 85.

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Other missionaries serving St. Michael's Church up to the period of the War of Independence were the Rev. Augur Treadwell, from 1762 to the time of his death in Trenton, August 19, 1765; the Rev. William Thompson, 1769 to 1773; and the Rev. George Pantton, who was in charge when the war broke out, and being a Tory sympathizer was compelled to flee the town after the Declaration of Independence. He was subsequently commissioned as Chaplain of the Prince of Wales American Regiment and at the conclusion of peace went to Nova Scotia as S.P.G. missionary at Yarmouth.⁹

THE CHURCH CLOSED DURING THE REVOLUTION

Owing to the excited state of public feeling directed against everything British which the War of the Revolution brought to a head, the vestry of St. Michael's Church, several of whom were prominent Tories, passed a resolution Sunday, July 7, 1776, the day before the Declaration of Independence was publicly read from the steps of the Court House, and voted to close the church for an indefinite period.

Besides the rector, one of the wardens and three at least of the vestrymen held pronounced loyalist views and subsequently took an active part on the British side. All these who survived the war went into permanent exile with their families. The church was closed and all services suspended for a period of seven years. The church building and furniture suffered great damage, at the hands of both armies, as each in turn occupied the town. The church building was used as a barracks by the Hessian troops for some days previous to the Battle of Trenton and was subsequently occupied as a hospital by the Continentals.

A bill for damage to the property was filed by the parish authorities in 1782, the inventory showing losses and destruction amounting to £173 4s. There is nothing to show that this claim was ever paid.¹⁰

Upon the conclusion of peace, a meeting of the congregation was held January 4, 1783, and a resolution to open the church and resume the services was adopted. The next twenty-five or thirty years were years of struggle and financial stress. The parish was depleted in members and had lost many of its staunchest supporters through the exodus of loyalists. It was difficult to maintain the services owing to the scarcity of clergy and the lack of funds to provide for their maintenance. With the exception of the Rev. William Frazer, who became rector in 1788 and served until his death July 6, 1795, and the Rev. Henry Waddell, who began his ministry in 1798 and died in office January 20, 1811, all the rectorates up to 1836 were of brief duration. Often the parish was without a settled clergyman and had to depend upon such occasional services as the diocesan authorities could provide.

NOTED NAMES CONNECTED WITH ST. MICHAEL'S

During the post-war period, as previously, the vestry of St. Michael's

⁹ For biographical sketches of the Rev. Michael Houdin and the Rev. Augur Treadwell, see Chap. VII, *A History of St. Michael's Church*, and of the Rev. George Pantton, see both Chap. X, *ibid.*, and Chap. II of this book.

¹⁰ See Chap. X, *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*.

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Church continued to include many prominent men. Those whose names appear on the roll during this period, say from 1800 to 1825, may be taken as typical. Many of them were leaders in the community, and some of them were of national distinction. To mention the names of a few such: Charles and Joseph Higbee, Jonathan Rhea, John Rutherford, James A. Stevens, Samuel Meredith, Henry Clymer, George Woodruff, William Halsted, Jr., Zachariah Rossell, Garret D. Wall, Pearson Hunt, Barnt DeKlyn, Henry Kean, and Dr. Plunkett Fleeson Glentworth. None stood higher in Trenton and in the State during this period than did these.¹¹

During the long rectorate of the Rev. Samuel Starr, 1836-55, the parish consolidated its position and increased greatly in members and general prosperity. From the close of that period onwards, though there were from time to time financial vicissitudes and parochial disagreements, St. Michael's has known an orderly progress.

At various times since the beginning of the nineteenth century the church building has been enlarged, improved and renovated, notably in 1819 when the church was almost entirely rebuilt, in 1843 when it was repaired and extended, and again in 1862 and 1870 when extensive additions were made, as also in 1886 and 1906.

Since the War of Independence, St. Michael's has been served by twenty rectors, of whom the Rev. William Frazer had a ministry of seven years, the Rev. Henry Waddell of thirteen years, the Rev. Samuel Starr of nineteen years, the Rev. William Hude Neilson of sixteen years, the Rev. Oscar S. Bunting of seven years, and the Rev. W. Strother Jones of twelve years.¹² The present rector, the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz, has held office since 1920.

Among the outstanding extra-parochial events which have been held in the parish were a meeting of the General Convention of the Church in 1801, when Dr. Moore was consecrated to the see of New York and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion established, and the election in 1815 of the first bishop of New Jersey, the Right Rev. John Croes.

In 1925 Mr. Newton A. K. Bugbee, senior warden, purchased for the parish the plot of ground on the north side of the church, thus affording a clear space up to the corner of Perry Street.

Many fine memorials, silver vessels and stained-glass windows have been presented to the parish in recent years. The chapel was rebuilt and adorned in 1918. There is also a substantial endowment fund.

Many distinguished Trentonians lie buried in St. Michael's graveyard. The earliest tombstone of which the record remains and is decipherable bears the date of 1763 and the latest 1893. Between these periods many hundred bodies have found their resting place in this little "God's acre." To mention a few of the better known names: David Brearley, warden, chief justice of New Jersey and first grand master of Masons in the State, over whose tomb the Grand Lodge of New Jersey erected a fine memorial

¹¹ See Biographical Sketches, Series B, and Appendix N, "Men of St. Michael's Church Prominent in Public Life," *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*.

¹² For biographical sketches of rectors, see *A History of St. Michael's Church*.

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slab in 1924; the Rev. William Frazer, rector of St. Michael's Church, of whom it is inscribed that "he left not an enemy on earth"; Thomas Gordon, prominent in the masonic fraternity and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas; William Kerwood, another prominent Mason with a tombstone erected by Trenton Lodge No. 5; Jonathan Rhea, officer in the Revolutionary War and the second president of the Trenton Banking Company; Rensselaer Williams, one of the founders of the Trenton Academy; the Rev. Henry Waddell, rector of St. Michael's Church and a man of distinction in the annals of the early American Church; Joseph Wood, mayor of Trenton for two terms; James D. Westcott, secretary of State for New Jersey; and George Woodruff, who at his death was said to have been the oldest member of the Bar in the State. He was the original owner of "Woodlands," the property now occupied by the Trenton Country Club. A stone slab set in the south wall bears the names of John Coxe, who gave the deed for the church property, Daniel Coxe and Rebecca Coxe, children of Colonel Daniel Coxe, whose bodies were buried in a vault under the aisle of the church. Here are also the graves of several generations of the Henry, Higbee and Hunt families, names notable in the early annals of the town. There is a monument to an infant daughter of Joseph Bonaparte and Annette (Holton) Savage, who died December 6, 1823, aged four years.

St. Michael's Church observed the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of its parochial life in 1928.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: In making frequent references to *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton*, the writer of this narrative feels he should offer an apology, or rather an explanation. Up to the time this *History* was published in 1926 there had been little or nothing known or printed concerning the parish. In *A History of St. Michael's Church* there are copious references to documents which the author had consulted in preparing that work, but as all such are collated in the *History* it seemed simpler in the present instance to refer directly to the text of the book which contains all the information available on the subject.—H.S.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH—1848

CENTRE STREET

St. Paul's Church was the first daughter of St. Michael's. The parish was organized in 1848, by a group of persons who deemed the time was ripe for another Episcopal church, and that the location of such was needed in South Trenton. The building was erected in 1848. The wardens and vestrymen chosen were: John Hewitt, Josiah N. Bird, Edward Cooper, Jacob B. Gaddis, Charles Hewitt, William E. Hunt, Abram Salger, Joseph Tompkins.

The formation of St. Paul's parish was due to the establishment about that time of the Cooper & Hewitt iron mills in Trenton, which drew here a large number of industrial workers, chiefly Irish and German, though there was evidently a contingent which desired the ministrations of the Episcopal Church. Peter Cooper, the New York philanthropist, was the head of the firm and the other member was his son-in-law, Abram S. Hewitt, subsequently mayor of New York City.

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St. Paul's Church has had twelve rectors, of whom the Rev. Benjamin Franklin was the first; others were Francis Clements, J. L. Maxwell, Thomas Drumm, John C. Brown, John Bakewell, Henry S. Williamson, Fred H. Post, J. McAlpin Harding, Horace T. Owen, Wilson E. Grimshaw, and the present rector, the Rev. William H. Decker. Of these the Rev. Mr. Harding served from 1886 to 1906 and the Rev. Horace T. Owen from 1906 to 1924.

TRINITY CHURCH—1858

ACADEMY STREET

Trinity Church was organized in 1858 by certain parishioners separating themselves from St. Michael's Church for that purpose. The ostensible occasion of the break was found in a disagreement over the method of calling a new rector to St. Michael's, the Rev. Richard Bache Duane. The dissentients sent a letter of protest to the vestry under date June 23, 1858. The remonstrance having proved unavailing, a meeting of the protestants was held on October 28, 1858, and steps were taken to organize a new parish. The original vestry chosen was as follows: wardens, Wesley P. Hunt and Alfred S. Livingston; vestrymen, Thomas Cadwalader, Philemon Dickinson, Mercer Beasley, Charles H. Higginson, Edward D. Weld, William M. Babbitt, William W. Norcross, William E. Hunt, Samuel Simons and William Howell. Charles H. Higginson was elected secretary. At a meeting of the vestry, held November 3, 1858, a call was extended to the Rev. Hannibal Goodwin, of St. Paul's Church, Newark, to become rector of the new parish, and he assumed charge the following December. Services were first held in a hall, which had been fitted up for the purpose, where Dolton's Block now stands on North Warren Street.

There appear to have been thirty-nine parishioners connected with the parish when it was organized.

The first parish meeting was held April 26, 1859, at which it was resolved "That the title by which this Church shall be known be, 'The Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, Trenton.'" The same wardens and vestrymen were reelected, excepting that G. A. Perdicaris and Dr. J. L. Taylor were substituted for William E. Hunt and William Howell.

A lot for a new church with a frontage of seventy feet on Academy Street was purchased for \$3,500, January 25, 1860, and steps were immediately taken to erect a building, the cornerstone of which was laid on June 15 of the same year. The church was occupied on October 14 following.

During the first ten years of its life the parish, doubtless due to the Civil War and other disturbing influences, had a precarious existence and the property was at one time offered for sale. The parish surmounted these difficulties and with the coming of the Rev. Albert U. Stanley in 1867 a more prosperous era ensued. The Rev. Mr. Stanley was succeeded by the Rev. Henry M. Barbour in 1875, who held the rectorship for nineteen years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph C. Hall, who remained only one year, followed by the Rev. Charles C. Edmunds, who resigned in 1899.

In January 1900 the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, the present rector, was called and began his ministry on the first Sunday in February of that year.

Trinity Church has been enlarged and renovated many times, especially

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during the rectorate of the Rev. Mr. Barbour and of the present incumbent. Its property is valued today at some \$200,000, and it has endowment funds totalling over \$50,000. It possesses many beautiful and costly memorials.

Including the present one, Trinity Church has had ten rectors and has numbered among its vestry and parishioners many of the leading men and families of Trenton. Among the better-known men who have served in the vestry during the seventy years of its existence are found the names of the following: Wesley P. Hunt, A. S. Livingston, Thomas Cadwalader, Philemon Dickinson, G. A. Perdicaris, John P. Stockton, S. Meredith Dickinson, Thomas W. Clymer, William P. McIlvane, Benjamin F. Lee, Richard A. Donnelly, William H. Brokaw, Frederic A. Duggan, Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., Edward L. Katzenbach, William T. White, Ferdinand W. Roebing, Jr., and Arthur D. Forst.¹³

CHRIST CHURCH—1885

HAMILTON AND WHITAKER AVENUES

Christ Church had its beginnings in a Sunday school which was started by Mrs. Scarborough, the wife of the bishop, in order to provide for the needs of families living in the Hamilton Avenue district. Sunday evening services were started in September 1885, by the Rev. Frederick Post, rector of St. Paul's Church, Trenton, and subsequently continued for about a year by the Rev. Henry M. Barbour, rector of Trinity Church, and his assistant, the Rev. Elliot White. The first minister in charge was the Rev. William Hicks, who was followed by the Rev. Charles A. Tibbats, and the first rector was the Rev. Robert Mackellar. Then came the Rev. Edward Jennings Knight in 1891, who remained until he was elected missionary bishop of Western Colorado. He was succeeded by the Rev. Robert W. Trenbath, 1907-15. After Bishop Matthews was elected he himself became rector of the parish, and Christ Church was made the pro-cathedral. He appointed as his vicar and a canon the Rev. William H. Moor, the present incumbent.

The cornerstone of Christ Church was laid in 1887. The members of the first vestry were John G. Burgelin, senior warden, and Robert Surtees, junior warden; vestrymen were Eagleton Hanson, William E. Ireland, Isaac Yates and Thomas Perry.

After Mrs. Scarborough's death, a window was placed in the church to her memory. The window bears the inscription

Catherine Elizabeth Scarborough

1847-1909

Founder of this Church

St. Matthias Mission, Schiller Avenue, was started by the Rev. W. H. Moor of Christ Pro-Cathedral in 1925 to provide for a group of church people living in that vicinity. The services are held in the old Volunteer Fire House on Schiller Avenue. The mission is served by a lay-reader with regular ministrations by the Rev. Mr. Moor. There is a communicant list of about fifty names.

¹³ For an extended account of the parish, see Schuyler, *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, 1858-1910*.

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GRACE CHURCH—1896

NORTH CLINTON AND SHERIDAN AVENUES

Grace Church had been started as a mission of St. Michael's Church in 1875, the ground being the gift of Samuel K. Wilson, a warden of St. Michael's Church. In 1896 it was organized as an independent parish under the Rev. Milton A. Craft, who had been assistant minister in the charge of the chapel since 1893. Two flourishing missions have since in turn sprung out of Grace Church, St. Andrew's in 1895 and St. Luke's in 1913. Those responsible for the formation of the parish, besides Mr. Craft, were James Walkett, George Cochran, Henry Robinson, Harry Klagg, Jr., and Charles Bradbury.

The present and the only rector the parish has ever had is the Rev. Milton A. Craft, whose ministry covers a period of thirty-five years. His twenty-fifth anniversary was observed by the parish on September 24, 1918.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH—1901

WEST STATE STREET AND SOUTH OVERBROOK AVENUE

All Saints' Church grew out of a mission which was established in the rapidly growing Cadwalader section in 1894. This mission was first served by members of the Associate Mission of Trenton, the Rev. Thomas A. Conover being in charge for several years. Services were first held in the Cadwalader mansion. Mr. Conover was succeeded in 1900 by the Rev. Ralph E. Urban, who became rector the following year when a parish organization was effected. The cornerstone of the present parish house was laid on All Saints' Day, 1896, and the first service held on Easter Day, 1897. The ground was deeded by the Cadwalader estate. Members of the first vestry elected in 1901 were Louis H. McKee and Dr. Joseph M. Wells, wardens; Josiah Hollies, Dr. William N. Mumper and James C. Tattersall, vestrymen.

In 1927, the congregation determined to erect an appropriate church building, the parish house in which services had hitherto been maintained for over twenty years having proved inadequate for the needs of the parish. The cornerstone of a new church, costing some \$80,000, was laid on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1927, and the building was occupied in the spring of 1928.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH—1910

GREENWOOD AVENUE AND LOGAN STREET

St. James' Church was started as a mission in 1894 and placed in charge of the Rev. Thomas Conover, then the head of the Associate Mission. It was organized as a parish in 1910. The first rector was the Rev. William G. Wherry, and the following composed the first vestry: Joseph Everill, rector's warden; John Wilcox, people's warden; T. Mallam, A. Rowley, J. K. Chambers, Wm. Layton, H. Robinson, R. Jackson, A. Wildblood, C. E. Wannop.

The present rector is the Rev. William B. Rogers, who has held the position since 1912.

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ST. ELIZABETH HUNGARIAN MISSION—1916

A mission for the Hungarian-speaking peoples was organized in 1916 by Bishop Matthews. The Rev. George E. St. Claire, then a layman but subsequently admitted to holy orders, was placed in charge of the congregation. Services were held for a period in St. Paul's Church and subsequently a small chapel was erected. Services are maintained by the Rev. Mr. St. Claire as priest in charge. St. Elizabeth's has a communicant list of about one hundred names.

ST. MONICA'S MISSION FOR COLORED PEOPLE—1919

SPRING STREET

The movement to organize a separate congregation for the colored people in Trenton was started in 1919. The Rev. August E. Jensen, who owing to ill health had lately resigned from St. Augustine's parish, Asbury Park, was requested by the bishop to come to Trenton and take charge of the movement. On March 21, 1919, a special meeting was held in the parish house of Trinity Church, the Rev. August E. Jensen presiding.

The following communicants were present and organized as the nucleus of a mission to be known as St. Monica's: Henry Reynolds, Mr. Rogers and his daughter Grace, H. Stewart, Miss Lottie Goldsboro, Mr. and Mrs. E. Goins, Mrs. Hoagland, Mr. and Mrs. J. Mack, Mrs. Lillian Cross, and Miss Amelia Stewart. On Palm Sunday, 1919, the first service was held in Darling's Hall on East State Street, with about forty persons in attendance.

Early in the following year the property on Spring Street was purchased and the congregation began to worship there. The adjoining property was bought five years later. From the original twelve persons the mission has grown to a membership of about one hundred and fifty and a Sunday school of about forty, and owns property of about \$14,000 in value.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Samuel Starr, who enjoyed the longest rectorate in St. Michael's Church, serving nineteen years, came at a crucial period in the parish history and was eminently successful in his long ministry. Besides his parish duties he devoted much of his time to acting as voluntary chaplain at the State Prison. He also, for a period after 1839, had charge of the Trenton Academy. After leaving Trenton, Mr. Starr went to a church in Cedar Rapids, Ia., where he ministered until 1860. His health failing he returned to the East, but on his return journey he was suddenly stricken down at Chicago and died there May 1, 1862.

The only bishop of the diocese of New Jersey who made his permanent home in Trenton was the Right Rev. *John Scarborough*, though Bishop Doane, the second bishop of New Jersey, was born here in 1799. Upon his election to the episcopate in 1875 he made this town his see city and here he remained for nearly forty years up to the time of his death in 1914. John Scarborough was born April 25, 1831, at Castlewellan, County Down, Ireland. When a mere lad he came to this country. He was graduated from Trinity College, Hartford, in 1854 and three years later from the General

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Theological Seminary, New York City. He served as an assistant in St. Paul's Church, Troy, N.Y., and subsequently as rector of the Church of the Holy Communion, Poughkeepsie. In 1867 he became rector of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., where he remained until he was chosen as the fourth bishop of New Jersey. He died in Trenton on March 14, 1914, and was buried in Riverview Cemetery.

William Hude Neilson was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1860 and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Kenyon College in 1885. His first charge, 1863-64, was as an assistant at the Church of the Ascension, New York City. He subsequently served parishes in Framingham, Mass., and Long Island City. When he was called to St. Michael's he was acting as an assistant in Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Neilson's predecessor in St. Michael's had been compelled to resign the parish owing to the fact that the congregation was sorely rent with dissension. Under the sympathetic guidance of Mr. Neilson and his pleasing personality the parish was knit together in bonds of amity and enjoyed great prosperity. After leaving St. Michael's Dr. Neilson held several other charges, serving from 1904 to 1914 as rector of Christ Church, Piscataway. At his retirement he was made rector-emeritus. He died December 8, 1922.

Henry M. Barbour, who came to Trinity Church in 1875, remaining for twenty years, was a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, and of the General Theological Seminary, New York City. His first charge was a mission church in Newark whence he was called to the rectorship of Trinity Church, Trenton. During his long rectorate the parish advanced greatly in members and financial strength. A resolution of the vestry passed at the time of his resignation well sums up his labors and character.

On leaving Trinity the Rev. Dr. Barbour became the rector of the Church of the Beloved Disciple in New York City where he remained for over twenty-five years. At his retirement he was made rector-emeritus. He is now living at Tampa, Fla.

Edward Jennings Knight was graduated from the General Theological Seminary, New York City, in the class of 1891 and came immediately to Trenton, where for sixteen years he was rector of Christ Church. He was a man of marked intellectual ability, a good organizer and a faithful and devoted pastor. Christ Church during his rectorship greatly increased in membership and influence. He was a son-in-law of Bishop Scarborough, having married his daughter, Katherine, January 3, 1897. He was chosen bishop of the Missionary Jurisdiction of Western Colorado in 1907 and was consecrated to his office in Christ Church, Trenton, December 19, 1907. He died suddenly in Colorado, November 15, 1908.

Milton A. Craft, rector of Grace Church, North Clinton Avenue, has spent his whole ministerial life in Trenton, being at present probably the oldest pastor, with perhaps one exception, in point of continued service in the city of Trenton. Mr. Craft was graduated from the Alexandria Seminary in 1892. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1893 and came to Trenton the same year to act as assistant minister of St. Michael's Church with special charge of Grace Mission. Thus he has served one con-

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gregation for thirty-five years. The celebration of his twenty-fifth anniversary, September 24, 1918, was a notable event in the city and brought together in the Crescent Temple a large assemblage of his parishioners and friends.

W. Strother Jones, D.D., who was rector of St. Michael's Church for twelve years, 1896-1908, was born in Virginia and was a great-great-grandson of Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court. He was educated at Washington and Lee University and was graduated from the Seminary at Alexandria, Va., in 1876, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1893. He served for two years in Fauquier County, Va., and was then called to St. Thomas's Church, Baltimore County, Md. In 1888 he became rector of St. Paul's Church, Fairfield, Conn. Coming to St. Michael's, Trenton, in 1896 he had a most fruitful ministry here, and won the esteem and good will of all classes by his genial, warm-hearted manner and sincere devotion to his work. During his rectorate extensive renovations to the church building were undertaken and the growth of the parish in strength and membership were marked. Dr. Jones, on resigning his rectorship in Trenton, went to St. Paul's Church, Erie, Pa., where he remained until 1914 when he accepted a position in St. Thomas's Church, New York City, as assistant minister under the Rev. Ernest M. Stires, D.D., now bishop of Long Island. He died in Alexandria, Va., August 19, 1918.

Hamilton Schuyler is the son of the late Anthony Schuyler, D.D., formerly rector of Grace Church, Orange, N.J. He was born in Oswego, N.Y., in 1862. Ancestors of his had settled in New Jersey as early as 1700 and it is on record that one of them, Arent Schuyler, visited the "Falls of the Delaware" in 1692. Mr. Schuyler studied theology at the General Theological Seminary in the class of 1893. He further continued his studies in the University of Oxford, England. He served for a brief period as a curate in Calvary Church, New York City, under the late Dr. H. Y. Satterlee, afterwards the first bishop of Washington. Subsequently he was a curate in Trinity Church, Newport, R.I. He was called in 1895 to be canon of the cathedral at Davenport, Ia., and after a year was made dean. In 1900, while he was acting as special preacher at the Church of the Holy Communion, New York City, he was called to Trinity Church, Trenton, where he has since remained. In 1925 the parish observed his twenty-fifth anniversary as rector.

Dr. Schuyler is the author of several published volumes in prose and verse, besides many pamphlets, booklets and magazine articles. He has been a member of the board of trustees of the Free Public Library since 1905. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New Jersey for five terms and was twice chosen deputy to the General Convention. He is also a trustee of St. Mary's School, Burlington. In 1928 Rutgers University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters.

Ralph E. Urban is the son of the Rev. Abram L. Urban, born March 29, 1875. He is a graduate of Princeton University in the class of 1896 and received his theological education in the General Theological Seminary, New York City, from which he was graduated in 1899. He came at once to Trenton and began his ministry in the Associate Mission on Hamilton

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Avenue, which had been organized by the Rev. E. J. Knight to supply clergy for mission stations in the diocese. In 1900 Mr. Urban was placed in charge of All Saints' Mission which had recently been organized by the Rev. Thomas A. Conover. When the mission was made a parish in 1901, Mr. Urban became the rector and has thus spent his entire ministerial life in Trenton. Under his wise leadership the progress of All Saints' has been remarkable, the congregation has greatly increased, the original parish house has been enlarged, a fine rectory has been built and paid for and to crown his labors a new church of tasteful design and ample proportions was erected in 1928. In 1925 the parish observed Mr. Urban's twenty-five years of service, when he received many handsome gifts. Mr. Urban is a member of the standing committee of the diocese of New Jersey.

Paul Matthews, the present bishop of New Jersey, was born in Glendale, Ohio, a suburb of Cincinnati, December 25, 1866. He was a son of Stanley Matthews, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, appointed during the administration of President Hayes.

He was graduated from Princeton University in 1887, being valedictorian of his class, and subsequently from the General Theological Seminary in 1890, with the degree of B.D. He was ordained deacon in 1890 by Bishop Vincent of Southern Ohio, and priested in 1891 by Bishop Worthington of Nebraska. He married Miss Elsie Procter of Glendale, Ohio, in May 1897.

His first charge was as a member of the Associate Mission, Omaha, Neb., 1891-95. He was rector of St. Luke's Church, Cincinnati, 1896-1904, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral of the same city, 1904-13; dean of the Cathedral of Our Merciful Saviour, Faribault, Minn., 1913-14, and professor in the Seabury Divinity School for the same period. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Seabury in 1915; from Princeton University in 1916; and the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology from the General Theological Seminary in 1915. On St. Paul's Day, January 25, 1925, his tenth anniversary as bishop of New Jersey was observed by a special service in St. Mary's Church, Burlington, where he had been consecrated, and the day following at a luncheon given in his honor at Trenton he was presented with a beautiful pastoral staff by the churchmen of the diocese. Bishop Matthews lived for a short time in Trenton, but now makes his home in Princeton.

Albion Williamson Knight, bishop-coadjutor of New Jersey, was born in White Springs, Fla., August 24, 1859, the son of George Augustine Knight and Martha Demere. He was ordained deacon in 1881, and priest in 1883. He married (1) Elise Nicoll Hallows, at Jacksonville, Fla., August 27, 1889; (2) Miriam Powell Yates, 1919. His first charge was as missionary in Southern Florida, 1881-84. He was rector of St. Mark's Church, Palatka, Fla., 1884-86; rector of St. Andrew's Church, Jacksonville, Fla., 1886-93; dean of the cathedral at Atlanta, Ga., 1893-1904. In 1904 he was consecrated bishop of Cuba, which office he held up to 1913. He was placed in charge of the Panama Canal Zone, 1908-20. In 1914 he became vice-chancellor and president of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., which post he held until 1922. In 1923 he was chosen bishop-coadjutor of the Diocese of New Jersey, since when he has made his home in Trenton.

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IV. The Presbyterians—1712

BY THE REVEREND GEORGE H. INGRAM,

STATED CLERK OF THE PRESBYTERY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

IN COLONIAL times churches took the names of the townships. In the vicinity of what is now Trenton there were three townships that worked together in the maintenance of their churches. First was Maidenhead (now Lawrenceville) which had a lot deeded for church purposes in 1698. Somewhere about the same time Hopewell (Pennington) began a church, although there is no deed. Then in 1709, a little farther to the south in the same township, a plot of ground was deeded for church purposes where Ewing Church now stands, and a log house was erected in 1712. The Rev. Robert Orr was the first pastor of these three churches. He was installed October 15, 1715, and remained five years. The Rev. Moses Dickinson followed him, remaining two years. After an interim of several years the Rev. Joseph Morgan became the third pastor, and served from 1729 to 1737. All these ministers served the three churches.

In 1719 Hopewell Township was divided. The lower portion was from that time known as Trenton Township. This included Ewing. The two churches in Trenton Township were thereafter designated as "old house" and "new house," the "country" and the "town."

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

EAST STATE STREET

As the settlement at the Falls of the Delaware grew, there came a demand for a chapel that the people on the river would not have to go all the way to Ewing for worship. A plot of ground was deeded in 1727 for church purposes, where the First Presbyterian Church now stands. Some years later an additional plot was added. It seems that the first building was erected, as a matter of fact, in 1726, or before title was given.

There is a roll of the three churches bearing the date of 1733, made by the Rev. Joseph Morgan. The Hopewell roll contains the names of seventy-seven communicants, while Maidenhead has thirty-eight names, and Trenton (Ewing) contains twenty-four names. Some of the communicants of the third roll, no doubt, lived at the Falls of the Delaware. This roll is as follows:

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WHEN ADMITTED

COMMUNICANTS

Richard Scuddar, deacon, and Hannah, his wife
 Arthur Howel, elder, and Ruth, his wife
 Samuel Ketcham
 John Chambers
 James Chambers and Mrs. Chambers, his wife
 Sarah Higby
 Sarah Tucker

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Aug. 3, 1733 | Ralph Hart and Sarah, his wife |
| Nov. 25, 1733 | Lydia Green, wife of William |
| May 3, 1734 | Deborah Lawrence, widow |
| | Sarah Johnson, wife of Sam |
| | Mary Green, wife of Richard |
| Sept. 12, 1734 | William Green |
| | Hannah Green, widow |
| | Neshea Lanning |
| Aug. 29, 1735 | Charles Clerk and Abigail, his wife |
| | Deborah, wife of Dv. Dunbar |
| | Mary, the wife of Eb. Petty |
| Oct. 23, 1737 | Elizabeth Sinclare |

PASTORS OF THE CHURCH SINCE 1736

The fourth pastor of the Trenton churches was David Cowell, who began his ministry in 1736 and continued until 1760. During this pastorate the Presbytery of New Brunswick was erected, although at that time the Trenton churches remained in the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Then in 1741 the Great Schism took place, and the two parties were known as the Old Side and the New Side. In 1758 the schism was healed, and the churches in this vicinity were assigned to the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Thus Mr. Cowell was a member of the Presbytery of New Brunswick for the last two years of his life. He died December 1, 1760, and was buried on the western side of the church, near the street. Outside of his parish Mr. Cowell was notable for his work in behalf of the College of New Jersey, and for his efforts on behalf of healing the schism.

The next minister was the Rev. William Kirkpatrick, who served only as a supply, from 1761 to 1766. Several efforts were made to have him installed but each time some obstacle arose. Finally he accepted a call to the First Church of Amwell, where he continued to minister until his death, September 8, 1769.

The next pastor was the Rev. Elihu Spencer, D.D., who served from November 18, 1769, till his death, December 27, 1784. Thus he served throughout the Revolution. The call for Dr. Spencer was made out from the three congregations. He was a chaplain in the army. He also officiated as chaplain of the Provincial Congress. He was a marked man and his parsonage suffered at the hands of the enemy. When the surrender of Cornwallis was celebrated in Trenton October 27, 1781, the governor, Council, Assembly and citizens attended service in the Presbyterian Church, when Dr. Spencer delivered a discourse. In 1783 when peace was concluded with Great Britain

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a similar service was held in Dr. Spencer's church. He is buried in the churchyard on the western side.

The next pastor was the Rev. James Francis Armstrong, who served from 1786 until 1816. He was licensed in 1778 by the Presbytery of New Castle and was ordained at Pequea, Pa., in 1778. He served as chaplain for a time and was at Yorktown at the time of the surrender. In 1782 he returned to New Jersey and in 1786 accepted a call to the Trenton church. In the early years of his ministry he served three churches—the "town," the "old," and the Maidenhead. In 1787 Mr. Armstrong accepted the principalship of the classical academy which had been started a few years before. He took an active part in the organization of the General Assembly in 1789 and was elected



ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1726-1804.
NEAR THE SITE OF THE PRESENT BUILDING.

moderator in 1804. During his ministry a new church building was erected. During the building the Presbyterians were given a home in St. Michael's Church and Mr. Armstrong preached on alternate Sundays. The new church was opened August 17, 1806. He died June 19, 1816, and is buried in the churchyard.

The Rev. Samuel B. How, D.D., was the next pastor, serving from 1816 until 1821. The Rev. William J. Armstrong, D.D., followed, 1821-24. The Rev. John Smith ministered from 1825 to 1828. The Rev. James Waddell Alexander, D.D., served from 1829 to 1832. The Rev. James William Yeo-

Churches and Religious Institutions

mans, D.D., served from 1834 to 1841, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Lafayette College. During this pastorate the congregation erected a new church edifice, the cornerstone being laid June 1, 1841. It was during this pastorate that the Presbyterian Church divided into the Old School and the New School branches. This church and the Presbytery of New Brunswick remained with the Old School.

The next pastor was the Rev. John Hall, D.D., who was ordained and installed August 11, 1841, and forthwith entered upon the longest pastorate in the history of the First Church, continuing in active service until May 4, 1884, when he was made pastor-emeritus for the remainder of his days. He died May 10, 1894. For a brief sketch of his life, see the end of this section.

The Rev. John Dixon, D.D., took up the work that Dr. Hall laid down and carried it on in the spirit of his predecessor, from October 15, 1884, to September 18, 1898. A biographical sketch of Dr. Dixon will also be found at the end of this section.

The Rev. Lewis Seymour Mudge, who was one of the Presbytery's own candidates, was next called to take up the work. He was installed September 27, 1899. Through ill health he was forced to resign November 4, 1901. Dr. Mudge is now the stated clerk of the General Assembly.

For the next pastor an ex-moderator of the General Assembly was sought, the Rev. Henry Collin Minton, D.D., LL.D., who was installed November 19, 1902. He continued to January 22, 1918, when ill health compelled him to retire from the active ministry.

The Rev. Peter K. Emmons assumed the pastorate January 28, 1919, and continued until November 6, 1927. He was chosen during this pastorate a member of the board of trustees of Princeton Theological Seminary. He was also elected a member of the Permanent Judicial Commission of the General Assembly. For one year he served as district governor of the Thirty-sixth District Rotary International.

On January 23, 1917, the Presbytery of New Brunswick unveiled in the First Church yard a monument erected to the memory of the Rev. John Rosbrugh who was massacred on the banks of the Assunpink on January 2, 1777, after Washington had drawn his forces to the south side of the creek. In some way Mr. Rosbrugh became detached and was left on the north side of the creek. He was buried where he fell, but a few days afterward his classmate, the Rev. George Duffield, took up the body of his friend and gave it decent burial "in the churchyard." At the time he was moderator of the Presbytery of New Brunswick and was pastor of the Allen Township Church in the Forks of the Delaware.¹⁴

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1837

MARKET AND MERCER STREETS

In 1837 some members of the First Church took up the mission work in Lamberton which had been started some years before and allowed to languish. A few years later a committee from the Presbytery was sent to make a survey of the field. The outcome of this project was the organization of

¹⁴ See the address delivered by the writer at the unveiling, *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 49-64.

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a second Presbyterian Church, with nineteen charter members. The first pastor was the Rev. Daniel Deruelle, 1843-48; the second, the Rev. Ansley D. White, 1848-64; the third, the Rev. George S. Bishop, 1864-66; the fourth, the Rev. James B. Kennedy, 1866-85; the fifth, the Rev. William J. Henderson, 1885-87; the sixth, the Rev. William H. Woolverton, D.D., 1887-91; the seventh, the Rev. William S. Voorhies, 1892-1901; the eighth, the Rev. Norris W. Harkness, 1901-09; the ninth, the Rev. Albert C. Busch, 1909-16; the tenth, the Rev. Howard J. Baumgartel, 1916-20; the eleventh and present pastor, the Rev. Raymond A. Ketchledge, 1921-. The church was first located on Union at the head of Fall Street, but in the pastorate of Mr. Harkness it was moved to the corner of Market and Jackson Streets. The building was destroyed by fire on November 20, 1919. Steps were immediately taken to rebuild. The indebtedness was all paid off in 1927.

THIRD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1849

NORTH WARREN STREET

On May 2, 1849, the Third Church was organized, with thirteen communicants from the First and four from other churches. At first the congregation met in Odd Fellows' Hall, on the corner of Hanover and Broad Streets. Their house of worship on North Warren Street was erected in November 1850.

Their first pastor was the Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, who served them for three years, from September 2, 1849, until April 7, 1853, when he accepted a call to Brooklyn where he spent the remainder of his days and became one of the outstanding pastors of the Presbyterian Church.

The second pastor was the Rev. Jacob Kirkpatrick, Jr., who was ordained and installed November 3, 1853. Declining health compelled him to resign February 2, 1858. He died October 21, 1859, and was buried in Mercer Cemetery.

The Rev. Henry B. Chapin was the third pastor, continuing from November 28, 1858, until January 1, 1866.

The fourth pastor was the Rev. Samuel M. Studdiford, D.D., who was installed April 15, 1866, and continued until October 22, 1902, when he was chosen pastor-emeritus. He died July 21, 1908. For a brief sketch of his life, see the end of this section.

In 1874, during his pastorate, the spire of the church was struck by lightning and on July 4, 1879, a falling rocket set fire to the church. Straightway the work of rebuilding was begun and the new church was dedicated February 19, 1880.

The fifth pastor was the Rev. Albert J. Weisley, D.D., who served from May 13, 1903, until November 20, 1911.

The sixth pastor was the Rev. Andrew Todd Taylor, D.D., who served from October 29, 1912, to November 13, 1916.

The seventh pastor was the Rev. George Dugan, D.D., who began his ministry in the Third Church May 3, 1920, and continued until his sudden death, October 14, 1921.

The eighth, and present, pastor is the Rev. John McNab, D.D., LL.D., who was installed May 16, 1922.

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FOURTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1858

EAST STATE STREET AND NORTH CLINTON AVENUE

On the sixth of November, 1858, a group of some fifty-one communicants of the Third Church formed the Fourth Church. Their first pastor was the Rev. Edward D. Yeomans, D.D., who was installed December 15, 1858, and continued until January 2, 1863. The church building was dedicated October 16, 1862.

The second pastor was the Rev. William M. Blackburn, D.D., who served from January 4, 1864, to August 16, 1868.

The third pastor was the Rev. Richard H. Richardson, D.D., whose term was from December 6, 1868, to October 3, 1887.

The fourth pastor was the Rev. John H. Salisbury, D.D., who began February 1, 1888, and served until his death, January 10, 1891.

The fifth pastor was the Rev. Samuel A. Harlow, who served from July 6, 1892, to July 1, 1894.

The Rev. William Henry Roberts, D.D., LL.D., stated clerk of the General Assembly, served as stated supply from September 10, 1894, to May 1, 1900.

The seventh pastor was the Rev. Hugh B. MacCauley, who was installed April 18, 1900, and was released January 27, 1912.

The eighth pastor was the Rev. William M. Curry, D.D., whose term ran from January 16, 1913, to August 29, 1920.

The ninth, and present, pastor is the Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, who was installed October 13, 1921. Mr. Wilson, in 1927, was elected national chaplain of the American Legion.

FIFTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1874

PRINCETON AVENUE

The Fifth Church began as a mission Sunday school of the First Church. It was known as the Warren Street Chapel, and was opened January 8, 1854. A church organization was formed February 23, 1874, with twenty-eight members. The Rev. Ansley D. White, D.D., who had served as pastor of the Second Church years before, was called to the pastorate and was installed October 26, 1874. He served until his death, September 23, 1877.

The second pastor was the Rev. Joseph W. Porter, who was installed April 18, 1878, and continued for two years.

The Rev. John F. Shaw then took up the work, February 4, 1881, and continued until February 4, 1883. But the Fifth Church seemed to be losing ground. Dr. Studdiford secured a student of Princeton Theological Seminary to act as a supply—C. A. R. Janvier, who was preparing to go out to the foreign field. He proved to be the man for the place. The Fifth Church soon took on new life. He began as a supply March 8, 1883. He was ordained and installed April 24, 1884, and continued until July 3, 1887.

The fifth pastor was the Rev. William P. Swartz who served from August 22, 1887, until October 21, 1888.

The sixth pastor was the Rev. George H. Ingram who began his labors December 2, 1888, and continued until January 4, 1904—the longest pastorate up to this date.

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The seventh pastor was the Rev. Samuel C. Hodge who was installed April 14, 1904. He served until May 29, 1911. During this pastorate extensive addition was made to the Sunday school building.

The eighth pastor was the Rev. Samuel Guy Snowden, who was installed January 4, 1912. He continued until his death May 4, 1920.

The ninth, and present, pastor, is the Rev. William K. C. Thomson, who was installed October 6, 1920.

PROSPECT STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1875

PROSPECT AND SPRING STREETS

This church in a new section of the city was organized by the Presbytery April 29, 1875, with thirty-five members. The building had been erected in advance, ready for the new undertaking. The first pastor was the Rev. Walter A. Brooks, who was ordained and installed October 14, 1875. Dr. Brooks continued in this pastorate until October 14, 1905, when he was made pastor-emeritus. He died January 12, 1913. His biographical sketch will be found at the end of this section.

The second pastor was the Rev. Francis Palmer, who was installed October 23, 1905. He continued until May 15, 1922.

The third and present pastor is the Rev. William Thomson Hanzsche, who was installed October 27, 1922. During this pastorate extensive additions have been made to the church equipment.

BETHANY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1886

HAMILTON AND CHESTNUT AVENUES

This church in the borough of Chambersburg was organized November 15, 1886, with sixty-six members. The Centennial Public School was used as a place of worship until the church was erected on the corner of Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues. This was dedicated March 6, 1888. The first pastor was the Rev. Daniel R. Foster, who had been pastor of Pennington Church. He was installed in his new charge December 14, 1886. He served in this field until January 30, 1900, and was then made pastor-emeritus. He died October 25, 1915, and his body was interred in Riverview Cemetery.

The Rev. Robert I. McBride was the second pastor, and was installed May 16, 1900, continuing in this charge until October 21, 1903.

The third pastor was the Rev. Linus L. Strock who was installed January 19, 1904, and served until September 23, 1913.

The fourth, and present, pastor is the Rev. D. Wilson Hollinger, who was installed April 21, 1914. Additions have been made on two occasions, one during Mr. Foster's day and the last one during the present pastorate.

EAST TRENTON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1888

NORTH CLINTON AVENUE

Early in the pastorate of Dr. Dixon in the First Church attention was directed to the needs of the Millham district. The outcome was the organization of a Sunday school under the auspices of the session of the First Church, February 13, 1887. Through the generosity of the Hon. Caleb S.

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Green a home was provided on the corner of Olden and Clinton Avenues. Hitherto the Sunday school had met in the Girard Public School. The new building was dedicated December 26, 1888. On April 21, 1899, the East Trenton Presbyterian Church was organized by the Presbytery. In the interim D. Ruby Warne, a student of Princeton Theological Seminary, had served as a supply as had the Rev. Edward Scofield before him, and on May 11 the Rev. Frank B. Everitt was installed as pastor. He continued until January 29, 1901.

The second pastor was the Rev. Fred B. Newman who was installed July 10, 1901, and continued until December 25, 1910.

The third pastor was the Rev. Herbert J. Allsup, who was installed May 10, 1911, and was released April 8, 1913.

The fourth pastor was the Rev. Clarence E. Hills, D.D., who was installed February 24, 1914, and was released December 1, 1927.

The fifth and present pastor is the Rev. Roy E. Jones, installed July 20, 1928.

WESTMINSTER PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1898

GREENWOOD AND WALTER AVENUES

For a number of years a union Sunday school had been conducted in the William G. Cook Public School in Wilbur. The date when this school began was about 1890. As this section of the city grew, need was felt for the organization of a church, and application was made to the Presbytery. Accordingly on September 12, 1898, the Walnut Avenue Presbyterian Church was organized, with sixteen charter members. A chapel had been erected on the corner of Walnut and Walter Avenues, and the Rev. Isaac M. Patterson was installed as the first pastor on October 18, 1898. Mr. Patterson continued until September 30, 1903, when he was made pastor emeritus. On April 7, 1918, the sixtieth anniversary of his licensure, he preached a sermon in this church, which had been renamed Westminster Church upon its removal to the corner of Walter and Greenwood Avenues, through the generosity of Mr. Hampton W. Cook who had also given the former site. Mr. Patterson died July 3, 1921.

The second pastor was the Rev. George H. Ingram, who had been serving the Fifth Church. He began his ministry January 11, 1904, and continued until May 5, 1922, a pastorate of eighteen years, making the total term of his pastorate in Trenton thirty-three years. Mr. Ingram has served as stated clerk of the Presbytery since the death of Dr. Brooks in 1913. Since giving up the pastorate he has served as executive secretary of the Council of Churches. For a number of years he has served as the historian of the Presbytery and of the Synod of New Jersey.

The third pastor was the Rev. Charles L. Leber who began his ministry May 5, 1923, and continued to May 31, 1924. He was followed by the Rev. Robert L. Clark, Jr., the present pastor, who was installed December 12, 1924.

Upon the death of Mr. Cook, June 16, 1924, Westminster Church came into possession of a large annuity from his estate. Mr. Cook hoped that sometime a church in memory of his brother Edward Grant Cook might be erected.

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IMMANUEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (ITALIAN)—1897

WHITTAKER AVENUE

A mission for the Italians of Chambersburg was opened in the summer of 1897, with Vincent Serafini, a student at Princeton Theological Seminary, in charge. That fall a Sunday school was opened with teachers furnished by the First and other churches. On July 6, 1898, Mr. Serafini was ordained, and henceforth gave all his time to the work. Soon after this work was assumed by a committee of the Presbytery. Up until that time there had been no work for the Italians, even in the Roman Catholic Church, but soon afterward work was begun in other quarters.

At first the mission had no home, but met in rented buildings. In 1906 a building was begun and by December 1, 1907, it was ready for dedication. In those days it was known as the Italian Evangelical Congregation. On January 25, 1916, the name was changed to the Immanuel Presbyterian Church. Additional property was purchased for the purpose of enlargement of the buildings as the congregation may need. In 1922 the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mr. Serafini's service in Immanuel Church was celebrated by the Presbytery.

PILGRIM PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1911

ANNABELLE AND SOUTH BROAD STREETS

A Sunday school was started in what was then Nottingham Township in 1834. It met more or less irregularly until 1854. From the latter date it was known as the Hamilton Union Sunday School and met in the public school building. A chapel was erected on the corner of Liberty and Williams Streets, the cornerstone having been laid July 15, 1908, and Pilgrim Church was organized October 5, 1911.

For some years the new church depended upon supplies. The first pastor was the Rev. John A. Sellers, who was installed April 23, 1915. He was released November 28, 1917.

The second pastor was the Rev. James C. Hughes, who was installed June 25, 1918, and was released May 30, 1923.

The third pastor was the Rev. Morris Zutrau, who was ordained and installed May 29, 1924. He remained until December 1, 1927. During this pastorate the property on Liberty Street was sold and steps taken to erect the Sunday school building on the new site, on the corner of South Broad Street and Annabelle Avenue. The cornerstone was laid September 24, 1924. The edifice was dedicated May 31, 1925.

The fourth, and present, pastor is the Rev. William T. Magill, who was installed March 15, 1928.

MT. CARMEL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—1914

BRUNSWICK AVENUE AND MILLER STREET

In the fall of 1913 a class of Italian children was enrolled in the Bible school of the Fifth Presbyterian Church. The growth of this work led to the organization of the North Trenton Italian Mission in the Jefferson Public School on February 6, 1914, with Nunzio Vecere missionary in charge. In May 1916 the work was transferred to Frazier Street. On Sep-

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tember 24, 1918, the mission was organized into the Mount Carmel Presbyterian Church. Mr. Vecere was ordained and installed July 14, 1916. The new edifice, on the corner of Brunswick Avenue and Miller Street, was dedicated October 28, 1923.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

John Hall was born in Philadelphia, August 11, 1806. He united with the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, under the ministry of Albert Barnes, September 24, 1836. He graduated in the class of 1823 of the University of Pennsylvania and forthwith took up the study of law. After practising for five years he decided to study for the ministry. While acting as secretary of the American Sunday School Union, which office he entered upon in 1832, he prepared himself for the ministry without taking a course in a theological seminary. He was called to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton and was thereupon ordained and installed, August 11, 1841, when he was thirty-five years of age. In this pastorate he continued until failing health required him to resign, May 4, 1884, a period of nearly forty-three years. In 1850 the College of New Jersey conferred upon him the degree of D.D. For a time he filled the chair of pastoral theology in the Princeton Theological Seminary, after the death of Dr. Archibald Alexander. In 1868 he was chosen a director of Princeton Theological Seminary which position he held until impaired health required him to resign, 1883. Dr. Hall died in 1894. His *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton* is highly regarded.

Samuel Miller Studdiford was born in Lambertville, N.J., January 24, 1835, a child of the manse. His father, the Rev. Peter Ogilvie Studdiford, was pastor of that church from its organization until his death. Samuel was prepared for Princeton by his father, graduating in the class of 1856. He spent a year in teaching in the Princeton Theological Seminary, whereupon he entered the seminary, graduating in the class of 1860. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Elizabeth, N.J., May 3, 1859, and was installed pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, N.J., May 8, 1860. In April 1862 he became pastor of Stewartsville, N.J., church. After four years he accepted a call to the Third Church of Trenton, and on April 15, 1866, he began there his long Trenton pastorate. In the fall of 1902 he resigned and was made pastor-emeritus. In 1884 he received the degree of D.D. from Princeton University, and the same year he was elected moderator of the Synod of New Jersey. In 1893 he was elected a trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary. He died July 21, 1908, and was buried in the family lot at Lambertville.

John Dixon was born in Galt, Canada, January 25, 1847. He entered Princeton Theological Seminary in 1870, graduating in the class of 1873. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Boston June 19, 1873, and the same year accepted the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Providence, R.I., where he remained four years. He next served the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Yonkers, N.Y., where he remained from 1877 to 1884, whence he came to the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton, where he served 1884-98. In 1898, in response to a call to enter a wider field of service, he resigned his charge in Trenton to accept a secretaryship in the Board of Home Missions. Here he continued until 1923, when he was made secre-

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tary-emeritus of the Board of National Missions. Lafayette College honored him in 1889 with the degree of D.D. He was chosen a trustee of Princeton Theological Seminary in 1889, which position he still holds. He is likewise a trustee of Princeton University and also chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Lawrenceville School.

Walter A. Brooks was for thirty-five years clerk of the Presbytery of New Brunswick; for twenty-five years he was stated clerk of the Synod of New Jersey and for thirty-eight years was pastor and pastor-emeritus of the Prospect Street Presbyterian Church of Trenton. He was born at Leroy, N.Y., August 2, 1849, a son of the manse. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1868, and from the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1875. He was ordained and installed pastor of the Prospect Street Church October 14, 1875, of which he was the first pastor. He died in 1913.

V. The Methodists—1772

BY THE REVEREND CHARLES H. ELDER,
FORMERLY PASTOR OF TRINITY M.E. CHURCH

NOTE: The editor is indebted to the late Charles H. Elder for furnishing much of the historical material for the chapter on the Methodists, though his death unfortunately prevented him from completing the full account.

METHODISTS in Trenton have had a long and honorable history. Years before the first congregation was formed here itinerant Methodist preachers visited Trenton from time to time. In 1739 it is on record that George Whitefield came to Trenton and preached. Under date of November 12, that year, he records in his *Journal*:

By eight o'clock we reached Trent-town in the Jerseys. It being dark, we went out of our way a little in the woods; but God sent a guide to direct us aright. We had a comfortable refreshment when we reached our inn and went to bed in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Whitefield left early the next morning but returned during the same month, attracted by the fact that a criminal was to be executed, on which occasion it was expected there would be a great crowd in attendance and an opportunity would be offered him to preach. He writes:

November 21, 1739. Being strongly desired by many and hearing that a condemned malefactor was to suffer that week, I went in company with about thirty more to Trenton and reached thither by five in the evening. . . . Knowing that God called, I went out trusting in Divine strength and preached in the Court House, and though I was quite barren and dry in

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the beginning of the discourse, yet God enabled me to speak with great sweetness, freedom and power before I had done. The unhappy criminal seemed hardened, but I hope some good was done in the place.

Whitefield visited Trenton again in 1740 and was also in 1754 when he was advertised in the Philadelphia papers to preach in Trenton on September 13 and 14 of that year.

Another evangelist, Thomas Webb, a Captain in the British army stationed at Albany, preached in Trenton probably in 1768 en route to Philadelphia. Another early itinerant, Richard Boardman, in a letter to Wesley, stated that he had visited Trenton in 1769 and preached in the Presbyterian Church to a large company. It is certain that there were Methodists in this vicinity as early as 1768, for in that year Samuel Tucker and John Hart were competitors for the Assembly and Tucker, so the record runs, "was supported by the Episcopalians, Methodists and Baptists, and Hart by the Presbyterians."

The great missionary, Francis Asbury, as recorded in *Asbury's Journal*, preached in Trenton for the first time May 20, 1772. He was preaching here again June 8 of the same year; also on June 29 and July 19. On July 22 he speaks of finding "about nineteen persons" (Methodists). "They are a serious people, and there is some prospect of much good being done in this place." For Asbury's services on these occasions the Society paid him, July 23, £1 10s. 6d. On April 22-23, 1773, Asbury was again in Trenton, and he makes the following entry in his *Journal*: "Before my return to Philadelphia I had the pleasure of seeing the foundation laid of a new preaching house 35 feet by 30 feet." According to an old account book containing the minutes of the first board of trustees of the Methodist Society January 9, 1773, to September 19, 1837, it would appear that Asbury was paid 10 shillings on April 22, 1773, presumably as a fee for his services on the occasion of laying the foundation of the Methodist Chapel. In the *History of State Street Methodist Church* prepared for the twenty-sixth anniversary of dedication, June 14, 1886, by a committee composed of James F. Rusling, George W. Macpherson and Ira W. Wood, these and additional references to the early history of Methodism in Trenton will be found duly collated.

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THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH—1771

SOUTH BROAD STREET

The First Methodist Church of Trenton has the honor of being the first established in New Jersey and probably the third in the whole country, ranking next only after the John Street Church in New York City and St. George's Church in Philadelphia.

The First Methodist Episcopal Church, known as the "Mother Church" by Trenton Methodists, came into existence in the year 1771, five years before the Declaration of Independence by the American Colonies. The beginning of this historic church goes back to the organization of a class meeting by Joseph Toy in 1771. In 1772 the Trenton Society, consisting of nineteen members, secured subscriptions from a hundred and twenty-two persons for the erection of a meeting house. The subscription list bears the date November 25, 1772, and the total amount raised was £213. A lot was purchased at the northeast corner of what is now Broad and Academy Streets, on which a frame building thirty by thirty-five feet was erected in 1773.

Among the nineteen original members appears the name of John Fitch, the inventor of the steamboat. The total cost of this "Preaching House" was £193 6s. 2d.

Among the expenses incurred in erecting the building were the following items for providing liquid refreshment for the workmen, as was customary in those days, though the same now makes curious reading:¹⁵

| | | <i>s</i> |
|----------------|--|----------|
| March 27, 1773 | To 2 quarts of Rum for Workmen | 2 |
| April 9 | To 2 Gallons of Cyder | 2 |
| " 10 | To Cash for 1 Gallon of Rum (45) Cyder | 4 |
| " 13 | To 3 Quarts of Cyder | 9 |
| | To Cash for 1 Gallon of Rum | 4 |

The original frame meeting house was replaced in 1806 with a brick church which was located on the same site and was called "Bethesda." It was sold in 1838 to the Orthodox Friends and was used by them until 1858. The Methodists removed to the site of the present church on South Broad Street and erected a brick building which was dedicated September 9, 1838, and called the "Trenton M.E. Church," perhaps better known for many years as the "Greene Street Church," from the name the street then bore.

The congregation in the course of its long history has had four different official titles or names: first, "The Trustees of the Methodist Congregation of Christians of the City of Trenton"; second, "The Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of Trenton"; third, "Greene Street Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of Trenton" (incorporated March 18, 1806); fourth, and present name, "The First Methodist Episcopal Church of New Jersey" (incorporated February 26, 1906).

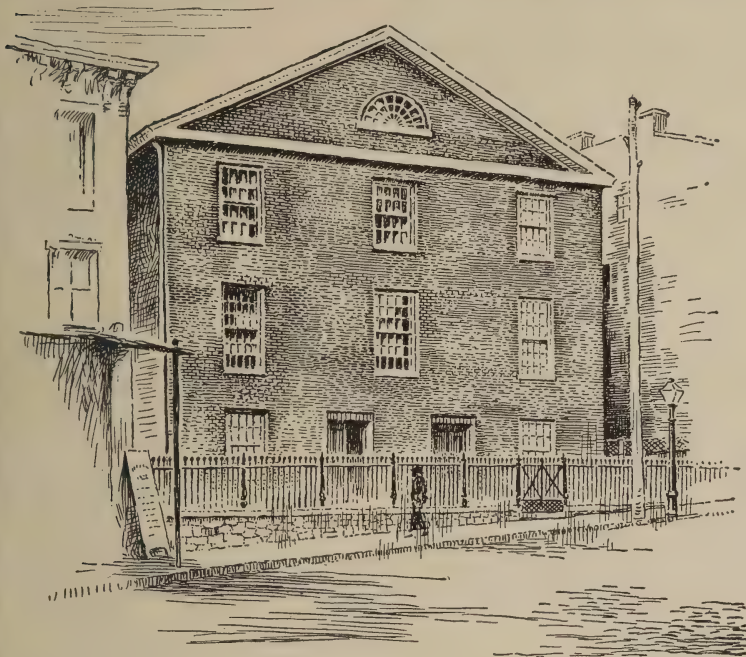
The present commodious building of the First Church was dedicated May 5, 1895, Bishop Charles H. Fowler preaching in the morning and Dr. James M. Buckley in the evening. It stands on the site of the old Greene Street Church and cost, including additional land, about \$80,000. When the

¹⁵ *History of State Street M.E. Church*, p. 13.

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church and Sunday school auditoriums are thrown into one, it has a seating capacity of two thousand.

On Sunday November 26, 1922, and the week-days following, the First Church observed with a series of elaborate and interesting services the sesquicentennial of its foundation. Sermons were preached by several



"GREENE STREET" (FIRST) M.E. CHURCH, BUILT 1838, SOUTH BROAD STREET.
PRESENT CHURCH OCCUPIES SAME SITE.

former pastors and other prominent ministers. An honor roll of some twenty-three persons then living who had a record of fifty years of membership was read.¹⁶

THE FRONT STREET M.E. CHURCH—1846

(SUBSEQUENTLY THE TRINITY M.E. CHURCH)

In the year 1846 a group withdrew from the original First Church and purchased the property of the Dutch Reformed Church on Front Street, where was organized and established the Front Street Methodist Episcopal Church. This society began with an initial membership of eighty persons and had grown to three hundred in 1864. About this time the Civil War

¹⁶ *The First Methodist Episcopal Church of New Jersey, Sesquicentennial, 1772-1922*, edited by Frank Duffield Lawrence and Howell Quigley.

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dissensions threw a dark cloud over this hitherto united and prosperous church and so acute became the crisis that a separation between the two factions took place, resulting in the formation of two separate congregations, Central and Trinity. After eighteen years of united history there thus came about the establishment of two other churches and the elimination of what had been known as the Front Street M.E. Church.

UNION, AFTERWARDS WESLEY M.E. CHURCH—1851

CENTRE STREET NEAR LANNING

The Union M.E. Church grew out of cottage prayer meetings held by local preachers from the Greene Street M.E. Church. The society was probably organized early in 1851. The *State Gazette* for Monday, August 4, 1851, contains an account of the cornerstone laying on Sunday, August 3, 1851. The Rev. Charles Pitman, assisted by the Rev. F. A. Morrel of the Greene Street M.E. Church, and the Rev. James Rogers of the Front Street M.E. Church, laid the cornerstone. The dedication of this building by Bishop Edmund S. Janes was on April 8, 1852, while the New Jersey Annual Conference was in session. The Rev. J. N. Nesler and James Rogers assisted. The Rev. J. N. Nesler was the first pastor. When the Union Street congregation sold its property, a site was bought and a new church was erected on Centre Street, henceforth known as Wesley M.E. Church.

The deed for the Wesley M.E. Church ground is dated November 26, 1888. This ground was on Centre Street below Federal Street and the price paid was \$3,200. The new church building was dedicated on Sunday, November 17, 1889, and the Rev. W. J. Thorn of Baltimore preached the dedicating sermon. This building was sold to the congregation of Ahovath Israel in 1911 for \$7,200. From the trustees of the First Baptist Church of Trenton in 1911 the trustees of Wesley M.E. Church bought their present church property for \$4,300. This building was rededicated by District Superintendent Alfred Wagg, D.D., in 1911, the Rev. G. W. Ridout then being the pastor.

STATE STREET M.E. CHURCH—1859

STATE AND STOCKTON STREETS

Methodism in Trenton, prior to 1859, was organized on the free-pew system. This method was not in harmony with the wishes of some seventy people, who on that account withdrew from the Greene Street M.E. Church in 1859 to organize a church of rented pews. This was the beginning of the State Street M.E. Church.

On February 1, 1859, this group elected seven trustees and on the following day the certificate of incorporation was executed and the name, "Trustees of State Street M.E. Church" was taken.

The original incorporators were William C. Howell, W. S. Hutchinson, John Whittaker, Daniel Bodine, Joseph McPherson, William Phillips and Isaac Gould; all well-known and influential citizens.

The first pastor was the Rev. George W. Batchelder. Meetings were held in Temperance Hall, where the congregation continued to worship until the new church building was erected at the corner of State and Stockton

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Streets. Bishop Scott assisted by several clergymen laid the cornerstone of the present edifice on July 21, 1859. On June 14, 1860, the building was dedicated by Bishop Janes, who was also assisted by many of the clergy. The total cost of the church exclusive of the land was about \$27,000. The church building at the time was considered a model of ecclesiastical architecture and was widely imitated or copied elsewhere in New Jersey. On the westerly side of the church a parsonage was built in 1865 at a cost of about \$10,000. In 1882 the old chapel, having proved inadequate to the needs, was torn down and a new chapel erected of double the capacity at a cost of \$7,000. In its career of seventy years the State Street Church has had a series of distinguished pastors and has numbered among its members many of the best-known and influential citizens of Trenton. Perhaps the chief figure among the laymen who have served the church was General James F. Rusling, whose personality and writings have done much to advance the cause of Methodism not only in this city but as well through the State and country at large.¹⁷

CADWALADER HEIGHTS M.E. CHURCH—1860

STUYVESANT AVENUE AND OAK LANE

The Cadwalader Heights Church is the direct successor of the old Warren Street M.E. Church which was organized in 1860 as a mission by a group belonging to the First M.E. Church. In 1859 a lot was secured on North Warren Street for a Sunday school that had been meeting in a school house on the Pennington road. In 1860 this group assumed the name of the Warren Street M.E. Church, though it was not until 1876, to accommodate a growing and enterprising congregation, that a church was built on North Warren Street. The influx of business on Warren Street and the expansion of population westward prompted the congregation to sell this valuable property to the "City Rescue Mission." During the pastorate of the Rev. Walter Atkinson a new church was built at the corner of Stuyvesant Avenue and Oak Lane. This fine church perpetuates the memory of the old Warren Street Church.

TRINITY M.E. CHURCH—1865

PERRY STREET

Trinity Church, as the logical and legitimate successor to Front Street M.E. Church, has had many financial trials and difficulties during its existence. For a period the services were held in rented halls and subsequently the congregation worshiped in what was known as the "Plank Church" on Academy Street. This building gave way in 1869 to the present commodious structure on Perry Street.

After a long struggle, a burdensome debt was finally paid off in 1918 during the pastorate of the Rev. Charles H. Elder. In 1920 many improvements were made to the church building, adding much to the beauty and comfort of the edifice. These improvements entailed another indebtedness which has since been paid off under the present pastor, the Rev. John Goorley.

¹⁷ *History of State Street M.E. Church, 1886.*

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THE CENTRAL M.E. CHURCH—1865

SOUTH BROAD AND MARKET STREETS

The Central M.E. Church came into existence in 1865 when 175 members withdrew from the Front Street M.E. Church and constituted the beginning of this new church enterprise. Bishop Edward R. Ames appointed the Rev. E. Stokes, subsequently founder of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting, to care for this new child of Trenton Methodism. The first meetings were held in the Mercer County Court House and subsequently at the residence of Ezekiel Pullen on Market Street. The first Sunday school was held in the Market Street Public School, but after April 30, 1865, the Sunday school was held in Temperance Hall on Broad Street where it continued to assemble until the basement of the church building was completed. On Thanksgiving Day, November 29, 1865, Bishop Edmund S. Janes dedicated the basement of the church to divine worship. The church edifice was completed in 1867 and was dedicated by Bishop Janes.

THE HAMILTON AVENUE M.E. CHURCH—1872

HAMILTON AVENUE AND HUDSON STREET

The origin of the Hamilton Avenue Church dates back to a meeting held at the home of George B. Whittaker on Hamilton Avenue on January 29, 1872. Twelve persons were present who expressed the conviction that the time had come to establish a Methodist Episcopal church in the rapidly growing residence section of the city, then known as Chambersburg. On March 22, 1872, the presiding elder, the Rev. Samuel Vansant, called a meeting at the home of Mr. Whittaker to consider the feasibility of forming a new church society, and a board of trustees was elected composed of the following persons: Moses Golding, Charles Carr, George B. Whittaker, William Gagg, James S. West, James H. Whittaker and Richard Jackson. A lot was purchased at the corner of Hamilton Avenue and Hudson Street for the sum of \$2,500. On November 2, 1872, the society was formally organized, and the name, the Hamilton Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, was decided upon. The building was constructed and the first regular service held in it was on Sunday, January 12, 1873, with the Rev. J. R. Westwood as pastor. On Sunday March 2, 1873, the church was formally dedicated by the Rev. John Heisler. The congregation grew until the building would not hold the people who desired to attend, and in the year 1893 it was decided to construct the present handsome building of brownstone which was then and still remains one of the finest church buildings in the New Jersey Conference. In the year 1910 the splendid Sunday school building was erected, which makes the church plant perfect in every detail.

BROAD STREET M.E. CHURCH—1872

BROAD STREET AND CHESTNUT AVENUE

In the spring of 1869 General James F. Rusling of the State Street M.E. Church called together the members of the class with other Methodists residing in Chambersburg at the White School House on Prospect Street, now Whittaker Avenue, and organized a Methodist Sunday school. In

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1870 a local preacher and exhorter came every Sunday night to preach and hold services in the school house. The society had long contemplated building a house of worship and were encouraged by the Ruslings, who promised to give lots for that purpose. On October 20, 1869, the Methodist Society elected trustees, and a resolution was passed instructing the trustees to assume the title "Trustees of the Broad Street Methodist Episcopal Church." On April 13, 1872, "The Linden Park Land Association offered to convey to the trustees two building lots, provided that work on the church building be commenced by the first of May 1872." The trustees accepted the offer, and on April 30, 1872, ground was broken and the new church enterprise was started.

In 1888 the property was enlarged at an expense of \$5,000 and a parsonage was also built on the lot adjoining the church. During the pastorates of different ministers further improvements have been made both to the church and the parsonage.

On October 22, 1927, the fifty-fifth anniversary was observed during the pastorate of the Rev. H. D. Stratton. Many of the former pastors returned to bring greetings and assist in the services.

CLINTON AVENUE M.E. CHURCH—1875

On April 28, 1852, when the Rev. C. F. Brown was pastor of the Greene Street M.E. Church, it was decided to establish a mission school in the northeast part of the city. Anthony Rinear, Israel Howell and Joseph Yard were appointed a committee on site. A warm friend was found in John Hart, in whose home the first session was held May 9, 1852. In 1853 the first building was erected, called Homestead. In 1872 Trenton Circuit was formed out of Homestead and Ruslingville, with the Rev. J. R. Westwood as pastor. In 1873 a new church was built costing \$2,800. In 1875 Homestead withdrew from the circuit and the Rev. Samuel Bennett was appointed pastor. The name of the church was changed from Homestead to Simpson, December 13, 1880. On April 17, 1889, when the Rev. G. S. Messeroll was pastor, a new edifice was built at a cost of \$10,000. On the completion of this building in 1890 the name of the church was changed to Clinton Avenue M.E. Church.

ST. PAUL'S M.E. CHURCH—1890

WEST STATE STREET AND FISHER PLACE

St. Paul's Church grew out of a Sunday school, known as the Passaic Street Sunday School, which was organized by members of the Greene Street (First Methodist) Church in 1890. In November of the same year the Church organization was effected by the Rev. J. B. Graw, presiding elder of Trenton District, and under the direction and leadership of the Rev. S. K. Hickman as its first pastor. It was the day of small things, twenty-two charter members and a Sunday school enrolment of twenty-four was the beginning.

During the pastorate of the Rev. S. K. Hickman, the cornerstone of the Spring Street Church was laid and the building completed. A Sunday school chapel was added during the pastorate of the Rev. John W. Morris.

In 1911, with the Rev. Henry M. Lawrence as pastor, the lot at the corner

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of West State Street and Fisher Place was purchased of Robert A. Montgomery for the erection of a new church. The laying of the cornerstone took place September 11, 1922. Dr. M. E. Snyder was in charge. Dr. Francis H. Green, headmaster at Pennington Seminary, delivered the address, the subject being "Building to Build," and Dr. M. E. Snyder, district superintendent, placed the stone in the foundation. The new church was dedicated October 7, 1923, by Bishop John W. Hamilton of Washington, D.C.

The original board of trustees were: Alfred S. Pittenger, Elijah Wagg, James Ronan, James S. Kiger, Albert N. Clayton, Charles Pette and John Hoagland.

The present board of trustees are: Robert Appleton, A. T. Apgar, V. B. Holcombe, O. V. H. Merrick, James M. Loyne, F. E. Snedeker, George L. Thompson, Harry Sorter and James Sherrard. The congregation has had fifteen pastors, the Rev. James Lord being the present one.

THE BROAD STREET PARK M.E. CHURCH—1894

SOUTH BROAD STREET AND BUCHANAN AVENUE

It was due to the interest and efforts of General James F. Rusling and William H. Rusling, who in 1894 gave four lots valued at \$2,500 as a site for a church, that the Broad Street Park Church came into existence. An organization was effected the same year and the following trustees elected: Andrew K. Rowan, James F. Rusling, William H. Rusling, Eugene F. Wiley, Robert L. McNeal, Edward Openshaw and Henry C. Allen. The trustees requested the State Street Church to assume the care and oversight of the congregation. A frame church costing about \$3,500 was built on the lot and dedicated June 6, 1895.

THE CHAMBERS STREET M.E. CHURCH—1904

CHAMBERS AND LIBERTY STREETS

Some members of the Broad Street M.E. Church united in 1904 to start a mission at the corner of Chambers and Liberty Streets. The new enterprise assumed the name of Chambers Street M.E. Church and was duly organized in April 1904. On July 28, 1893, the ground was broken for the erection of a Sunday school building. The building site was the gift of Samuel K. Wilson who also gave \$700 toward the building. In the year 1904 the Chambers Street Church was incorporated with the Rev. J. G. Edwards as its first pastor. Prior to this the Rev. George W. Scarborough served as pastor. The first trustees were Wm. E. Harris, Edward S. Chadwick, George Udy, James Read and John Warner.

GREENWOOD AVENUE M.E. CHURCH—1908

GREENWOOD AND OLDEN AVENUES

The Greenwood Avenue Church was the outgrowth of a Sunday school organized in the Cook School in 1907. In the following year, under the Rev. Alfred Wagg, district superintendent, a society was organized which assumed the name of Greenwood Avenue M.E. Church. The Church Extension Society having purchased a lot from General James Rusling at the corner of Greenwood and Olden Avenues, the first services were held

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there in a portable building during the summer of 1908. The Rev. Frederick B. Harris was appointed pastor. The cornerstone of the present edifice was laid December 31, 1910, and the building completed January 21, 1912.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Up to recent years the tenure of stay of Methodist ministers in a community was so limited that there was small opportunity for them to impress themselves upon its common life or to take a leading part in its civic and religious activities. In selecting the following names for mention out of the multitude who have served in Trenton, of course no invidious distinction is intended, since in any event only a few sketches could be given and these seemed best to fulfil the conditions.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Daniel P. Kidder, D.D., served as pastor of the First M.E. Church in 1843, when his labors were so active and so devoted as to make him a notable success. For eleven years he was editor of the Sunday school publications of the Methodist Church. His notable success in editorial work and analytical theological training caused him to be called to a professorship in Garrett Theological Seminary, and also to Drew Theological Seminary, where he taught from 1856 to 1880. He was elected by General Conference as secretary to the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. The church has awarded him a place worthy of his genius as a teacher, preacher, writer and speaker. Few men in the Methodist ministry have more indelibly impressed his generation by his scholarly qualities and other notable gifts. Dr. Kidder was born in New York City, and died in 1891.

Isaac Wiley, D.D., was the third pastor of the State Street M.E. Church. He was a man of genius and a leader in Israel, and is still held in reverent memory by the Methodists of Trenton and elsewhere. Owing to his scholarship and other notable gifts, he became the twenty-fifth bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was the only Trenton pastor to have achieved that great honor. He died in Foo Chow, China, November 22, 1884, a brave and self-sacrificing missionary.

George Bates Wight, D.D., was born in Boston, Mass., October 14, 1841. His education was received in private schools and the College of the City of New York. He equipped himself for school teaching and continued in that work until the Civil War started, when he enlisted in Company G, First New Jersey Infantry. In November 1862 he was commissioned Lieutenant in Company I of his regiment. He remained in military service until his discharge, caused by ill health contracted by confinement in Libby Prison. He was first commissioner of the Department of Charities and Corrections of New Jersey. Doctor Wight was secretary of the New Jersey Conference for fourteen years, also serving as pastor of the First M.E. Church of Trenton from 1887 to 1901, where he is still affectionately remembered. He

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died on June 1, 1916, and the funeral services were held from the First Church with interment in Riverview Cemetery, Trenton.

John D. Fox, D.D., was born in Pikesville, Bucks County, Pa., January 7, 1851. He was licensed to preach by the quarterly conference of Village Green Circuit on July 5, 1873, and admitted to the Philadelphia Conference in the spring of 1874. After occupying pulpits of note in the Philadelphia Conference, he was transferred in 1901 to the State Street Church of Trenton where he remained until 1910. Dr. Fox was a fine Shakespearean scholar and a preacher of rare merit. In the brotherhood of preachers he was styled the "Beloved John." He died in Philadelphia and the funeral services were held in Covenant Church, Philadelphia, on October 10, 1921. He was buried in the preacher's plot at Mt. Moriah Cemetery.

John Handley, D.D., was regarded as one of the most eloquent men in the New Jersey Conference. Dr. Handley was chaplain in the regular United States Army during the World War and served in France. He was also chaplain to the Second Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey, for ten years. He was appointed district superintendent in the New Jersey Conference where he ably served for three years. He was appointed delegate for three successive General Conferences. As a preacher, he was expository, scholarly and remarkably forceful. Born in New York City, he attended school at Pennington Seminary and later was graduated from Rutgers College. He took a degree of Doctor of Philosophy from New York University. Dickinson College gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died in the Methodist Hospital in Philadelphia on March 26, 1926. Funeral services were held in the First Church of Camden, N.J., the interment being in Greenwood Cemetery at Trenton.

Josephus Leander Sooy was born in Green Bank, N.J., March 1, 1849, and died in Rochester, N.Y., January 27, 1915. He was graduated from Princeton College in the class of 1871. In 1895 his alma mater conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He received his theological training in Drew Seminary. He came to the State Street Church, Trenton, in 1876 and served his full term. He then served churches in Kentucky, New York, and Camden, N.J. He was again pastor of the State Street Church, 1885-88. He was called again to the State Street Church several years later but declined because the church in Wheeling, where he was then serving, refused to release him. In 1908 he was made superintendent of the Buffalo, N.Y., district and six years later of the Rochester district. Dr. Sooy was an author of repute. Among his works were *Bible Talks for Children*, *Helps for the Devotional Hour*, *The Apostolic Twelve Before and After Pentecost*, and *Bibliography of Methodist Literature*. He was interested in science, geology being his favorite pastime.

BY THE EDITOR

Charles H. Elder was born in Camden, N.J., March 30, 1855. He came of sturdy American stock, of the plain hard-working sort, a fact of which he was always proud. There were no high schools during the period of his youth, but he spent two years in the highest grade in Camden public schools. He found his vocation in the old Third Street Church, now the First M.E. Church of Camden, and became an ardent Christian worker. In preparation

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for the work of the ministry he took a course of studies at Pennington Seminary. After three years he was forced to discontinue his studies, owing to a nervous breakdown. His interest in the work of the ministry remained unabated and he took a charge at Hamilton Square, N.J., under the district superintendent, the Rev. S. Vansant. He was pastor of Wesley M.E. Church for five years. Afterwards he also served Trinity M.E. Church for eighteen and one-half years until he was appointed chaplain at the New Jersey State Prison where he was serving at the time of his sudden death March 11, 1928. The long residence of Mr. Elder in Trenton and his wide association with the religious and charitable life of the city, particularly his ministry among the fraternal societies and lodges, served to make him a familiar and beloved figure in the community. His unprecedented term of service as a Methodist minister in charge of one and the same congregation for over eighteen years made him the dean and veteran of the Methodist Church in this community. Probably there is no minister in the city now or in the past who in the course of his ministry performed so many marriages or conducted so many funerals. As the Protestant chaplain for the past ten years in the State Prison, he ministered to hundreds of the inmates and won the friendship and gratitude of a host of these unfortunates who after their discharge still continued to keep in personal touch with him and to testify by their altered lives to the permanent value of his devoted Christian services in their behalf.

Mr. Elder's funeral was held in Trinity M.E. Church on Wednesday, March 15, 1928, in the presence of an overflowing congregation, and many warm tributes were paid to his character and work, including one by Maud Ballington Booth of the Volunteers of America.

MOUNT ZION AFRICAN M.E. CHURCH—1811

135-137 PERRY STREET

BY THE REVEREND CHARLES E. WILSON,

PASTOR OF MOUNT ZION A.M.E. CHURCH

The Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first colored religious organization of Trenton, had its beginning in a religious society known as "The Religious Society of Free Africans of the City of Trenton" and effected its first incorporation February 16, 1811. The trustees making the application were James Berry, Julius Stewards, Leonard Ennis, Sampson Peters and Francis Miller. In 1816, the year of the first and organizing General Conference of the A.M.E. Church, Richard Allen, the founder, organizer and first bishop of the denomination, visited the organization and admitted them into the connection. The congregation for many years was known as the "Mount Zion African Church." Sampson Peters, one of the original incorporators, was a preacher and became the first regular pastor in 1816 serving until 1819. The first building was erected in 1819 on the plot now occupied by the present building. A reincorporation was effected July 18, 1834, adopting the present name; the trustees were Leonard Scott, William Water, Henry Pearson, George B. Cole, John Treyer, George McMullen and Thomas Voorhees. The building was remodelled in 1858. Eighteen years later, in 1876, under the pastorate of the Rev. John W. Stevenson, the building was torn down and bodies in the old

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graveyard in the rear of the building were removed to a plot in East Trenton, known afterwards as "Locust Hill Cemetery," and in the place of the old building the present one was erected at a cost of \$10,000. During the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Stevenson the entire debt was liquidated through the assistance of generous white people, among whom were Mr. Joseph McPherson, a trustee of the State Street M.E. Church, Mr. Chancellor Green, the Rev. Mr. Sooy and the Rev. John Hall, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, who prepared the financial appeal to the public. The congregation owns a parsonage which, with the church building, is free from debt and valued at \$80,000. The membership of the church is above five hundred, and the present pastor, the Rev. Chas. E. Wilson, conducts a junior church with a membership of eighty-five. Among the fifty-two pastors serving the church for these one hundred and eleven years, three became bishops of the connection. The longest pastorate was that of the Rev. Solomon Porter Hood (1910-16), who afterwards became United States Minister to the Republic of Liberia.

OTHER A.M.E. CONGREGATIONS

There are three other congregations of the A.M.E. connection. St. Paul's Church at Willow and Pennington, and St. Mark's Church on Jefferson Street, and also a small mission. There is also another M.E. church for colored people, known as Asbury, on North Montgomery Street.

A GRAVEYARD FOR COLORED PEOPLE

As early as 1779 there was a small burial place for colored people (slaves) adjacent to land occupied by the Friends' Meeting House at Montgomery and East Hanover Streets.

This cemetery had its inception in the generosity of John Reynolds and Catherine his wife, which is exhibited in a conveyance made by them to Joseph Milnor under date of May 28, 1779,¹⁸ wherein they "reserve twenty feet square of ground on the northeast corner of the . . . lot of land adjoining the land of William Tucker and the Quaker Burying Ground for the use of burying the Negroes that now are or hereafter may belong to the families of William Morris, dec'd, and Mary Derry."

The aforesaid grant is further confirmed in a deed from Israel Morris (son of William Morris, deceased, and who sold the property to John Reynolds on September 23, 1778)¹⁹ to Joseph Milnor, dated October 5, 1782.²⁰

In the year 1811 the forerunner of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Trenton, and it is obvious that that congregation subsequently acquired title to this burial plot above mentioned, together with adjacent lands, for the purpose of establishing a cemetery for the burial of its deceased members, although no deed of such holdings by the church is of record.

However, through a resolution adopted by the Trustees of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church on the twentieth of March, 1861, Peter Perrine, president of the board of trustees, on the same date conveyed

¹⁸ *Secretary's Deeds*, A-L, pp. 115, 118.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, A-L, p. 112.

²⁰ *ibid.*, A-N, p. 97.

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title of the "Burying Ground" to Joseph B. and William S. Yard, which conveyance will be found in the Mercer County Deeds, Volume 50, at page 318. This instrument shows that the graveyard lot had a frontage of 32 feet 4 inches on the north side of Hanover Street, adjacent to the ground of the Society of Friends, with an irregular depth ranging from 156 feet 8 inches to 152 feet 6 inches.

There appears to have been a little chapel or school house on the premises. While excavating recently for the foundations of the Y.W.C.A. building several skeletons were unearthed.

VI. The Baptists—1805

BY THE REVEREND JUDSON CONKLIN,

FORMERLY PASTOR OF CLINTON AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH

THE Trenton Baptist churches are affiliated with what is known as the Northern Baptist Convention, the other great division of the white Baptists of the country being known as the Southern Baptist Convention. They are associated for purposes of fellowship and service with the New Jersey Baptist State Convention, one of the thirty-eight State Conventions of the Northern Baptist Convention, covering thirty-five States, including the District of Columbia, some of the States having two conventions within their bounds. The four colored Baptist churches of the city are affiliated with the National Baptist Convention, Colored, and are separately classed in the minutes of the State Convention under the name of the Afro-American Churches.

The New Jersey State Convention is divided into nine Associations, and it is with one of these, the Trenton Association, that the ten white Baptist churches of our city are connected.

The first mention of the Baptists in Trenton dates back to the year 1787, when the Rev. Peter Wilson, the pastor of the Baptist Church in Hightstown, began preaching services in the city, or rather village. As a result of Mr. Wilson's occasional visitations, five persons were baptized by him in the Delaware River on the fourth of March, 1788, "when the surrounding ice was so strong," writes the ancient chronicler of that event, "as to bear a large congregation of spectators." The work of Mr. Wilson widened and deepened, and the place in which the first

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services were held, the home of Mrs. Hannah Keen, a mother in Israel familiarly called the "Trenton Deacon," gave way to a meeting house, which was opened for worship on November 26, 1803. Two years later, on November 9, 1805, the "Trenton and Lamberton Baptist Church" was organized with forty-eight members.

THE FIRST CHURCH—1805

CENTRE STREET

It was a day of small things. In the whole State, the population of which in 1801 was only 200,000, there were only thirty Baptist churches, the first one having been organized in Middletown in 1688. The Trenton church was the thirtieth. The first pastor was the Rev. William Boswell, who was called and ordained in May 1809. He continued his pastorate until 1823, when, on account of changes in his belief, he was excluded from fellowship and withdrew with sixty of the members and organized another church in the vicinity which was known as the "Reformed General Baptist Church of Bloomsbury, N.J.," Bloomsbury with Lamberton being then one of the suburbs of Trenton. A building was erected by the church that same year on Union Street, which was afterwards sold and became known as the Second Presbyterian Church of Trenton.

Mr. Boswell continued with the new organization as pastor until his death in 1833. He was an able preacher, popular with the young people and held in high esteem by the other denominations of the city. The Rev. Thomas S. Griffiths, to whom the writer is indebted for many of these facts, states in his *History of the Baptists in New Jersey* that Mr. Boswell's "mistake was that, instead of saying that his views had changed and quietly resigning, he kept his place, preached heresy." He had embraced, it would seem, some of the teachings of Swedenborg, "stating his views with increasing boldness, until unendurable by the evangelical element of his hearers and hence they were compelled to act."

It is a matter of interest to note that Mr. Boswell's salary for one-half of his time given to the church, at the beginning of his pastorate, was only \$350. "His name will ever live," said Dr. Miller, "as one of the founders of the American Baptist Missionary Union," now known as the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society.

After Mr. Boswell's exclusion and withdrawal from the First Church, a long succession of pastors followed him down to the present time.

For seven years, from 1823 to 1830, temporary ministrations, or men who gave only half-time, supplied the pulpit and ministered to the spiritual wants of the members. But in 1830 Morgan J. Rhees, a man of unusual ability, was called to a joint pastorate with the Bordentown church, an arrangement which continued until 1834 when he gave his full time to the Trenton church. He was succeeded, after ten years of most efficient and successful service, by the following pastors:

Luther F. Beecher, 1841-42; John Young, 1843; Levi G. Beck, 1844-49; Henry K. Green, 1850-53; Duncan Dunbar, 1853-54; Lewis Smith, 1854-57; O. T. Walker, 1858-63; D. Henry Miller, 1863-67; G. W. Lasher, 1868-72;

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Elijah Lucas, 1873-93; M. P. Fikes, 1894-1900; J. J. Wicker, 1900-05; Charles J. Keevil, 1906-08; John Wellington Hoag, 1908-11; W. D. Thatcher, 1912.

The First Church is directly or indirectly the mother church of all the other Baptist churches now in the city.

A tribute should be paid especially to the work of the Rev. Peter Wilson,



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, BUILT 1860,
CENTRE STREET. PREVIOUS BUILDINGS
OCCUPIED SAME SITE.

to whose efforts the founding of the church and the beginning of the Baptist faith here are due. From 1787 to the organization of the church in 1805 he came from Hightstown almost every month to preach, and after its organization he continued his monthly visits until 1809, when Mr. Boswell was called. Mr. Wilson also preached occasionally at Mt. Holly, Pemberton and Marlton, and at Manasquan, Washington, South River, Penns Neck and Hamilton Square he maintained regular preaching stations. The churches there are largely due to his ministry. Morgan Edwards in his *History of New Jersey Baptists*, speaking of Peter Wilson, says "he was a

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man to be wondered at." His connection with the church lasted twenty-two years, from 1787 to 1809—the longest pastorate or semi-pastorate in the church's history.

From that time until the present, the longest pastorates with the church have been those of the Rev. Elijah Lucas, who served twenty years—from 1873 to 1893—and of the Rev. William D. Thatcher, the present popular and successful pastor, who has been with the church since October 1912. Mr. Lucas baptized into the fellowship of the church during his long period of service nearly seven hundred and fifty members. Of the eighteen pastors that followed Mr. Wilson, all were men who commanded respect, and some were of distinguished ability. Only four of the pastors of the church are now living: the Rev. M. P. Fikes, the Rev. John J. Wicker, the Rev. J. Wellington Hoag and the Rev. W. D. Thatcher. During Mr. Fike's pastorate, the Rev. S. S. Merriman and the Rev. John C. Killian were assistant pastors.

THE SECOND BAPTIST (CENTRAL) CHURCH—1843

EAST HANOVER AND NORTH MONTGOMERY STREETS

It was during the short pastorate of the Rev. John Young in 1843 that the second break in the harmony of the First Church was made, a break which, however deplorable at the time, led ultimately to the establishment of another Baptist church in the center of the city, where it was greatly needed. There were two factors which contributed to the bringing about of this break: Mr. Young claimed that it was his right to preside as moderator at all the meetings of the church, while there were members who thought differently and argued that an election should take place at each church meeting as to who should preside. This created a factional spirit in the church, which was increased by the infusion of the teaching of the doctrines of the Campbellite sect into Mr. Young's sermons. The result was that Mr. Young resigned to take effect on August 15, after six months' service, he having been elected to a professorship in a Campbellite college in Virginia. The church accepted his resignation and on the following Sunday he preached a sermon in which his views were more particularly set forth. "This added to the excitement which before existed," writes Dr. Miller, "and resulted finally in a sad division."

The Rev. Mr. Young was considered "a fine preacher, a strong thinker and a man peculiarly independent in his views." He had made many friends outside the church, and when it became known that he had resigned his pastorate in the First Church and was about to leave the city, these friends together with those in the First Church whom he had won to his following persuaded him to remain in Trenton and promised him their support in the organization of another congregation. Mr. Young assented and on the second of September, 1843, 124 members withdrew from the First Church to form the Second Baptist Church. This congregation built an edifice on the site now occupied by the Central Church, on the corner of Hanover and Montgomery Streets, and the new building was dedicated on November 28, the Rev. J. Lansing Burroughs preaching the sermon in the afternoon and the Rev. George B. Ide in the evening.

Mr. Young continued his ministry with the Second Church about two

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years. After his departure, the three pastors who followed him remained only a short time, the Rev. Joshua Fletcher about one year, his brother the Rev. Leonard L. Fletcher only a few months, and the Rev. Joseph Hammitt from 1849 to 1851. During the ministry of the latter the church became divided in sentiment as to the continued service of Mr. Hammitt and as a result twenty-six of the members withdrew with him from the church and organized the Trinity Baptist Church, meeting in Temperance Hall. Of the few members left in the Second Church to bear the burdens, some became discouraged and asked for letters of dismissal to their first home, thus weakening by their removal those that remained. An appeal was made to the Baptist State Convention for financial aid in their troubles, which was promised them as soon as they called a pastor. This they seemed unable to do and "then," says Dr. Miller, "went out the light of hope for the life of the Second Church."

Fearing that the property of the church would be sold and pass into other hands, the State Convention now entered the field, paid off a floating debt and made needed repairs. A missionary was appointed to the field, the Rev. J. T. Wilcox, in October 1853, and through his earnest and patient labors he was enabled to gather together the scattered remnants of the two churches, the Second and Trinity, which was now about ready to disband, and on the thirtieth of April, 1854, the Central Church was organized with twenty-nine members. From this small beginning has grown the strong and influential church of that name which now occupies the beautiful, recently remodelled edifice on the site of the original building, the corner of Hanover and Montgomery Streets. When Mr. Wilcox closed his work in Trenton with the Central Church four years later, March 1858, he left behind him a happy and united church of ninety-three members.

The history of the Central Church from that time to the present has been one of growth in numbers and influence. It has had a long succession of honored pastors from the beginning, up to the time when the Rev. Don Clyde Kite, the present pastor, came to the church in 1915. Between Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Kite there have been nine other pastors. Of these the longest and most fruitful pastorates were those held by the Rev. T. S. Griffiths, 1863 to 1870; the Rev. L. B. Hartman, 1879 to 1891; the Rev. A. W. Wishart, 1895 to 1906; the Rev. Guy L. Brown, 1909 to 1914; and the Rev. Don Clyde Kite, who has been longer with the church than any other. The ministry of the Rev. T. S. Griffiths was fervently missionary and evangelistic, and it was through him that "Elder" Jacob Knapp was brought to Trenton and conducted a six-weeks evangelistic campaign in the spring of 1867, the result of which was the addition of 136 members by baptism to the church while probably five hundred members in all were added to the churches of the city. Dr. Hartman was with the church twelve years and as a strong preacher and a man of executive ability he did much to strengthen and build up the membership. Mr. Wishart, now the pastor of the widely known Fountain Avenue Baptist Church of Grand Rapids, Mich., wielded a wide influence in the community and was especially popular with men. Mr. Kite has seen the church grow under his leadership and has had the joy of so enlarging and beautifying the church building that it is now held to be one of the finest in the city.

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THE CLINTON AVENUE CHURCH—1873

NORTH CLINTON AND LINCOLN AVENUES

It was during the ministry of Mr. Griffiths that several mission enterprises were begun in different sections of Trenton, one of these flowering out into the Clinton Avenue Church. A chapel was built on Perry Street near Southard in 1867, and in 1873 the church was organized with thirty-five members. The present beautiful edifice was erected in 1876, after the Rev. C. B. Perkins had been ministering to the church as its first pastor since 1873. He resigned in 1878 and four pastors succeeded him: Dr. N. W. Miner, 1878-81; O. T. Walker, 1883-85; Judson Conklin, 1885-1926, and Wayland Zwyer, 1926. Troubles followed the departure of Mr. Perkins. An almost crushing debt weighed down upon the members, and in all probability the building would have been sold by the sheriff if the State Convention board and the Baptist churches of the State had not come to their relief. It is safe to say that no church in New Jersey has ever received so much help from the State Convention as this church. Dr. Miner was permitted by the board members to go up and down through the State soliciting funds for its preservation from the various churches and through their generous response a great part of the burden was lifted. The mortgages and floating debt were reduced to \$10,000, and the board then agreed to pay the \$500 interest on the mortgage in the way of a grant toward the pastor's salary. This was in 1885.

In 1888, after Mr. D. P. Forst of the Central Church had left \$2,000 to the Clinton Avenue Church in his will on condition that the church raise or secure the balance of \$8,000 on the \$10,000 mortgage which still remained, the churches again responded to the cry of need and contributed \$3,000 in all, thus clearing the Clinton Avenue Church of all indebtedness. Since then, its progress forward has been continuous. From seventy-five members who could be found on the coming of Mr. Conklin, the membership has grown to eight hundred. The contributions to benevolence have increased from \$100 a year to \$5,000. Special honor should be paid to Thomas C. Hill, who, at a time of stress, mortgaged his own home in order to save the church from losing its building. In 1898 a commodious chapel was erected at a cost of \$12,000 and the interior of the church auditorium was remodelled and a pipe organ was installed.

CALVARY CHURCH—1874

SOUTH CLINTON AND ROEBLING AVENUES

Shortly after the third Baptist Church in Trenton was organized, under the superintending care of the Central Church, the members of the First Church saw the fruitage of their oversight and missionary zeal in the organization in 1874 of the fourth Baptist church (Calvary), located at the corner of South Clinton and Roebling Avenues. The Rev. George W. Lasher was the pastor of the First Church when lots were bought and a chapel built, and on September 10, 1874, the church was organized with fifty-four members. Eleven pastors have ministered to its needs since that time, four during the first nine years. Then came the longer pastorate of the Rev. E. J. Foote, from 1883 to 1889. He was succeeded by H. B. Harper,

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D. S. Mulhern, Dr. J. K. Manning, G. L. Allen, Morris G. Dickinson, and the present pastor, Joseph C. Pierce. Mr. Pierce has brought a strong and wise leadership to the members and the Calvary Church is now one of the strong Baptist churches of the city.

FIFTH BAPTIST CHURCH—1891-1910

CENTRE STREET, NEAR LANDING STREET

Two other churches have come into being under the fostering care of the First Church, the Fifth Church on South Centre Street and the Grace Church in West Trenton, at the corner of West State Street and Hermitage Avenue. It was under the inspiration of Pastor George W. Lasher of the First Church that lots were bought and a chapel was built in the sixth ward, the chapel being dedicated on March 19, 1871. Sunday school devotional meetings were maintained until 1891. Then, during the pastorate of the Rev. Elijah Lucas of the First Church, the Fifth Baptist Church was organized in 1891 with thirty-one members. There were good men called during the next twenty years to its pulpit, but the church languished and at length in 1910 it was voted to consolidate with the mother church by which it had been founded. Forty-five members returned to the fold of the First Church and so the Fifth ceased to be anything more than a memory.

OLIVET CHURCH—1896

MULBERRY AND OHIO STREETS

From the Clinton Avenue Church, two other churches have sprung: the Olivet Church on Mulberry Street and the Gethsemane Church in Wilbur, the latter occupying now the handsome and commodious auditorium and community building on the corner of Greenwood and Garfield Avenues. The mission from which the Olivet Church has grown was started originally by the Central Church, the chapel there having been built through the generous gift of D. P. Forst. For a time it prospered. This was in 1868. After the chapel was built in 1870, the Central Church under the pastor who succeeded the Rev. T. S. Griffiths abandoned the mission and the Clinton Avenue Church was persuaded by Mr. William Ellis, a member of the Central Church, to take it under its care. A missionary, W. A. Pugsley, was appointed to look after the field, and, as a result of his labors, the Olivet Church was organized in April 1896, with thirty-four members, twenty-six of whom came from the Clinton Avenue Church. The Rev. J. L. Coote became pastor in 1896, and he was succeeded in turn by the Rev. S. V. Whittemore, Dr. W. W. Case, and the Rev. Samuel S. Merriman, formerly the assistant pastor of the First Church.

GRACE CHURCH—1901

WEST STATE STREET AND HERMITAGE AVENUE

Grace Church has become one of the strongest and most promising churches in Trenton. A Sunday school was started near its present location on April 20, 1897, and on July 10, 1901, the church was organized. Its growth since that time has been almost phenomenal. The first missionary pastor, Mr. Leckliter, was followed by Pastors George W. Price, 1902;

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John C. Killian, 1906; Harvey W. Chollar, 1911; Charles F. Fields, 1914; and the present pastor, Oscar W. Henderson, 1920. Under his inspiring leadership, the church has built a splendid Bible school house and is now engaged in erecting an equally beautiful building for the church. In missionary offerings the church is a leading one, and two of its members are missionaries on the foreign field, the Rev. E. Carroll Condict in Assam and Dr. Howard Freas in Africa, on the Congo.

GETHSEMANE CHURCH—1909

GREENWOOD AND GARFIELD AVENUES

The mission in Wilbur, from which the Gethsemane Church has grown, was started by the Clinton Avenue Church in 1902. A chapel was built in 1906, costing \$6,500, and in 1909 the church was organized. There have been only two pastors, the Rev. Cuthbert P. Newton, who as a student in Peddie Institute had done yeoman service in gathering together the members, and the Rev. P. Vanis Slawter, who succeeded Mr. Newton in 1924. The church has grown to almost eight hundred members and it has built and dedicated its beautiful edifice without calling upon the State Convention or the other churches for aid.

THE HOMECREST CHURCH—1928

PARKWAY AVENUE AND PROSPECT STREET

This church, the latest of all the Baptist churches of Trenton, is the outcome of a Sunday school started by the Central Church in the offices of the Belle Mead Sweets on Prospect Street on October 30, 1921. The Sunday school was so successful that after the coming of the Rev. George R. Faint it was thought wise to organize a church and this was done on July 19, 1928, with a constituent membership of sixty. The building in which the church is worshipping was purchased of the Perth Amboy Baptist Church and is located on the corner of Parkway Avenue and Prospect Street.

OTHER BAPTIST CHURCHES

There are three other white Baptist churches in the city, the Memorial Church on Chambers Street near South Broad Street, a mission of the Calvary Church; the St. John's Italian Baptist Church on Butler Street; and the Magyar or Hungarian Church on South Clinton Avenue, now occupying the old chapel of the Calvary Church. The Rev. M. P. Fikes, the former pastor of the First Church, is now filling the pulpit of the Memorial Church, but the two foreign-speaking churches are at present pastorless. There are also four colored Baptist churches in Trenton, the Shiloh Church being in charge of the Rev. John A. White as pastor. The total membership of the white Baptist churches of Trenton, as reported in the State Convention minutes, 1926, was 4393; that of the colored churches is not known, only two of the four churches reporting 870. The number reported in all the churches is that only of the communicant members, not of the Baptist adherents, children and others who are members of Baptist households being excepted.

Among the prominent laymen now passed away, who had done much to

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advance the Baptist cause in Trenton, were Judge James Buchanan, William Vannest, Henry Coleman, D. P. Forst, J. E. Darrah, Daniel J. Freas, Thomas C. Hill, Charles P. Brown, Robert B. Bonney, Charles W. Howell and George W. Warren.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

It is fitting that some more extended notice should be paid to those pastors of the Baptist churches of Trenton who were longest with the churches and who did much to bring about their present prosperity. Among these, mention should be made of the Rev. *Elijah Lucas* of the First Church. He has the distinction of having the longest pastorate in the history of that congregation, twenty years, from 1873 to 1893. Mr. Lucas was regarded in his day as one of the strongest preachers of the city and his influence is still felt in the church and the community.

The second longest pastorate in the history of the First Church is that of the present pastor, Rev. *William D. Thatcher*, who began his ministry with the church in 1912.

The Rev. Dr. *L. B. Hartman*, who became the pastor of the Central Church in 1879, continued with the church until 1891. During his stay he built up a strong congregation and greatly endeared himself to the membership. He began his first pastorate in the city of Philadelphia, where he was successful in organizing Grace Church, now known as Grace Temple, of which Dr. Conwell was afterwards the pastor. After Dr. Hartman's withdrawal from the pastoral relation he continued to live in Trenton and was "a sort of pastor-at-large," showing a lively interest in his denominational work and in all matters of good citizenship in the city. He died in Trenton on November 22, 1907.

Another pastor of the Central Church, who exercised a wide influence in the city, though his pastorate was one of only ten years, from 1895 to 1905, was the Rev. *Alfred W. Wishart*, now the pastor of the Fountain Avenue Church of Grand Rapids, Mich. Mr. Wishart was greatly interested in the civic affairs of Trenton and for several years was the editor of the *Trenton Times*. He is a brilliant preacher and the author of several books.

Though not a pastor of any church in Trenton, the Rev. *Daniel Johnson Freas* should not be overlooked in this series of brief sketches of the prominent Baptists of the city. Mr. Freas came to Trenton from Woodbury, N.J., where he organized the First Baptist Church and was its pastor for a number of years. After making his residence here in 1876 and uniting with the First Church, he took up the work of a city missionary and for twenty years, until his death in 1898, he was a familiar figure in our city, having the respect of our citizens of every faith. "Father Freas," as he was affectionately called by many, was greatly beloved by the poor to whom he ministered and his death was deeply deplored by all classes in the community.

BY THE EDITOR

The Rev. *Judson Conklin*, who in 1926 rounded out a pastorate of forty-one years in the Clinton Avenue Baptist Church, came to this city in 1885. He had built up a strong congregation and had also made himself a prominent figure in church and civic circles. Mr. Conklin is a graduate of New York University, and of the Union Theological Seminary in the

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class of 1883. On the occasion of his retirement the *State Gazette* said of him in an editorial: "The Rev. Mr. Conklin's life in Trenton . . . has been one of glorious achievement even though he lived in a quiet and humble way. His retirement from the active work of the ministry will mean a serious loss for the people of his church, but it will not be a complete loss. The results of the Rev. Mr. Conklin's long labor in Trenton will be permanent in character, and while he continues to live in this city, his life will always serve as an influence for good."

The congregation of the Clinton Avenue Church on his retirement purchased a house for their pastor, giving him and Mrs. Conklin a life-lease upon it and also in other material ways showed its deep appreciation of Mr. Conklin's character and long services.

VII. The Roman Catholics—1814

BY JOHN J. CLEARY

AS THE episcopal seat of the Catholic diocese of Trenton, this city occupies a place of dignity and distinction in our religious annals. It is nearly half a century since the diocese of Trenton was created. The Right Rev. Michael J. O'Farrell occupied the see from 1881 to 1894. The Right Rev. James A. McFaul succeeded him for twenty-three years. Following him came the Right Rev. Thomas J. Walsh, consecrated July 25, 1918. Upon the promotion of Bishop Walsh to the Newark diocese in 1928, the Right Rev. John J. McMahon was appointed to the Trenton see, assuming jurisdiction on May 10 of that year. St. Mary's Church, 1865, originally dedicated for parish purposes January 1, 1871, became in 1881 the diocesan cathedral by choice of Bishop O'Farrell.

It is estimated that the present Catholic population of the city is nearly 50,000, the foreign or bilingual congregations numbering about 30,000.

PREDECESSORS OF THE SACRED HEART—1814

St. Mary's is not Trenton's oldest parish. That honor belongs to the Sacred Heart Church which inherited the history and traditions of old St. John's, built in 1848 and destroyed by fire following Sunday evening service, September 30, 1883. St. John's, itself the successor of a little church built in 1814, long served the entire Catholic community from the Five Points and beyond to Riverview. Indeed it drew faithful worshippers every Sunday from the surrounding country as distant as Lawrenceville, Hamilton Square, White Horse, Fallsington (Pa.) and Washington Cross-

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ing, many of these devout people travelling afoot. St. John's, built of stuccoed brick, was erected when the Rev. John P. Mackin was the local pastor, the growth of the Catholic population at the time being concurrent on the one hand with the Irish famine of tragic memory and, on the other, with the opening of several large industrial plants here, conspicuous among them the Cooper-Hewitt iron mills. In 1856 it was found necessary to add a wing to the new edifice.

St. John's, as previously stated, was itself the successor of a tiny brick church dating back to 1814, which had been dedicated under the patronage of St. John the Baptist. This was the first Catholic church erected in the State of New Jersey. Occasional services had been held in Trenton before the date named, the record of priestly visitations going back to the last decade of the eighteenth century. The visiting clergy usually came from Philadelphia. Among the places where the faithful gathered for divine service, tradition names the Fox Chase Tavern on Brunswick Avenue and the printing office of Isaac Collins which stood at what is now the southeast corner of State and Broad Streets. Mr. Collins was a Quaker and evidently practised the broad tolerance of his creed. The adherents of the faith at that time were chiefly Irish, French and Germans, who were not only few in number (about thirty families in all), but poor in pocket. An interesting circumstance of the period was the settlement in Trenton of John Baptist Sartori, a Roman consul to the United States, by appointment of the reigning Pope. He arrived here about the year 1800 and selected as the site for his residence what was then the attractive river front at the foot of Federal Street. He erected a spacious frame dwelling and part of it is still standing, having been long ago incorporated into the offices of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, later taken over by the American Bridge Company. Mr. Sartori made the visiting missionary fathers of his faith welcome in this riverside mansion, whose doors on Sundays were thrown open to the public for divine services. It will be of interest to copy here one of the distinguished Italian's visiting cards, which is still preserved by his descendants:

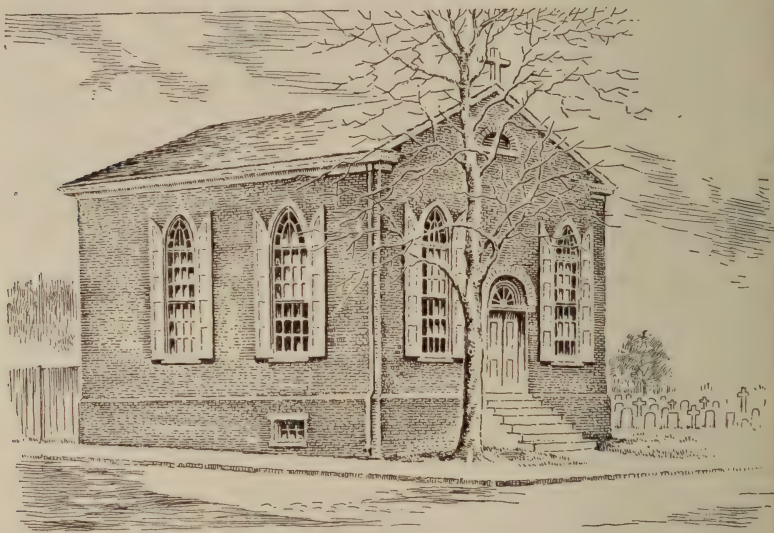
IL CONSOLE GENERALE PONTIFICIO
GIOVANNI BATTISTA SARTORI
PRESSO GLI STATI UNITI D'AMERICA
RESIDENTE IN TRENTON, N. J.

Captain John Hargous, formerly of the French navy and evidently a gentleman of means and standing, came to Trenton also in the first decade of the new century. Like Mr. Sartori he viewed with concern the need of some permanent place of worship for his co-religionists here, and the result was that these two gentlemen led in the purchase from the Coxe estate of sufficient ground (120 by 160 feet) at Market and Lamberton Streets for the erection of a church and the laying out of a graveyard alongside, according to a time-honored European custom. It may be well imagined that the dedication of Trenton's first Catholic church, which occurred in 1814, the Right Rev. Michael J. Egan of Philadelphia conducting the ceremony, was an occasion of marked rejoicing among the faithful, but the impression created upon the population of the city generally can be conjectured by the fact that the local press gave the event a bare line or two. The building was of simple and modest design. It had a frontage of fifty

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feet with a width of thirty feet. An arched ceiling arose twenty feet from the floor. There was a small gallery at the end of the church farthest from the altar. The entrance was on Lamberton Street, being reached by a short flight of wooden steps. It was not until 1830 that the congregation could support a resident pastor. In 1844 Father Mackin succeeded to the pastorate. (For additional details and a list of the names of the priests before Father Mackin, see *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton*, by the Rev. Walter J. Leahy, Chapter II. From 1830 to 1844, there were seven successive clergymen in charge.)

The little Lamberton Street church was dedicated June 12, 1814, the only local newspaper mention being this item in the *Trenton Federalist* of June



FIRST ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, "CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,"
BUILT 1814, MARKET AND LAMBERTON STREETS.

6, 1814: "We are given to understand that the Roman Catholic Church lately erected here will be dedicated on Sunday next and Divine service in the forenoon and afternoon."

Sunday, August 27, 1848, was the date of the dedication of the new St. John's at Broad and Centre Streets, the edifice being crowded for the occasion, indicating that the Catholic population had grown extensively. Although incomplete at the time, services had been held in the new church on Christmas Day, 1847.

The story of Father Mackin's ministrations among the Catholics of Trenton and of extensive rural sections, to which he often drove in the most trying weather to say mass and administer the Sacraments, forms a glowing chapter in local Catholic annals, equal to the choicest among the missionary efforts that witnessed the cradling of the faith in early New Jersey. Finally

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his health broke about 1859 and for ten years he travelled or was assigned to lighter charges. Early in the '70's he returned amid the loud acclaim of his old parishioners and until 1873, when he died suddenly of heart disease, he moved among the people of Trenton with striking manifestations of esteem and affection. Not only was Father Mackin popular with his own flock but he was frequently entertained in the homes of the well-to-do of other creeds. Not a few conversions to the faith took place during his pastorate, his beautifully human qualities attracting all comers and, having won their confidence,

"Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway."

After the breakdown in health of Father Mackin in 1859, Fathers O'Donnell and Young served until 1861 when the Rev. Anthony Smith assumed charge of the parish. His career and labors will be dealt with under the heading of St. Mary's Cathedral, his most conspicuous accomplishment.

THE SACRED HEART—1889

SUCCESSOR TO ST. JOHN'S 1848
BROAD AND CENTRE STREETS

With the coming of the Rev. Thaddeus Hogan to Trenton in 1878 and the erection a few years later of the Sacred Heart Church on the site of St. John's, which was destroyed by fire, a new era in Catholic affairs in South Trenton was inaugurated. In the interval between Father Mackin's death and Father Hogan's appointment, the Rev. Patrick Byrne had been pastor and had labored with zeal and eloquence. His strong stand for total abstinence was noteworthy and he attained such prominence in the movement that for several years he was president of the national Catholic Total Abstinence Union. As a result, temperance made remarkable progress locally. He also was a champion of education and one of the monuments of his devotion to this cause was St. John's school and parish hall on Lamberton Street, which was opened in 1876-77. The structure, with sixteen classrooms, made it one of the largest and finest schools of its day in southern New Jersey.

The Sacred Heart Church, which was dedicated June 30, 1889, is a massive structure of grey stone in the Roman style of architecture with two dome-shaped towers in front. The interior is unusually spacious and handsome, the white marble altars being particularly admired. At the north side a rectory of the same general type as the church and on the south side a clubhouse, also massive and imposing, were erected about the same period. The organization of a home within which Catholic gentlemen should be moulded according to the most approved standards, was dear to the heart of Father Hogan and he achieved his ambition so successfully that the Catholic Club became for years a center of literary and musical activity as well as of physical culture, embracing every form of clean sport. Within its walls eminent speakers, celebrated singers and athletes of national reputation often made their appearance. The audiences were recruited not alone from the parish but from all parts of the city and from all denominations.

Two incidents of the first magnitude crowned Father Hogan's career. Upon motion of Bishop McFaul, he was elevated by the Holy See to the

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dignity of Monsignor and the ceremonies marking his induction gave occasion for an outpouring of religious and civic rejoicing. Then came the observance of his golden jubilee in the priesthood which also evoked an outburst of affectionate interest, including a lay celebration and an elaborate program of ecclesiastical events. A man of handsome presence, of splendid intellect, and of a deeply spiritual nature, a powerful preacher and an enthusiastic exponent of the rights of Ireland, he passed away amid general community grief in 1918.

The Rev. Peter J. Hart, pastor following Monsignor Hogan's death, built an excellent modern school and a sisters' convent of grey stone on Broad Street above the Sacred Heart Church and otherwise manifested the qualities of progressive leadership. Father Hart having been transferred to St. Peter's Church, New Brunswick, the Rev. John H. Sheedy succeeded to the pastorate of the Sacred Heart Church here, in 1928.

ST. FRANCIS' CHURCH—1851

WEST FRONT STREET

The progress of the Catholic body for the first half of the century was not without untoward incidents. A small mortgage remaining on the original church, St. John the Baptist, built in 1814, was found to be burdensome and the sheriff finally intervened; interest in the proposed removal to the new



ST. FRANCIS' ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, FRONT STREET. PURCHASED FROM THE METHODISTS IN 1865 AND SUBSEQUENTLY REMODELLED.

St. John's at Broad and Centre Streets had doubtless dulled the feeling of the parishioners with respect to the old property. However, after several transfers of title, Peter A. Hargous, then of New York (a son of Captain John Hargous), paid off all encumbrances amounting to about \$500 and in 1851 had the property regularly vested in the name of the Right Rev. James

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R. Bayley, bishop of Newark, which diocese then included Trenton. Mr. Hargous' action enabled the creation of a separate parish for the German Catholics of Trenton, their numbers having grown sufficiently to warrant this step. The Rev. John Gmeiner was the first German pastor (1853) and he soon added to the land in the rear of the church where in 1856 he erected a school. Meanwhile, the name "St. John the Baptist" having been appropriated by the new church at Broad and Centre Streets, the original church under the Germans became known as "St. Francis of Assisi." Other pastors succeeded and the Germans outgrowing their tiny quarters looked about for a larger edifice. The Rev. William Storr led the movement which resulted in the purchase in 1865 of the former Methodist Church on West Front Street for \$11,000. The original little church at Lamberton and Market Streets gradually fell into decay and was razed in the early '80's to make way for dwellings. Previously it was for a time used as a St. John's school annex.

The Rev. Francis Gerber, D.D., succeeded Father Storr and in 1867 built the priests' house adjoining the church on Front Street. He improved the church itself by alterations, including a graceful set of towers. A parish school was also opened in the rear of the church. The Rev. Peter Jachetti (1870-74) was the next pastor, of whom more below. The Rev. Avellino Szabo then served as pastor for eight years (1874-82), with the Rev. Conrad Elison (1882-83) and the Rev. Joseph Thurnes in turn succeeding. Upon the death of the latter in 1902, the Rev. Joseph Rathner, D.D., entered upon a popular pastorate that continued until his tragic death while gunning in 1926. The Rev. Bartholomew B. Doyle, Dr. Rathner's assistant, administered parish affairs, pending the appointment of a permanent pastor.

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH—1865

WARREN AND BANK STREETS

When the Rev. Anthony Smith assumed the pastorate of St. John's Church, some time after Father Mackin had to vacate because of ill-health, the city generally gained a far-visioned, energetic churchman and citizen who for many years was a stimulating influence for religious and secular advancement. He came here in 1861 with a reputation for the courageous inauguration of large building enterprises. A mere listing of what he accomplished here for the extension of religion and the promotion of civic enterprises would be eloquent of his capacity, his indefatigable spirit, his unusual foresight. Almost immediately on his arrival he purchased an asylum on South Broad Street, particularly for orphans of Civil War soldiers, at the same time introducing the Sisters of Charity to care for the forlorn and to teach in the parish schools.

As the years went on, one important work after another was taken up and pushed to a successful conclusion. The story of this tireless, devoted priest's work is graphically told in the Right Rev. John H. Fox's *A Century of Catholicity in Trenton* (1899) and it may only be briefly summarized here. It soon dawned on Father Smith, as he travelled afoot over the great stretches of his parish, that a new church north of the Assunpink was a necessity of the immediate future. In 1865 he purchased

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the ground on which St. Mary's Cathedral stands, at Warren and Bank Streets. It was the geographical center of an area that is today most thickly populated, but in addition the site is valuable beyond price for its historic associations. Here the Battle of Trenton of glorious memory was waged with hottest fire and the position of the property covered today by the cathedral rectory was occupied by the Stacy Potts house where Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall, the Hessian commander, made his headquarters and where, after being mortally wounded, he received the sympathetic visit of General Washington and a little later breathed his last.

Ground was broken for St. Mary's April 23, 1866, and so formidable was Father Smith's noble design and so inadequate the means of his people at that period, that the work proceeded slowly. Parishioners contributed much of the labor; at the sight of Father Smith himself in the midst of excavating and construction, there was no resisting his enthusiasm.

With solemn ceremonies this really beautiful Gothic temple, adorned with sacred frescoes and enriched with a white marble altar, was finally dedicated January 1, 1871, and coincidentally Father Smith was transferred from St. John's to the pastorate of St. Mary's. A parish school, a sisters' convent, a rectory, a parish cemetery, the building of a combination school and chapel for East Trenton (now St. Joseph's), the starting of a needed church for Hopewell, the raising of a spire 256 feet high over the cathedral in 1878—these achievements are to the credit of one who by universal assent towered among the ablest New Jersey clergymen of his day. When the diocese of Trenton was created in 1881, its first bishop selected St. Mary's for his ecclesiastical seat, and Father Smith became his vicar-general, an office he administered, apart from his pastoral duties, so as to endear himself alike to his spiritual superiors and the priests of the diocese. In the well-chosen yet modest phrasing of Monsignor Fox: "When Father Smith died August 11, 1888, he was mourned not alone by his own people for whom he labored so well for more than twenty-seven years, but by the public generally who recognized in him a faithful servant of God and an eminently good citizen."

Following Father Smith's death, St. Mary's affairs were temporarily administered by the Rev. J. Joseph Smith and the Rev. John McCloskey up to October 1890, when the Rev. James A. McFaul was appointed pastor. Father McFaul had been a curate under Father Smith eleven years previously and he was destined to further honors at the cathedral as time went on. He was appointed vicar-general to Bishop O'Farrell, November 1, 1892, and upon the bishop's death he was made administrator of the diocese, succeeding to the episcopate three months later. Bishop McFaul continued also as rector until February 1, 1895, when he appointed to that office the Rev. John H. Fox, LL.D.

During the several pastorates, just named, temperance societies for men and women were organized, a new organ was installed, the standard of studies in the parish schools was improved, a handsome convent for the teaching sisters was erected at Warren and Bank Streets, an unusually fine parish hall and gymnasium were built on Bank Street and various important renovations were effected in the cathedral. The various cathedral properties represent a valuation of close to a million dollars. The Right

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Rev. Monsignor Fox—he was made a domestic prelate of the Holy See in 1904 and had been appointed vicar-general by Bishop McFaul four years previously—has repeatedly received testimonials from his parishioners and the public generally, attesting the success of his spiritual work in Trenton. These testimonials have taken the form of great gatherings in the principal halls of the city with highly complimentary addresses, and in various other expressions of popular approval.

THE CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—1875

CHESTNUT AVENUE

Among the rectors who administered successfully at St. Francis' Church on Front Street special mention should be made of the Rev. Peter Jachetti, O.M.C., who, noting the growth of the Catholic population, notably Germans and Italians, beyond the canal, set to work to create a new parish with the consent of his spiritual superiors. The Convent of St. Francis (1874), O.M.C., and the modest frame Lady of Lourdes Chapel on Chestnut Avenue (1875) were the results, the latter being succeeded by the present spacious and imposing Gothic Church of the Immaculate Conception (1890), wherein representatives of all nationalities have been served by the Franciscan order. This church is one of a group of parish buildings, including rectory, grammar and high school and a general auditorium, all of fine architectural proportions, thoroughly equipped and covering a valuable city block. The Revs. Anselm Auling, Francis Lehner, Bonaventure Zoller, Bernardine Ludwig, Peter Shardun and Alphonse Lehrscholl served in turn as pastor. The Very Rev. Austin Fox, O.M.C., is the present rector, the parish enjoying an era of prosperity under his management. Father Peter Jachetti died in his native province in Italy in 1921.

ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH—1893

NORTH OLDEN AVENUE

St. Joseph's Church, which had been served from St. Mary's up to April 1893, with the Rev. James A. McFaul as first pastor, was then made an independent center, and the Rev. John H. Fox was appointed as its first resident pastor. Located in East Trenton, the pottery district, this parish has had its ups and downs due to industrial conditions. When Father Fox was promoted to the rectorship of the cathedral in 1895, the Rev. Bernard J. O'Connell and the Rev. Michael O'Reilly were named to St. Joseph's consecutively, and on September 8, 1898, came the Rev. Henry A. Ward. A handsome church of grey stone with bell tower graces St. Joe's Avenue at Olden Avenue in evidence of his devotion, zeal and progressive spirit. The rectory, a three-story edifice of Stockton granite with Indiana limestone trimmings, is also a creditable structure while the parish school in close proximity, which was erected about 1891, has been brought up to every modern demand. Father Ward has completed over thirty years of intelligent supervision of this portion of the Lord's vineyard, and has by his broad public-spirited views earned the warm regard of all concerned with the advancement of East Trenton.

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THE BLESSED SACRAMENT CHURCH—1912

BELLEVUE AND HERMITAGE AVENUES

The Blessed Sacrament parish, which was created in 1912, has experienced a marvellous development, owing largely to the sudden growth of Catholic population, following the general residential trend towards the West End. A valuable and well-located property at the corner of Bellevue and Hermitage Avenues, purchased 1911, embraces the rectory and a well-constructed three-story stone building combining church and school, with accommodations also for the teaching sisters. The original church, which was of limited size and would soon have had to go anyway, was burned down a few years ago and the site which runs along Hermitage Avenue from Bellevue back to Rutherford, will before a great while accommodate a stately new edifice for divine worship. The Rev. Michael H. Callahan was the first pastor and was succeeded by the Rev. Martin F. Casey (1914), upon whose shoulders most of the building responsibilities have fallen. Father Casey is an indefatigable worker and under his care the parish has prospered spiritually and in its temporalities. He has added to the real estate holdings, which now run six hundred feet on Bellevue Avenue, three hundred feet on Rutherford Avenue, and two hundred and fifty feet on Hermitage Avenue.

ST. ANTHONY'S CHURCH—1921

OLDEN NEAR HAMILTON AVENUE

St. Anthony's Church on Olden Avenue immediately below Hamilton Avenue, represents the desire to meet church needs in the extreme eastern section. The parish, established in 1921, has grown by leaps and bounds, so that the original sacred edifice now accommodates the faithful only by five successive services each Sunday morning. Overflow congregations attend the various other church gatherings. There is ground for a much larger church, which doubtless will be constructed in the near future. A handsome two-story school in light stone, a sisters' convent and a priests' house, all substantially built, are already provided. The entire property has a frontage of 425 feet with a depth of 275 feet and is now the center of a fast-growing district which within easy memory was fields and commons.

The Very Rev. Alphonse Lehrscholl, O.M.C., was the first pastor and the Very Rev. Sylvester Alhaus, O.M.C., is now in charge, and doing fine work. The parish contains 2,800 souls and the school 660 pupils, at the present writing.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY ANGELS—1927

SOUTH BROAD NEAR CEDAR LANE

The new Church of the Holy Angels, located on South Broad Street near Cedar Lane, marks the progress of religious effort in the extreme southern section of the city. It was opened for service at the midnight mass, Christmas, 1927, and was dedicated a few months later. There is seating capacity for seven hundred and fifty people. The exterior is of granite, of stately proportions, while the interior is of the early renaissance style. It was erected at a cost of \$100,000, succeeding a combination church and chapel

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opened in 1921. The Rev. John F. Walsh is the progressive pastor and the church is a monument to his spiritual zeal and administrative capacity. He is an eloquent preacher, and his record as a war chaplain overseas was such as to make him exceedingly popular with all classes of our citizens.

OTHER CHURCHES (FOREIGN-SPEAKING PEOPLES)

There are in Trenton today eight English-speaking Catholic churches and eleven in which the congregations are addressed bilingually. Among those of the latter class are several of notable size and in which beautiful edifices serve the purposes of religion. St. Hedwig's (Polish), of which the Right Rev. A. B. Strenski is pastor, is located at Brunswick and Olden Avenues and includes an imposing stone church of fine architectural proportions, together with a parish school with over a thousand pupils. St. Mary's (Greek), at Malone and Grand Streets, also has a fine church building dedicated in 1893, and a large school. The Rev. Desider Simkow is the pastor. Following are the other bilingual congregations:

Holy Cross (Polish), Cass and Adeline Streets, originally erected in 1891 but since enlarged. Pastor, the Rev. Martin J. Lipinski; school, 900 pupils.

St. Basil's (Roumanian), Adeline and Beatty Streets (1910). Pastor, the Rev. Aural Bungardenn.

St. James', Paul Avenue. Pastor, the Rev. Joseph Monacho, with a school attended by 350 pupils.

St. Joachim's (Italian), Butler Street (1901). Pastor, the Rev. Alphonse Palonbi; school, 810 pupils. The Right Rev. Aloysius Pozzi, former pastor, built the church and school.

St. Michael the Archangel (Slovak), Brunswick Avenue and Pine Street. Pastor, the Rev. Michael J. Kallok.

St. Nicholas Greek Catholic (Hungarian), Adeline and Hudson Streets. Pastor, the Rev. Gabriel Chopen.

St. Peter and St. Paul (Slavish), Second Street (1899). An unusually handsome stone church has recently been erected, and the school with 650 pupils is also strictly modern. Pastor, the Rev. Colonan Tomchany.

St. Stanislaus (Polish), 60 Randall Avenue, dedicated in 1892. Pastor, the Rev. Ignatius Kusz, O.M.C. There is also a school for Polish children.

St. Stephen's (Hungarian), 210 Genesee Street, (1903). Pastor, the Rev. John Szabo, D.D. A school is also maintained.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Michael J. O'Farrell, first bishop of the diocese of Trenton, was born in Limerick, Ireland, December 2, 1832, and was educated at All Hallows College, Ireland, and at St. Sulpice in Paris. Joining the Sulpitians, he taught Dogmatic Theology in the Grand Seminary at Montreal, but his health failed and he engaged in missionary service in the United States, subsequently performing pastoral work in New York City, notably in old St. Peter's Church, Barclay Street. He was consecrated bishop of Trenton November 1, 1881. His was the task of organizing a new diocese, comprising the southern tier of New Jersey counties, and to the task he brought zeal, piety and kindly manners which won him friends everywhere. A great scholar, especially erudite in Irish history, he assembled about him in

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the episcopal residence an immense and varied collection of books, constituting possibly the finest private library of its kind in the city. A champion of education, he conducted a campaign of school building. Many churches here were erected through his care. He was an eloquent speaker in the pulpit and on the lyceum platform and was constantly in demand. It was the irony of fate that so gentle and winning a personality should have to deal with rebellious priests on several occasions, one of them the result of disordered intellect, but he was fully sustained in all his rulings. He passed away April 2, 1894, after only thirteen years in the episcopate, and is buried at St. Michael's Home for Orphans, Hopewell, one of the most useful of the diocesan institutions, which he himself had endowed to the extent of \$25,000.

James A. McFaul, second bishop of Trenton, was born in County Antrim, Ireland, June 6, 1850, and was brought to this country as an infant by his parents who settled temporarily in New York City; afterwards, at Bound Brook, N.J., where as a youth he displayed brilliancy of mind and unusual powers of application in his studies. Later, he attended St. Vincent's College in Westmoreland County, Pa., for four years and finished his collegiate course at St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City. After a theological course at Seton Hall Seminary, South Orange, N.J., he was ordained to the priesthood, May 26, 1877. After various assignments in North Jersey, he became assistant to Vicar-General Anthony Smith, at St. Mary's, Trenton. In 1884 he was made pastor at Long Branch; in October 1890, Vicar-General Smith having died, he was returned to St. Mary's, Trenton, as pastor. On November 1, 1892, Bishop O'Farrell made him vicar-general of the diocese, having previously served as chancellor. Upon Bishop O'Farrell's death in April 1894, he succeeded to the see of Trenton, October 18, 1894.

Bishop McFaul proved an administrator of masterful traits; plain in speech and manners, he was charitable to a degree and was noted for his rich fund of Irish humor. He carried on the episcopate with ability and vigor and manifested a great capacity for work. The diocese felt the spur of his ceaseless activities and prospered both in spiritual life and in temporalities. He thought, labored and lived for his priests and people. He was also proud of the historic city which formed his see, and his public addresses often glowed with patriotic enthusiasm. He was earnest to the point of aggressiveness in defense of religion and never shirked a battle in the press or forum. A number of scholarly pastoral letters emanated from his pen. He was one of the organizers and most eloquent promoters of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, which is still in power in its reorganized form as the National Welfare Society. He showed his love for the helpless and unfortunate by the institutions he erected for the aged and orphans, including St. Michael's Children's Home at Hopewell and Morris Hall at Lawrenceville, at the latter of which he is entombed. When he passed away June 16, 1917, a giant in intellect, courage and spirituality was lost to the Church which he had loved with all the depth of a great nature.

Thomas Joseph Walsh, third bishop of Trenton, was born at Parker's Landing, Butler County, Pa., December 6, 1873, the son of Thomas and Helen (Curtin) Walsh. He was educated at the college and theological

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seminary of St. Bonaventure, Allegheny, N.Y., and at the University of St. Appollinaris, the Pontifical Roman Seminary, Italy, from which he received the degrees of D.D. and D.C.L. In 1913 he received an LL.D. from St. Bonaventure's. He was ordained to the priesthood by the Right Rev. James E. Quigley in Buffalo, January 27, 1900. He was appointed third assistant rector of St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, January to June 1900; private secretary to Bishops Quigley and Colton 1900-15; chancellor of the diocese; rector of St. Joseph's old cathedral, 1915-18; and reappointed chancellor of the diocese upon the installation of Bishop Dougherty, 1916-18. He was consecrated bishop of Trenton, N.J., July 25, 1918. Both in Buffalo and since he was elevated to the episcopate here, he has been distinguished for his special interest in the bilingual peoples under his care. With a particular view to the promotion of religion and good citizenship among the Italians who constitute a considerable fraction of the Catholic population in all the larger communities of his diocese, Bishop Walsh has established in the suburbs of Trenton the Villa Victoria, Pontifical Institute of Religious Teachers, comprising mother-house, novitiate and normal school. The benevolence of James Brady of New York provided the funds for this purpose, and the same gentleman at his death left a generous endowment. Recent figures give the number of sisters in the community at 38; novices, 20; postulants, 18; and candidates, 12. The general purpose is to enroll young women of this country of Italian extraction who will be thoroughly educated according to American methods and who, speaking both languages, will be the better able to make good Americans and well-informed Catholics of the young people of their race who otherwise would grow up in more or less of a foreign atmosphere. English will be the language of all these Italo-American schools. Arrangements have been made to erect at Villa Victoria several additional buildings to carry out the scope of this great educational work.

Bishop Walsh is a man of progressive ideas, intensely devoted to American institutions, possessing executive qualities of a high order, personally affable and simple in his tastes, earnest and energetic in religious and civic affairs, and just now in the full flower of vigorous manhood. He was consecrated bishop of Newark in May 1928.

The Right Rev. *John J. McMahon*, D.D., LL.D., fourth bishop of the diocese of Trenton, N.J., was born at Hinsdale, Cattaraugus County, N.Y., September 27, 1875. His early education was received at the Belfast (N.Y.) Seminary and Union High School, where he graduated at the head of his class in 1893. He received the degree of B.A. at St. Bonaventure's College, Allegheny, N.Y., and completed his theological studies at Rome, Italy, where he was ordained May 20, 1900. By appointment of Bishop Quigley of Buffalo he served as assistant priest in Jamestown and Buffalo, and was acting pastor in New Fane, N.Y. He administered the affairs of other parishes. Later Father McMahon was appointed to the office of assistant diocesan superintendent of schools. He established the parish of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Buffalo, being the first American priest to exercise jurisdiction over an Italian parish in Buffalo diocese. The parish contained 12,000 souls, three Italian priests serving as his assistants. The school with an enormous attendance was his special care. In 1908 he was commissioned to establish St. Mark's parish, Buffalo, which started with 32 families and

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now has 1,684 souls. The church, school and rectory cost \$750,000 with only \$96,000 debt remaining. As director of the Holy Name Society of the diocese he raised the adult membership to 51,000 men, with 24,000 junior members. He also performed many assignments of an episcopal nature up to March 7, 1928, when he was elevated by Pope Pius XI to the bishopric at Trenton. He was given a Doctor of Laws degree at St. Bonaventure's College in 1919. He was consecrated on Thursday, April 26, 1928, in St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, and installed in St. Mary's Cathedral, Trenton, May 10, 1928.

Thaddeus Hogan, Right Rev. Monsignor, was born in County Limerick, Ireland, May 17, 1843. After preliminary studies in local schools he made his theological course at All Hallows and was ordained June 29, 1865, having barely reached the appointed age. Fired with missionary zeal he went to Australia, a virgin country, to labor for religion, but after three years his shattered health compelled a return to Europe. After various assignments in Dublin diocese, he came to the United States and in 1871 was sent to East Newark as pastor. Seven years later his assignment to Trenton occurred, and for two score years thereafter he wrote his name in splendid achievements which are summed up elsewhere in this chapter.

John H. Fox, Right Rev. Monsignor, vicar-general of the diocese of Trenton, was born July 7, 1858, in New Brunswick. After a collegiate and theological course at Seton Hall, South Orange, N.J., he was ordained June 7, 1881. When the diocese of Trenton was created, Father Fox was serving in the northern Counties, but at the request of Bishop O'Farrell he entered the more sparsely settled section of the State and ever since has been an outstanding figure. His first pastoral assignment was at Sea Bright, where after a struggle of some years he found a site and erected the first Catholic church in that fashionable resort. He also bought land and put up churches at Highlands and Atlantic Highlands. On April 23, 1893, Bishop O'Farrell appointed him pastor of St. Joseph's Church, East Trenton, where he labored assiduously despite a labor panic that prostrated industries in that industrial section. About the time the lowering clouds began to lift, he was called to the pastorate of St. Mary's Cathedral, February 1, 1895. The marvellous success of his pastorate here and the various ecclesiastical honors which have come to him in recognition of his labors have been referred to in the sketch of St. Mary's in this same chapter.

Monsignor Fox died Christmas Day, 1928.

MISCELLANY

The visit of the Most Rev. Francis Satolli to Trenton, June 5 to 12, 1893, was an occasion of splendid note. Cardinal Satolli was the first apostolic delegate to the United States from Rome, the American Delegation having been established at Washington, D.C., on January 24 of that year. On his arrival here on a Saturday evening, he was met at Clinton Street station by a huge procession of Catholic societies, several bands participating, and was escorted *en fête* to the episcopal residence. Next day, Sunday, he presided at brilliant ceremonies in the cathedral and the Sacred Heart Church and a reception, largely attended by the public generally, was given in his honor at the Catholic Club the same evening.

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The explanation of Trenton's having the first Catholic church in New Jersey, antedating such important places as Jersey City and Newark, is that the Catholics of the northern section of the State were long accustomed to go to old St. Peter's Church, New York City, for worship.

See the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (fifteen volumes, Robert Appleton Company, 1907) under the headings "New Jersey" and "Diocese of Newark" (to which see Trenton formerly belonged). Under "New Jersey" (p. 792) we read: "St. John's parish at Trenton, now the parish of the Sacred Heart, was the first parish established in New Jersey (1799)." Under "The Diocese of Newark" (p. 780) mention is made of Trenton's first Catholic church (1814) and we learn that Newark's first church was opened in 1828; Jersey City's in 1837.

An unusual function having both a sacred and a civil character took place at St. John's Church April 30, 1861, when the Rev. Alfred Young, a Princeton graduate and a convert, was the local pastor. Despite the divided feeling in New Jersey over the war he held a large meeting in the church, displayed an American flag in front of the altar, blessed it with elaborate ceremony, led in the singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," and then had the stars and stripes raised to the steeple where it floated amid the rolling of drums, the ringing of the church bell and a salute from the commands of Captains Yard and Stafford of Camp Perrine. The Hon. Charles Skelton, the Hon. Andrew Dutcher and the Hon. David Naar delivered patriotic speeches.

The Rev. John P. Mackin is said, besides his herculean labors in Trenton, to have for a time attended to the spiritual needs of Lambertville, Princeton, Bordentown, Burlington and Bristol, in some of which he erected churches. At his funeral services in St. John's Church in 1873, such was Father Mackin's popularity that the edifice was packed with people including many non-Catholics, and a panic ensued upon a cry that the gallery was falling. As a matter of fact a kneeling-bench had been broken. In the rush from the church, numbers were crushed under foot and several jumped from the windows. The wildest excitement prevailed, the fire department hurried to the scene and all the available doctors in town were summoned. A dozen or more persons were injured, some of them seriously, but only one death resulted, that of Bridget Clark, seventy-five years old. The requiem ceremonies proceeded when quiet was restored. The writer, as an altar boy, witnessed the tragic incident.

St. Francis' Church on East Front Street is the oldest Catholic edifice in the city, although not the oldest church organization. It has been in constant use as a Catholic house of worship since 1866.

Peter P. Cantwell was the first male teacher in Trenton's parochial schools; a native of Ireland, he began teaching in old St. John's in the early '60's. The late Right Rev. Monsignor William P. Cantwell and the late Dr. Frank V. Cantwell were his sons.

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John D. McCormick, editor of the *Potter's Journal* and a Catholic local historian, performed a signal service by researches which gave due prominence to John Tatham, New Jersey's "Missing Governor" (1690-97). Having been a Jacobite, Mr. McCormick surmised that Tatham was of the Catholic faith. Mr. McCormick's sketch of the "Missing Governor's" career appears in full as Appendix II in Smith's *History of New Jersey*, Sharp's reprint (1890 edition), which may be found in the State Library. Fitzgerald's *Legislative Manual*, since Mr. McCormick's discovery, has carried John Tatham's name in its list of governors of East Jersey.

Patrick McCaffrey, M.D., was Trenton's first resident Catholic physician, practising here from the early '50's to 1871. Three of his daughters attained high rank in the Sisters of Mercy whose mother-house is near Pittsburgh, Pa., and a fourth daughter, Anna, was church organist and among the earliest teachers (1854) in St. John's school. Dr. McCaffrey died in 1890 in his eighty-ninth year.

John B. Sartori, one of the benefactors of the early church here, as mentioned in the allusion in this chapter to the original St. John the Baptist Church, was not only pontifical consul to this country but also is mentioned in the secular histories as a manufacturer of calico and again of macaroni near his home at the foot of Federal Street. His career was invested with various romantic details, including his friendly association with the distinguished colony of European refugees, settled in and around Trenton in the early years of the nineteenth century, such as the former King of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, and General John Victor Moreau, the latter of whom built a home at Morrisville in 1805. It is said that Bonaparte was godfather to one of Sartori's fourteen children, while Madame Moreau was godmother to another. The Sartori offspring played prominent parts in the commercial and social life of New York, Philadelphia and other cities, but none remained in Trenton. Madame Sartori whom he married in 1804, at Lambertton, Father Stafford, O.S.A. of Philadelphia, officiating, was descended from a noble family of Brittany, which had a checkered career. Her father went to Santo Domingo on a royal mission and there Henriette de Woofoin (Mrs. Sartori) was born in 1787. At the outbreak of the French Revolution the family fled to this country and settled at Lambertton below Trenton. They for a time occupied historic Bloomsbury. The history of the de Woofoins runs the gamut of high station, persecution and assassination, details of which it is unnecessary to relate in this place. Nor can we follow the Sartoris further than to say that John B., sometimes referred to as "the lay founder of the Catholic Church in Trenton," afflicted by the death of his wife, aged forty-two, following the birth of twins, returned to his native home in Leghorn, Italy, where he eventually died at the age of ninety-eight.

Captain John Hargous, associated with John B. Sartori in the promotion of Trenton's first Catholic church, had served in the French navy and while cruising in the vicinity of Martinique, which echoed with the tumult of the French Revolution, was able to rescue from mob fury a Madame

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Boisson with her son and daughter, and eventually all found a refuge in the United States, the adventure ending in Captain Hargous' marriage to Miss Boisson. They apparently were among the hunted royalists of France who found security and peace in Trenton. Thus the Sartori and Hargous families, being of the same faith, became intimate. A son was born to the Hargous in 1800 and in time Peter A. Hargous and Eugenie Victorine Sartori's marriage cemented the family friendship. This younger Hargous later became prominent in New York as a commission merchant and ship-owner and there developed a warm intimacy between him and Archbishop Hughes of the metropolis. It was he who in 1851 saved the little church at Lamberton and Market Streets from the sheriff. A cousin, Louis, became a professor of French at Princeton. Peter A. had one sister, Marie Melicie, who never married and lived her life out in Trenton, a devout and generous member of St. Mary's parish. Before the development of building operations on North Clinton Avenue, members of the Hargous family established themselves in a beautiful property on that street (then called the Millham Road), which ran back to the Assunpink and included terraced lawns to the water front, well-kept gardens, orchards famed for their fruit and a home where generous hospitality was dispensed to the best local society of the period. As part of the old Sartori home still remains in the American Bridge Company's office building on Federal Street, so the Hargous home can still, though with difficulty, be traced in a pair of frame tenements on Seward Avenue. Another relic of this interesting family is found in the bell-tower of the Sacred Heart Church. The bell which has been in use there for nearly three-quarters of a century bears the names of Louis and M. M. Hargous as donors (1857).

CATHOLIC CEMETERIES

The first Catholic graveyard in the city was opened in connection with the first church at Lamberton and Market Streets. Later, burials were made in a plot on Lamberton Street below Bridge, where St. John's schools were afterwards erected. Both of these cemeteries were in time abandoned and the bodies of the pioneers buried therein were removed to St. John's, St. Mary's, Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Francis' cemeteries.

St. John's Cemetery, on Lalor Street at the southerly end of Chestnut Avenue, was acquired by the Right Rev. James R. Bayley, bishop of Newark, November 17, 1859, the purchase having been previously negotiated from William I. Shreve to John Cahill and wife, and title was passed October 17, 1864, from Bishop Bayley to the church of St. John the Baptist. The original plot contained eight acres and burials probably began early in the '60's. Many of the early Catholic settlers of the city are interred there, not a few having been transferred from the older graveyards. The Rev. John P. Mackin, the Right Rev. Monsignor Thaddeus Hogan and a number of clergymen, who had been raised in the parish, are among those whose dust reposes in St. John's Cemetery. It is the oldest Catholic cemetery in Trenton.

St. Mary's Cemetery, located on Olden Avenue south of Liberty Street, consists of nearly thirty-three acres, about fourteen acres of which were purchased from Joseph W. Elberson November 1, 1872, about ten acres of Nathan Wright March 26, 1886, and ten acres from Abner C. Mitchell in

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1922. Its most historic monument is a mausoleum of the Hargous family, early benefactors of the Catholic Church in this city.

St. Francis' Cemetery, at Washington and Emory Avenues, is the last resting place of numerous of the early German Catholics of the city. It was dedicated with elaborate ceremonies October 9, 1870.

Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery is on Cedar Lane, between Olden Avenue and Chambers Street.

St. Peter and St. Paul Cemetery is also located on Cedar Lane.

VIII. The Lutherans—1849

THE first Lutheran congregation to come into existence in Trenton was that of 1849, which is to be identified with the present German Evangelical Lutheran Trinity Church on South Broad Street.

A history of this congregation was prepared by the Rev. Hugo R. Wendel, pastor of the church since 1896, on the occasion of its golden jubilee, observed January 3, 1899. The manuscript of this history, translated by Miss Thekla Hill, is on file in the Free Public Library. The account here given is an abridgment of that record.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN TRINITY CHURCH—1849

SOUTH BROAD STREET

It was, according to the account given by Pastor Wendel, due to the interest of the Rev. Dr. John Hall, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, that an impetus was given to the formation of a German Lutheran church in Trenton. On page 260 of Hall's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton*, second edition 1912, there is a paragraph referring to this subject.

In 1845 Mr. Hall, finding many German families of the Lutheran faith who attended no church, many of them unable to understand English, wrote to the Rev. Dr. Demmé of Philadelphia, suggesting a visit from him to explore, or the sending of a missionary. In 1848 services were held in the First Church lecture-room by German missionaries, and the work thus begun resulted in the organization of the German Lutheran Church.

In 1849 the Rev. Charles Augustus Brandt came to Trenton and organized a German-speaking congregation, to which was given the title "St. John's Congregation of the Augsburg Confession of Trenton and South Trenton." The first services, 1849, were held in a room of the City Hall and afterwards in Scott's Hall opposite.

The first council, besides the pastor, included Christian Frederick Schneider, Wilhelm Scroth, Daniel Fell, Wilhelm Lauber, Daniel Klug, Christian Kaefer and George Burchardt. A Sunday school was also organ-

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ized the same year. In 1850 Pastor Brandt resigned or was removed owing to some differences with the congregation. In 1852, October 6, the congregation called the Rev. A. T. Geisenhainer as its pastor.

Mr. Geisenhainer bought with his own money the present property on South Broad Street and erected upon it a small brick church at his own expense. This building was finished and dedicated August 31, 1852. There was a small frame house on the lot which was used as a parsonage. This house had once been the property of Captain Alexander Douglass and was the place where Washington held a war council with his generals January 2, 1777, a few days after the first Battle of Trenton.²¹ In the spring of 1853 a small frame building was attached to the rear of the church and used as a Sunday school and also for a week-day school.

There seems to have arisen some dissension between the German-speaking and the English-speaking portions of the congregation, and in 1856 the German-speaking section withdrew and called the Rev. G. F. Gartner as pastor, renting Temperance Hall for its service. On August 3, 1856, this section was incorporated under a new name, but the charter was never delivered, or if so has been missing for a long time.

The Rev. Mr. Geisenhainer had agreed when the church was built to turn over the property to the congregation when it was prepared to reimburse him for its cost. He at first refused to deal with the German-speaking section on the ground that the congregation was not the same as the original one. He finally agreed to sell the property for \$1,500 down and a mortgage of \$3,500. On this basis the transfer of church parsonage and school building took place March 31, 1857.

In 1863 the congregation acquired the property in the rear of the church fronting on Cooper Street, and proceeded to erect a school house.

In 1866 Pastor Gartner offered his resignation, but was induced to withdraw it and he remained until 1873 when Pastor J. Zentner was called to succeed him. In 1876 the building of a larger church was taken in hand. The cost of the new building was about \$20,000. The church was dedicated May 13, 1877.

Pastor Zentner, having resigned July 5, 1885, after a pastorate of thirteen years, was succeeded by Pastor Rudolph Gerlach of Morristown, Pa., who remained until June 1896. The congregation then called the present pastor, the Rev. Hugo R. Wendel, then at Harrisburg, Pa. He was installed October 18, 1896, and thus has served his charge for over thirty years. During his pastorate the seats in the church were made free and a day school reestablished for which a new four-story building was erected in 1897. In the same year the property at 12 Livingston Street was acquired for a parsonage. The church building was also thoroughly renovated and refurnished. Many fine stained-glass windows were given as memorials, including an altar window in memory of Johanna Hertling Roebling by Colonel Washington A. Roebling.

During the fifty years 1849-99, closing with the golden jubilee of the congregation, christenings numbered 4474, marriages 1387, burials 1391, confirmations 1615, and communicants enrolled were 17,549.

Among the prominent German families who have been connected with the Church were: Fell, Strausser, Roebling, Snyder, Walter, Oessenberg, Schlicker, Lebstein, Baker and Pfister.

²¹ See pp. 178, 308-II, above.

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THE REVEREND HUGO R. WENDEL

The Rev. Hugo R. Wendel was born April 14, 1857, in Wildberg, Southern Germany. For several years he followed the occupation of a pharmaceutical chemist, but by an accident which injured his eyes he was compelled to seek some other vocation. He then turned to the law and after serving his time became county attorney in Oenringen and Nürtingen. Later he was registered under state direction in Stuttgart. Subsequently he opened a law office of his own in Nuensingen and there practised for several years. When a call from America for Lutheran preachers came, Wendel prepared himself for work in this country. With six other students he came to America in March 1882, and was assigned to the mission field in Pennsylvania. After a course in Lutheran doctrines the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, May 22, 1883, ordained him and he was sent to the coal regions, where he served congregations in St. Claire, Middleport and Locust Valley. In 1884 he went to St. Thomas' Church at Germantown where he remained three years, then to St. Peter's Church in Port Jervis for nine years. In 1888 he went to Zion Church at Harrisburg. He received a call to Trenton in 1896 where he has since remained.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHRIST CHURCH—1869

LIVINGSTON AND JACKSON STREETS

This body appears to have come into existence as the final result of various unsuccessful attempts to organize the English-speaking Germans of Trenton into a Lutheran congregation. The nucleus of the congregation which afterwards assumed the present title, Evangelical Lutheran Christ Church, is probably to be found in a society which was started in the early '30's of the last century and which doubtless subsequently is to be identified with the English-speaking section of the congregation which, after the erection of the Lutheran Church in 1852 on South Broad Street, occupied that building conjointly with the German-speaking Lutherans until it was purchased by the latter for their exclusive use in 1857.

It would appear that in that year a congregation of English-speaking Germans bought land on North Montgomery Street near Academy and erected a church building which was consecrated September 11, 1859. The Rev. A. T. Geisenhainer, the former pastor and owner of the church property on South Broad Street, was present on the occasion and participated in the service. The North Montgomery Street church property subsequently was sold to the Har Sinai Congregation, 1865, and was dedicated in 1866 as a Jewish synagogue. What became of the German Evangelical congregation is not known, but the probabilities are it became or was merged into the Evangelical Lutheran Christ Church which was organized in 1869 and now has its place of worship at Livingston and Jackson Streets.²²

The congregation of Christ Church was organized at a meeting held in the Sunday school of the German Lutheran Church, South Broad Street, July 1, 1869. The pastor of that church was present and acted as chairman of the meeting. The first pastor was the Rev. Amos H. Bartholomew who was installed Sunday, October 10, 1869. Up to the close of that year services were held in the church of the German Lutherans in the afternoon and sub-

²² Podmore, "Jews in Trenton History," *The Community Messenger*, June 1926.

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sequently up to the spring of 1870 in the Sunday school rooms. The services were then held in the Mercer County Court House.²³

In 1871 Messiah Chapel was purchased. A year later this chapel was destroyed by fire and a new church was built on Greenwood Avenue near Jackson Street. In 1902 the building was sold and the present chapel built on Livingston near Jackson Street. The congregation has had in the course of its existence twelve pastors, few of whom remained longer than three or four years. Since the beginning of the present century there have been five pastors. The Rev. E. B. Killinger served for ten years, 1895-1905; the Rev. H. W. Reimer for two years, 1905-07; the Rev. Edwin J. Hopkins for five years, 1907-12; the Rev. W. Scott Bonnell also for five years, 1912-17; and the present pastor, the Rev. Alexander Berg, has been in charge since 1918.

CHURCH OF THE ADVENT—1888

BROAD AND MALONE STREETS

The congregation was organized in December 1888, through the efforts of the Rev. G. C. Gardner, pastor of Bethany German Lutheran Church of Roxboro, Pa., who was the son of a former pastor of Trinity German Lutheran Church on South Broad Street, this city. The first services were held in Borough Hall on South Broad Street. In 1889 a building was erected at Broad and Malone Streets and the cornerstone was laid in June of that year. The church was dedicated in May 1890. The first pastor was the Rev. J. Heissler who served from 1889 to 1920. He retired in that year, but is still living in Trenton. From 1920, the pastor has been the Rev. Louis Schmidtkonz. The congregation was German-speaking from the beginning, but in later years English has been used at some of the services.

ST. MARK'S ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH—1898

CHESTNUT AND EMORY AVENUES

St. Mark's English Lutheran Church was organized September 9, 1898, with forty-five charter members. Wagner's Hall at the corner of Hudson and Mott Streets was the meeting place of both Sunday school and church for twenty months. On December 20, 1898, the Rev. J. Morgan Cross, the first pastor, was called, remaining until November 2, 1902.

Steps were soon taken looking toward the erection of a suitable edifice. The lot upon which the church is built at Chestnut and Emory Avenues was purchased and work was begun on the building in August 1899, and the cornerstone was laid with appropriate services October 1. The dedication services were held May 27, 1890.

The Rev. I. Walton Bobst, the second pastor of the church, was called February 1, 1903, remaining until September 1, 1914. The Rev. M. Arthur Spotts became pastor December 1, 1914. He remained for two years. The Rev. Grayson Z. Stup was then called to take up the work. He served the church for five years and five months, when he resigned to accept a call to Harrisburg, Pa. The Rev. Wm. H. Reimer began his work as pastor September 3, 1922, and resigned August 31, 1924.

The Rev. George P. Goll, the present pastor, was called December 1, 1924.

²³ Raum, *History of Trenton*, pp. 146-7.

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GRACE LUTHERAN CHURCH—1898

HILLCREST AND READING AVENUES

As early as 1888 a union Sunday school was organized in a building still standing in the rear of 200 Hillcrest Avenue. Subsequently a building was erected on Hillcrest Avenue, between the Reading Railway and Scotch Road. This building was destroyed by fire and a new one was erected on Reading Avenue near Maple.

In 1898 the congregation was organized under the name of "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hillcrest." The building was moved to Hillcrest and Reading Avenues, the present location. Later on it was enlarged and a parsonage built on the next lot, 207 Hillcrest Avenue.

The following pastors have served the church: the Rev. U. E. Apple, the Rev. Charles McDaniel, the Rev. E. C. Mumford, the Rev. J. H. Straw, the Rev. R. L. Haus and the Rev. C. W. Diehl. The present pastor is the Rev. Allan Chamberlin.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR—1899

FRONT AND MONTGOMERY STREETS

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Saviour was organized October 31, 1899, with twenty-seven charter members. In July 1902 the present church building, located at Front and Montgomery Streets, was purchased from the Adventist Congregation, and after necessary alterations was occupied on August 10 of that year. On May 1, 1913, the congregation became self-sustaining.

In 1910, the present parsonage at 207 East Front Street was purchased. The church has prospered and many improvements have been made. The church debt was finally liquidated in 1927, and the church is now one of the most flourishing Lutheran congregations in the city.

The first services, beginning January 8, 1899, were conducted by the Rev. William Ashmead Shaeffer, mission superintendent, and the following pastors have served the congregation: the Rev. Paul Zeller Strodach, 1899-1901; the Rev. John Casper Mattes, 1902-15; the Rev. William L. Hunton, supply pastor; the Rev. H. Grady Davis, 1916-18; and the Rev. George Luther Weibel, from November 1, 1918, to the present time.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (SLOVAK)—1908

HARDING STREET

This congregation was organized in the Church of the Saviour during the pastorate of the Rev. John Casper Mattes. A church and a parsonage were erected on Harding Street. The last pastor was the Rev. Joseph Abraham who recently resigned.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH (POLISH)—1911

INDIANA AVENUE AND PLUM STREET

The first Polish Lutherans came to Trenton some thirty to forty years ago. At first they associated themselves with the German Lutheran Trinity Church on South Broad Street, although they could not understand the

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German language. In 1902 with the permission of the pastor, the Rev. Hugo R. Wendel, they invited the Rev. F. Sattelmier, pastor of a Polish Lutheran Church in Scranton, Pa., to conduct occasional services. He served the congregation until 1909 when the Rev. C. Mikulsri of Baltimore, Md., was called in the same capacity.

In 1911 the congregation was regularly organized under the name of Holy Trinity and with the help of the mission board a resident pastor was called in the person of the Rev. F. Sattelmier. In 1912 a church building was erected on Indiana Avenue and Plum Street and services were conducted both in Polish German and English. The second resident pastor was the Rev. A. Nicholai who assumed charge of the congregation in 1917. In 1918 the church building was destroyed by a storm and the pastor shortly after resigned his charge. Under the leadership of his successor, the Rev. J. Dawidowski of Baltimore, a new church was built on the old site and dedicated April 17, 1919. Most of the funds for this purpose came from the Church Extension Fund of the Missouri Synod. Since 1919 the present pastor, the Rev. Theo. R. Fehlau, has served the congregation and has also continued his mission work in New York City, Pine Island, N.Y., and Mount Tom, Mass.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW—1914

SOUTH CLINTON AND LAKESIDE AVENUES

This congregation was incorporated in 1914, having been organized by the Rev. U. S. G. Bertolet, field missionary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. J. C. Mattes, pastor of the Church of the Saviour. It began with sixty-two members. The present church building was purchased in 1914 from Christ Episcopal Church, having been previously used for a chapel known as St. John's. The purchase price of the property was \$6,000. The first pastor, the Rev. Rufus E. Kern of Marion, Va., assumed charge December 6, 1914; he resigned two years later. The Rev. Otto C. F. Janke was the next pastor, who remained a little over one year. On November 25, 1917, the present pastor, the Rev. W. Penn Barr of Weatherly, Pa., was called and took charge the following December. The brick dwelling adjoining the church property was bought for a parsonage at a cost of \$4,000 in 1917.

The church record shows that 312 names have been enrolled since the beginning of the congregation, of which 167 are now active members. Since May 1, 1925, the congregation became entirely self-sustaining.

BETHEL EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH—1915

JOHNSTON AND WALNUT AVENUES

The Bethel Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized July 18, 1915, when sixty-one persons were enrolled as members. In December 1915 the Rev. L. R. Hans, the pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, became the first pastor. A lot was bought at Johnston and Walnut Avenues, and the cornerstone of a church building with basement only was laid October 22, 1916. The dedication took place February 11, 1917. In 1923 the church was completed and in 1925 a parsonage was added, the total cost being about

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\$10,000. The Rev. J. W. Gentzler became the pastor in 1919. He remained until 1927, when the present pastor, the Rev. J. Walter Shearer, was called and took up the work.

IX. *The Jews*—1860

BY HARRY J. PODMORE²⁴

THE first organization in the life of Trenton Jewry was the Har Sinai Cemetery Association, formed in 1857. Prior to the beginning of the Har Sinai Hebrew Congregation, which was the outgrowth of the cemetery association, religious services were held in the homes of individuals. An early mention of Jewish worship here is given in the *State Gazette*, April 30, 1856, relative to the Passover observance. The following is an extract from the item published on that day:

There is quite a large number of the Hebrew race in Trenton who adhere to their ancient worship of the one, only, and true God. The nearest synagogue, we believe, is at Philadelphia.

In connection with the observance of the Jewish New Year of 5619, which fell in September of 1858, services were held in Temperance Hall. According to an item in the *Daily True American*, September 10, fifty-two persons participated in the ceremonies of the first day.

HAR SINAI HEBREW CONGREGATION (REFORM)—1860

Formal services, regularly conducted, began in Trenton about 1860 with the formation of the Har Sinai Hebrew Congregation. In the summer of that year meetings were held in the old Chancery Building which stood on the site of the Trenton Trust Building, West State Street and Chancery Lane.

At a meeting held on July 22 the congregation decided to incorporate and the following were elected trustees: Simon Kahnweiler, Isaac Wymann, Henry Shoninger, Herman Rosenbaum, Marcus Aaron, L. Kahnweiler and David Manko. Soon after this time the body was incorporated with the trustees named as the incorporators. Nearly all of the founders of the Har Sinai Temple congregation were of German extraction. For many years the services were conducted in German and Hebrew only.

In 1865 Simon Kahnweiler, credited as the first president of the congregation, purchased from the Lutherans a little brick chapel on North Mont-

²⁴ The material embodied here is in the main abridged from articles published by Mr. Podmore in the *Community Messenger*.

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gomery Street, known as Christ Church of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation. The edifice was refitted as a temple and on March 23, 1866, it was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, the Rev. D. Frankel, of Philadelphia, officiating, assisted by the Rev. Isaiah Gotz and the Rev. Reuben Straus. Judge David Naar delivered the dedicatory address. The Rev. Isaac Lesser made a few remarks appropriate to the occasion, and the ceremonies were brought to a close by the singing of the 150th Psalm by the choir.

The year of 1872 was a dark one for the small congregation. Evidently the benefactor had not deeded the temple to the congregation and there seems to have been some dissension among the members. Matters went from bad to worse, reaching a climax on March 16, when Kahnweiler's holdings, including the little house of worship, were sold at public auction held at the Trenton House, with Ex-Mayor Napton acting as auctioneer. D. P. Forst became the new owner of the temple building.

Left without a permanent place of worship the congregation drifted. The prospects for the future were far from bright. However, there was one member who was not disheartened. Mrs. Toretta Kaufman, mother of S. E. Kaufman, saw the possibilities for securing the building and through her tireless activities in making a personal canvass she collected a fund and aroused such an interest in the project that when autumn had arrived the property was owned by the congregation. It is said that the contributor of the largest amount to the fund was the late Joseph Rice who made up the balance needed after all the money that could possibly be collected had been brought in.

In July 1903 the congregation sold the little temple on Montgomery Street to Bayard Post, No. 8, G.A.R. In the same year a lot was purchased at the southwesterly corner of Front and Stockton Streets and upon it a house of worship was erected. On the evening of October 7, 1904, the building was dedicated. The officers of the congregation at that time were: Sigmund Baron, president; Abraham Siegle, vice-president; Louis Cohen, treasurer; and Jonas D. Rice, secretary.

In 1925 the congregation purchased a lot on Bellevue Avenue where a new temple will be erected in the near future.

The present rabbi of the temple is Abram Holtzberg. Some of the others who have served in that capacity are: M. Lessler, Simon Rosenberg, Israel Goldvogel, Morris Ungerleider, — Wagenheim, — Schomberg, — Kahn, Joseph Gabriel, L. Weiss, — Bloch, Nathan Rosenau, Louis B. Michelson, Nathan Stern, Harry K. Jacobs, Joel Blau and Jacob Goldstein.

BROTHERS OF ISRAEL (ORTHODOX)—1883

The second oldest religious body in the life of Trenton Jewry is the Congregation of the Brothers of Israel. This organization, which was founded by Jews of Polish and Russian extraction, was incorporated in 1883, but it seems that the group was not fully established until three years later. In August 1887 the Union Street M.E. Church was purchased and converted into a synagogue. On September 11, 1887, the remodelled edifice was dedicated. In 1900 the building was demolished and a new one was erected upon the site.

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In 1885 the congregation established a place of burial on Vroom Street, adjoining Har Sinai Cemetery. In 1907 the place was enlarged by the purchase of an additional lot, and in 1913 an auxiliary cemetery was established near Cedar Lane, Hamilton Township.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF TRUTH (ORTHODOX)—1891

The third organization, the Congregation of the People of Truth, was organized either in the late '80's or in the early '90's. The group filed papers for incorporation in December of 1891. In 1902 the Second Presbyterian Church, on Union Street, was purchased by the congregation and refitted for a synagogue. On March 15, 1903, the edifice was dedicated to the worship of Jehovah. In 1893 the congregation established a cemetery near Cedar Lane, Hamilton Township.

THE CONGREGATION OF AHAVATH ISRAEL (ORTHODOX)—1909

The fourth religious body, the Congregation of Ahavath Israel, was incorporated in December 1909. In May 1910 the body purchased the Wesley Methodist Church on Centre Street. The edifice was then remodelled and dedicated to Jewish worship. The founders of the Congregation of Ahavath Israel were in the main of Austro-Hungarian extraction. The first officers and trustees of the congregation were: Samuel Goldmann, president; Leo Eisner, vice-president; Peter Littman, secretary; Henry Wirtschafter, Herman Lefkowitz, Jacob Blaugrund, Louis Warady, Nathan Fuchs, Adolf L. Moskowitz and Armin Bonyai, trustees.

THE CONGREGATION OF THE WORKERS OF TRUTH (ORTHODOX)—1919

The fifth religious body, the Congregation of the Workers of Truth, filed incorporation papers in 1919. A few years later the organization purchased two dwellings on Union Street, near Market Street, and remodelled them into a house of worship.

THE ADATH ISRAEL CONGREGATION (CONSERVATIVE)—1923

The Adath Israel Congregation was organized at a meeting held on September 30, 1923. On October 15 the congregation was incorporated. Services were held in the Community Home on Stockton Street until the time of the erection of the temple on Bellevue Avenue. The formal opening of the temple was on Friday evening, July 23, 1926, and in October of that year it was dedicated.

JEWISH SCHOOLS

Next in importance to the synagogue in the religious life of a Jewish community is the Talmud Torah, or school where the youth are taught Hebrew and the traditions and religious precepts of the race. Dr. Herzl's Zion Hebrew School on Union Street serves the local community in this capacity. The institution, under its present name, had its beginning as a

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school maintained by the Congregation of the Brothers of Israel. Prior to this time there was a Hebrew school which held sessions in a rented hall on Union Street near Fall Street. This body in 1904 erected a school house (the first of its kind in Trenton) on Union Street, opposite the temple, which was named in memory of Dr. Theodor Herzl, father of political Zionism, who died during the same month that the cornerstone was laid (July 1904). The institution did not come up to the anticipations of its sponsors. The building was subsequently sold to the city for a public school house.

The new Dr. Herzl's Zion Hebrew School stands on the upper part of Union Street. This institution is supported by the entire Jewish community.

THE SHELTERING HOME

Another institution that is part of every Jewish community is the sheltering home where meals and lodging are furnished the traveller who is without funds. The local home at the corner of Mill and Market Streets is conducted by the Hebrew Benevolent Society whose members purchased it in October 1904. The organization applied for incorporation papers in 1894. Harry Haveson and the Rev. Max Gordon are prominently identified with the body.

JEWISH CEMETERIES

Har Sinai Cemetery Association was organized at a meeting held November 19, 1857. In the same year a lot was purchased for burial purposes at the corner of Vroom and Liberty Streets and the body became incorporated. The founders of this association were: Marcus Marx, Julius Schloss, Isaac Wymann, Morris Sanger, Ignatz Frankenstein, Lazarus Golheim, Isaac Sanger, Joseph Rice, Ephraim Kaufman, Marcus Aron and Gustavus Cane.

Among other Jewish places of burial are several congregation and small lodge cemeteries which are located near Cedar Lane in Hamilton Township.

SOME RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Simon Kahnweiler, one of the incorporators of the Har Sinai Temple Hebrew Congregation, was born in Bavaria, Germany, August 26, 1820. He was the first prominent Jewish merchant of Trenton, member of the Common Council 1863-64, president of the Protection Hook and Ladder Company, and a member of several local military companies. During the time that he was a member of the temple congregation he served as president and head of the Sunday school. He died in Philadelphia, May 4, 1890.

Joseph Rice, prominent member of Har Sinai Temple, was one of Trenton's most highly-respected citizens. Born at Riechen, Baden, Germany, June 26, 1834, he served in several public offices, was made a director of the Mechanics National Bank, January 13, 1891, and was vice-president and director from August 5, 1909, up to the time of his death, July 14, 1913. For many years he was a clothing merchant.

Mrs. Amelia Kaufman Block, for many years an active worker in the Har Sinai Temple Sisterhood, was born in Trenton. She is the daughter of Ephraim and Toretta Kaufman. *Toretta Kaufman*, one of the early

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active workers of the Har Sinai Temple Congregation, was born in Germany. She died May 25, 1887.

Among those who have been active in the religious life of the Orthodox congregations are the Rev. P. Turman, the Rev. Mr. Prail, the Rev. Max Sufnoss, the Rev. Meyer Rabinowitz, the Rev. Israel Price, Rabbi Isaac Bunin, the Rev. Joseph Konvitz, David Lavine, Isaac Levy (*Levie*), who was one of the founders of the *Talmud Torah*, Hyman Levy (*Levie*), first president of the congregation of the Brothers of Israel, Max Gordon and Rabbi Issachar Levin.

SOME LEADERS IN CIVIL LIFE

Most of the early Jewish settlers in Trenton were of German extraction, the outstanding exception being the Naars, whose remote ancestors came to the West Indies from the Iberian peninsula in very early days. Besides the Naar family who came to Trenton in 1856 and their contemporaries, who incorporated the Mount Sinai Cemetery and founded the Har Sinai Congregation, the pioneer Jewish group included Isaac Wymann, Daniel Piexotto, Marcus Marx, Samuel Rosenthal, Julius Schloss, Emanuel Kahnweiler, A. Rosenblatt, David Manko and Marcus Bohn. Practically all of these are representatives of the '50's and '60's.

The Jewish colony here naturally attracted others of the race to the city, and in the '70's a considerable number of Jews of various extractions made Trenton their home. These may be classified as members of a second Jewish group. The third and largest group, which came here in the years following 1880, mainly comprised members of the race who came from Russia to escape the Czarist régime. These three groups define, generally, the Jewish immigration to Trenton.

It was the members of this third group who established the Jewish community in South Trenton with its Orthodox synagogues, Hebrew School and Sheltering Home. Their descendants constitute the majority of the present Jewish population. The others are German, Austrian, Hungarian and Roumanian Jews and their descendants.

The early Jews were mainly merchants. Among them may be mentioned *Simon Kahnweiler*, who was the first Jewish manufacturer (bricks) and also one of the prominent merchants of his day in the city. His brother, Emanuel, operated a soap factory near the Assunpink bridge on South Broad Street.

S. E. Kaufman, for many years the proprietor of the Kaufman department store, is a native of Trenton. He was one of the leaders of Trenton's Board of Trade, now the Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the interstate bridge commission and the executive board of the Boy Scouts of America.

Joseph Rice came to Trenton in the '50's. He established a clothing business on South Warren Street, and later removed to North Broad Street. His sons, Alexander and Jonas, succeeded him in the business. Joseph Rice was a director of the Mechanics National Bank.

Bernard Tobish, who has conducted a men's furnishing shop here for nearly half a century, came to Trenton in 1877 and opened a store on State Street. He is one of the earliest members of the Har Sinai Temple. Asso-

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ciated with him in business are his son, Abram, and his brother, Joseph. Another son, Theodore, was at one time county engineer.

Other merchants were: the *Fuld brothers*, Jonas A., Manus A., and Louis A., who came to Trenton in the '90's; *Sigmund Kahn*, who was senior member of the firm of S. Kahn and Sons in the old Washington Market Building; *Simon Samler*, who was in the clothing business on the same site; *Isidor Levin*, who conducted a department store at the "Five Points," as did *Isaac Goldberg* on South Broad Street; *Morris* and *Paul Urken*, who now have a department store in Chambersburg, as do *Israel Kohn* and *Solomon Urken*; and *Henry Wirtschafter*, who maintains a large department store on South Broad Street.

JEWISH PROFESSIONAL MEN

One of the first Jewish professional men in Trenton was *Moses D. Naar*, lawyer and journalist, who came to Trenton in 1856. His brother, *Samuel Grey Naar*, studied law in his office and was admitted to the Bar in 1880, becoming a counsellor in 1884. Later he was assistant prosecutor and at one time was a city police justice.

Among the lawyers admitted to the Bar during the present century are *Henry H. Wittstein*, *J. Irving Davidson*, *Maxwell Kraemer* and *William Reich*. *Philip Forman*, who was appointed United States attorney for the District of New Jersey, was admitted to the Bar in 1917, and became a counsellor in 1920. He was appointed assistant United States district attorney in 1923. He is a Major in the Judge Advocate General's Department of the New Jersey National Guard, and was commander of the American Legion, Department of New Jersey, in 1923-24.

Dr. Samuel Freeman, the first Jewish physician in Trenton, began his practice in 1900, and the first dentists were *Dr. James S. Miller* and *Dr. William Julian*.

X. Unclassified

THE accounts of the following congregations, though representative of as many distinct denominations, are grouped together here because each is the sole representative of its denomination in Trenton. In this section also is the brief account of an early German congregation which has since disbanded.

THE MAGYAR REFORMED CHURCH—1894

HOME AVENUE AND BEATTY STREET

The Magyar Reformed Church of Trenton was organized on September 23, 1894. Its first pastor was the Rev. Stephen Juranyi, who, shortly after its organization, resigned. On May 9, 1897, the Rev. Francis Csamfordi was elected pastor.

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In 1898, on July 19, the members bought the vacant lot on Home Avenue and Beatty Street and erected the present structure. Subsequently the building next to the church was purchased and renovated as a pastor's home.

The congregation is now affiliated with the Reformed Church of Hungary. Since 1910 the pastor has been the Rev. Geza Korocz.

In 1917 the church was reconstructed, and a modern parish house built in place of the old one.

There are, in the congregation today, over six hundred families. The property of the church is worth about \$60,000. The Magyar Reformed Church of Trenton may be classed as one of the largest Magyar Reformed congregations of the United States.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST—1904

WEST STATE STREET AND RICHEY PLACE

Christian Science was first brought to public attention in this city in the early part of September 1903, when a student of Mrs. Pamela J. Leonard, C.S.D., of Brooklyn, N.Y., Mrs. Mary E. Ogden, C.S., came to Trenton with the approval and advice of her teacher and started Christian Science services and work as a practitioner, assisted at first by Miss Althea J. Truex and later by Edward A. Stokes, both long resident in this city.

These services were conducted every Sunday morning in the Shreve Building on East State Street.

Attendance increased so rapidly that on June 17, 1904, there were sufficient eligible Christian Scientists to organize a church under the laws of the State of New Jersey, in the name of "First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Trenton, New Jersey," at which time regularly elected officers were appointed, Mrs. M. E. Ogden being elected first reader and Mr. E. A. Stokes second reader.

It soon became necessary to secure larger quarters at 216 Academy Street. Then a building fund was started, which resulted in the erection of a chapel, in the spring of 1908, having a seating capacity of about one hundred and fifty. A convenient lot had previously been presented to the church by Mrs. Permelia Stokes, mother of E. A. Stokes. This chapel was dedicated, free of debt, on December 13, 1908.

In January 1920, upon the unanimous vote of the members present at a meeting held for that purpose, it was decided to sell this property, owing to an increasingly noisy environment, and to secure a lot more suitably located. The lot upon which the new church now stands was purchased with the proceeds from this sale.

After leaving the chapel on East State Street, services were held for two years at the Bowen Preparatory School, 214 West State Street, and later for about five years at the Stacy-Trent Hotel.

On January 1, 1928, the church moved into its new structure, located at the corner of West State Street and Richey Place, where services are now held.

The first readers of the church, who are limited to a term of three years each, are in turn as follows: Mrs. Mary E. Ogden, Miss Sarah V. Milne, Edward A. Stokes, Miss Josephine A. Chase, Miss Althea J. Truex, Charles E. Milum, and Edwin S. Sutton, the present first reader, with Mrs. Emily

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M. Walker as second reader. Intervening part-term incumbents have also served as first readers.

The members of the building committee for the erection of the new edifice are as follows: I. P. Keeler, Edwin S. Sutton, Lewis Schultz, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Bender, and Mrs. Wm. J. Rogers, all of this city.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH—1916

MEETS IN SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS

In 1915 a group of people of the non-evangelical type formed a society for the promotion of "liberal" religion in the community. Throughout the winter, meetings were held regularly every Sunday evening in the auditorium of the Senior High School on Hamilton Avenue. In the spring of 1916 the society decided to become associated with the American Unitarian Association and assumed the name of The First Unitarian Church of Trenton. Prudence Hall in the School of Industrial Arts, on the corner of West State and Willow Streets, was chosen as the place for the holding of Sunday services.

The Rev. Edward H. Reeman of the Church of Our Fathers, Lancaster, Pa., was called as the first minister. Under his leadership the group grew in numbers. Mr. Reeman was succeeded in 1920 by the Rev. Robert L. M. Holt who stayed until 1922, when the Rev. A. R. Shelander was called as minister. Mr. Shelander resigned in 1926 and was succeeded in 1927 by the Rev. Elmer D. Colcord of Springfield, Mass.

Meetings have been held continuously in Prudence Hall with the exception of one year during the war when the congregation of Har Sinai Temple put their place of worship at the disposal of the Unitarian Church for Sunday services.

In addition to the regular Sunday services the church carries on a number of activities through the allied societies of the Women's Alliance, the Laymen's League, and the Young People's Religious Union.

The present officers of the church are: president, Roscoe L. West; clerk, Tobias Brill; treasurer, Frank H. Green; trustees, the officers and Edwin K. Fowler, James D. Jackson, Albin G. Nicolaysen, Robert G. Leavitt, Mrs. H. R. McGinnis and Mrs. Uno Malmstrom.

POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC PARISH OF OUR SAVIOUR—1917

EAST STATE STREET

The Polish National Catholic Parish of Our Saviour was organized in 1917 by the present bishop of that body with home in Scranton, Pa. The organization is closely affiliated with the "Old Catholic" body in Europe and has a membership of some 250,000 in this country and in Poland. The parish numbers about two hundred families. Its present building on East State Street was formerly the property of St. James Episcopal Church. The church was consecrated April 19, 1917, by Bishop Hodur. In addition to the church building, the parish owns a cemetery, a rectory and a hall which is the center of the social life of the parish. The present rector is the Rev. Father J. Michalski, who has been in charge since November 10, 1927.

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THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH—1919

LIBERTY AND WOODLAND STREETS

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity was organized by the Very Rev. Vladimir A. Kashiw in September 1919 and was incorporated the same year.

At the time of organization the membership totalled fifty-seven families. They bought a home at 18 Woodland Street which was remodelled so that the first floor was used as the chapel while the second floor was used as the priest's residence.

A cemetery was added to their possession and in 1924 the church on Liberty and Woodland Streets was bought for \$7,000.

In 1925 the church was blessed by the Most Rev. John Theodorowich, archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America and Canada. The Ukrainian Orthodox Diocese is directly connected with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Kiev, Ukraine, the head of which is Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkiwsky, of Kiev and all Ukraine.

The Very Rev. V. A. Kashiw was the pastor of the church from September 1919 until October 1925. After that time the following priests were pastors of the church: the Rev. Paul Korsunowsky, the Rev. N. Kostetzky, the Rev. W. Nowosad, the Rev. D. Lazare, and the present pastor is the Rev. J. Zelechivsky.

The congregation now has about two hundred members, of whom practically all are American citizens.

ST. GEORGE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH—1922

JACKSON STREET

St. George Greek Orthodox Church was established in 1922. The charter members were Peter Skokas, John Roumanis, George Vanellis, Peter Manetas, John Stylianos, James Bardos, Dan Vafias, A. Mamolu, N. Manohas and A. Maverelis.

Services were first held in the Sunday school room of Trinity Church on Academy Street. Subsequently a hall was rented on East Hanover Street and services were held there until a church was built on Jackson Street in 1924.

St. George Church is under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Alexander of the Greek Orthodox Church in America. Members of the congregation number about one hundred and fifty.

The Greek school has some forty-five pupils, who are taught the Greek language and also receive religious instruction.

AN EARLY GERMAN CONGREGATION—1835

One of the earliest attempts to provide services for the few Germans then living in Trenton appears to have been made in 1835 when a congregation was organized through the efforts of the Rev. J. W. Davis, who had been preaching in Trenton on behalf of the German Reformed Church. A local society of this body, consisting of less than a dozen persons, was organized in 1836 and a call was issued on March 4 of that year to the Rev. John H. Smaltz to become the pastor. Mr. Smaltz accepted the call, but remained for only two years. A church building was begun on Front

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Street but does not seem to have been completed for several years, though the cornerstone was laid September 8, 1836.

In 1841 the congregation, having dissolved its ecclesiastical connection with the German Reformed body, was received into the communion of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Rev. Charles P. Wack was called as pastor the same year and the church building on Front Street was finished and dedicated by the Rev. Samuel A. Van Vranken, D.D., of New Brunswick. The Rev. Mr. Wack continued as pastor until 1843 when he resigned his charge, whereupon the church was permanently closed and the congregation apparently dissolved. From the account of this society in Raum's *History of the City of Trenton*, pages 107-8, it does not seem to be plain whether this congregation was German- or English-speaking or a mixture of both, but the probabilities are that the congregation was English-speaking.

In 1846 the church building on Front Street was sold to some members of the Greene Street (First Methodist) Church, who formed a new congregation which subsequently was known as the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, now having its place of worship on Perry Street. In 1865 the Front Street church was purchased by the congregation of St. Francis Roman Catholic Church and has since then been occupied by that body.

CHAPTER IX

Charitable Institutions, Public Welfare and Social Agencies

COMPILED BY HAMILTON SCHUYLER

THE following sketches of the charitable institutions and social agencies of Trenton do not include those exclusively connected with particular churches, but deal only with those of a public or semi-public character. The information here given is derived in the main directly from the officials of the various organizations who in response to requests made by the compiler have kindly furnished the facts concerning their respective institutions and societies.

During the long history of Trenton many charitable organizations and public welfare associations have arisen and after functioning for a longer or shorter period have gone out of existence owing either to a change in conditions or the lack of public support. On account of space it has not been possible to mention such except in two or three notable instances.

It will be seen from a perusal of this section that Trenton is singularly fortunate in possessing so many strong institutions ministering in various ways to the public welfare. Probably there are few cities of its size that maintain more or better equipped agencies providing for the diverse needs of its peoples.

Professional social workers representing some forty separate social-service organizations are combined in a society, the Social Workers Club, which holds stated meetings for the interchange of information and for the general benefit of its members.

In recent years particularly the citizens of Trenton have responded in a spirit of unbounded generosity to the needs of its larger institutions as evidenced by the successful public campaigns undertaken from time to time in their behalf. Thus the

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Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have been enabled to erect their present imposing buildings as the result of such campaigns and St. Francis, Mercer, McKinley and the Orthopaedic Hospitals have also benefited greatly from similar campaigns. It is safe to say by this method alone over three million dollars for the permanent betterment of these institutions have been secured, all within the last decade.

NOTE

The personnel of the officers connected with the various organizations may possibly have undergone some changes since the record was in type.

I. Hospitals

STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE—1844

This institution is located on the left bank of the Delaware River, about two miles northwest of the City Hall.

In 1844 a commission was appointed, chiefly through the earnest efforts of Dr. Lyndon A. Smith, of Essex, and Dr. Lewis Condict, of Morris, and the eminent philanthropist, Miss Dorothea Lynde Dix, to select a site. An appropriation of \$35,000 was made to purchase the land and to commence the erection of the building. Work was begun on the main building in November 1845, and the hospital was opened for the reception of patients in May 1848. Numerous additions have been made from time to time to the original building.

From 1887 to the present time the Legislature has made large appropriations for the erection of new buildings as the needs arose and for the repairing and modernizing of older structures. Through the operation of the half-mill tax for State institutions the State Hospital will receive nearly \$800,000 for new buildings, some of which are now in course of erection. Since 1908 there has been no mechanical restraint of any kind used in the hospital. All restraint apparatus, chairs, strait-jackets, straps, etc., have been removed from the hospital building, and are no longer used.

The institution possesses a library, one of the largest, if not the largest, in this country, connected with a hospital for the insane. The books are accessible to all members of the household. The library now consists of about four thousand volumes, and is the result of the bequest of a former nurse (Anne Robinson), who by will bequeathed her earnings for several years as a nurse and attendant in the hospital.

During the year 1898 a handsome amusement room, capable of seating about four hundred, was finished; also, a large and commodious chapel, in which religious exercises are held every Sunday, when various clergymen, without regard to denominational preference, officiate. The chapel is capable of seating about five hundred patients.

In recent years two farms in the neighborhood of Trenton Junction have been acquired thus adding two hundred and fifty acres to the ample grounds of the estate. The hospital has a complete surgical plant and the Legislature has provided ample funds for research work. The hospital today is one of the best equipped in the whole country and holds the highest rank among similar institutions. The institution is conducted by a board of seven

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managers appointed by the governor. The medical director since 1907 has been Dr. Henry A. Cotton, whose remarkable success in treating cases of "focal infection" has brought him a wide reputation both at home and abroad. The warden is Samuel T. Atchley. The number of inmates is about two thousand five hundred with a small army of attendants and trained nurses, for whose instruction the hospital maintains its own school. Private patients are also treated to the number of several hundred.¹

ST. FRANCIS' HOSPITAL—1870

Sister Mary Hyacintha, the venerable foundress of St. Francis' Hospital, came to Trenton in 1869 to take charge of a school mission on Front Street. Three teachers (sisters) accompanied her, who taught in St. Francis' School for several years.

The first home was a modest little house located at Market and Cooper Streets. While no patients were actually taken into the house, the sisters stationed there went out to care for the sick. As the work grew, Sister Hyacintha and her associates went forth to solicit funds until a sufficient amount was realized to erect what is now the central building of the present St. Francis' Hospital.

It was first intended to erect the hospital at the corner of Market and Cooper Streets, where ground had already been secured for this purpose, but objection having been raised to this location as being unsuitable for the purpose, the present property was obtained in 1870 from Samuel K. Wilson for the sum of \$1,800. When \$500, which was all the cash available at that time, had been paid on the lot, Mr. Wilson generously remitted the remaining \$1,300 as representing his donation to the hospital fund.

The cornerstone of St. Francis' Hospital was laid on October 15, 1871, by the Right Rev. Monsignor Graelli, delegated by Bishop Bayley. Owing to a lack of sufficient funds, building operations progressed slowly. In January 1874, Sister Hyacintha and two companions, Sister Cecelia and Sister Mary Paul, took up their residence in the unfinished building. The hospital was dedicated by Bishop Corrigan of Newark, May 31, 1874.

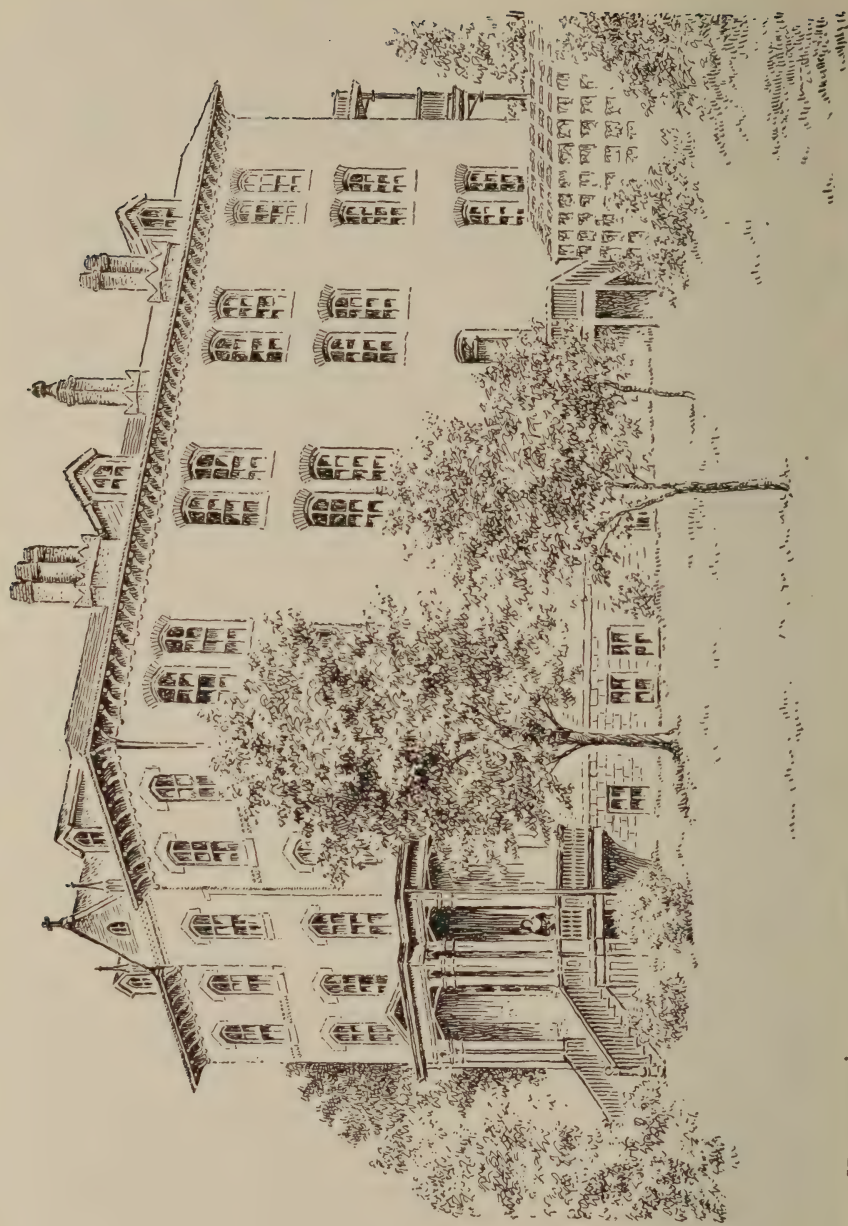
The original building was erected at a cost of \$38,000 and in 1888 additional ground representing the block where the hospital is situated was purchased for \$20,000. Subsequently an addition containing rooms and a new chapel was erected by Sister M. Hyacintha. Recently, while Sister M. Fulgentia was superior, new wings and a sun-parlor were built. The sun-parlor was subsequently converted into bedrooms because of the increased demand for accommodations.

Until the erection of the Municipal Colony, about ten years ago, victims of contagious diseases were cared for in St. Joseph's House, a small building erected in 1890 on the ground in the rear of the hospital.

St. Francis' Hospital was the first hospital established in Trenton and for a long time it served both in that capacity and as a home for the aged and incurably afflicted.

Among those who in the early days gave their generous financial help to the sisters were John Curran, Edward H. Stokes, Samuel K. Wilson and the Roebbling family, the latter of whom has always been a generous benefactor of the institution, and such assistance has in many instances enabled

¹ See *New Jersey Legislative Manual*, 1927.



ST. FRANCIS', CHAMBERS STREET AND HAMILTON AVENUE, TRENTON'S FIRST HOSPITAL, AS IT APPEARED IN 1874.

Charitable Institutions and Social Agencies

it to meet its increasing needs. A bequest of \$60,000 was received under the will of the late Henry C. Kelsey.

As the result of the recent financial campaign held in the interest of the hospital the sum of \$588,000 was secured. A fine nurses' home was erected and other additions are now in course of construction. There are 255 beds in the old building and 29 private rooms. The new wing when completed will bring the number of beds up to 316 and private rooms to 50. The heads of the surgical department are Drs. M. W. Reddan, George N. J. Sommer and E. L. West. Of the medical department the heads are Drs. J. J. McGuire, W. L. Collier and E. T. R. Applegate. Besides these there are some thirty other physicians and surgeons working in special departments connected with the hospital. The hospital has an efficient Women's Aid of which the following are the officers: Mrs. Joseph F. Ribsam, honorary president; Mrs. G. N. J. Sommer, president; Mrs. Martin W. Reddan, first vice-president; Mrs. Bertha Block, second vice-president; Mrs. Bentley H. Pope, third vice-president; Mrs. Anita Stephan, secretary; Mrs. C. Richard Waller, treasurer; and Mrs. J. Ferdinand Convery, assistant treasurer.

MERCER HOSPITAL—1892

A movement toward the establishment of a Protestant hospital of the allopathic school of treatment was made in 1888, when a certificate of organization of the "Trenton Hospital," bearing date of the nineteenth of November, 1888, was recorded in the office of the clerk of Mercer County.

The corporation thus formed never acquired any property, nor did the board of directors ever organize. The subject of erecting a new hospital in Trenton continued to be agitated from time to time, especially by Dr. W. W. L. Phillips, who took a great interest in the establishment of the hospital. In the month of February 1892, Mrs. Louisa Fisk, widow of Harvey Fisk, Esq., and her son, Harvey Edward Fisk, made a proposition to aid the enterprise by the conveyance of desirable lots of land on Bellevue and Rutherford Avenues, as a site for the proposed new hospital. Dr. Phillips thereupon addressed a circular letter to the corporation of the Trenton Hospital, and certain other persons interested in the enterprise.

In response to that letter, the following gentlemen met at the house of Dr. Phillips on the evening of March 8; Dr. W. W. L. Phillips, the Right Rev. John Scarborough, D.D., the Rev. John Dixon, D.D., Judge William S. Yard, Messrs. Samuel K. Wilson, Charles E. Green, William L. Dayton, Richard P. Wilson, Elmer E. Green, John H. Scudder, Samuel S. Webber, Frank O. Briggs, and William M. Lanning. Bishop Scarborough was chairman, and Mr. Briggs secretary, of the meeting. The offer of the Fisk family to provide the land for a new hospital was accepted and it was decided that a new hospital corporation be organized under the name of "The Mercer Hospital," fifteen men were elected as directors to manage the affairs for the first years of its existence. An incorporation was effected on April 14, 1892. The incorporators were Jonathan H. Blackwell, John H. Scudder, Samuel K. Wilson, Charles E. Green, John Scarborough, Henry Stafford Little, Frank A. Magowan, Dr. William W. L. Phillips, William M. Lanning, Elmer Ewing Green, William S. Yard, William L. Dayton, William Young, John C. Smock, John Dixon, Richard P. Wilson, Frank O. Briggs, Samuel S. Webber, Barker Gummere, William H. Skirm, Hugh H. Hamill, Dr. Ezra M. Hunt, A. G. Richey, William Hancock, Charles P.

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Britton, William H. Brokaw, E. Gibbon Slipsbury, John Hall, James H. Wikoff, Foster C. Griffith and James M. Forst.

At a later meeting William L. Dayton was elected president; Hugh H. Hamill, vice-president; Elmer Ewing Green, treasurer; and Edward Grant Cook, secretary. On January 16, 1893, it was announced that nearly \$15,000 had been subscribed towards erecting a building.

The hospital was formally opened March 20, 1895, having a capacity of thirty beds. A house on Rutherford Avenue conveyed to the hospital by Harvey E. Fisk was fitted up for the use of nurses and for laundry purposes. The need for further accommodations grew so urgent that in 1902 contracts amounting to \$325,000 were made and a three-story and basement extension of 73 feet was built increasing the capacity of the hospital to one hundred beds. A laundry building with dormitories for domestic help was also constructed, the whole being opened for use October 3, 1902. In 1909 William J. Morris, as an expression of thankfulness for treatment received, at his own cost built a two-story brick addition, providing space for an X-ray department fully equipped, above a fine room for patients with a bathroom attached. The Hancock Extension of 71 feet, erected at the sole charge and expense of William S. Hancock, was opened May 1, 1912, and increased the capacity of the hospital to 170 beds. The third floor of the administration building was made a free maternity ward and additional quarters for nurses were provided by purchase of a house on Rutherford Avenue. In 1922 a power-house and central heating plant were built, also a laundry fully equipped. In 1926 a nurses' home was built and fully equipped. The same year the "Dayton Memorial," a maternity building of 74 beds, made possible by a gift of \$100,000 from James B. Dayton, was also completed. A service building 50 x 72, of two stories and basement, is in course of construction.

The hospital maintains a training school for nurses and a supervising staff with a present enrolment of 63 students. The hospital is one approved by the American College of Surgeons, and is a member of the American Hospital Association. The number of patients received in the twelve months ending January 3, 1928, was 3,503, of whom 1,662 were general ward patients. The hospital grounds extend 429 feet on Bellevue Avenue, running through to Rutherford Avenue with frontage thereon of three hundred and fifty feet.

The officers of the institution are Horace B. Tobin, president; Nelson L. Petty, vice-president; Walter F. Volk, treasurer; Henry C. Blackwell, secretary.

The chief of the medical staff is Dr. Fred S. Watson and of the surgical staff Dr. Nelson B. Oliphant. The Women's Aid of the hospital, divided in various committees, is composed of prominent women and is doing most effective work. The officers are Mrs. W. S. Case, president, with several vice-presidents; Miss Edith Packer, treasurer; Mrs. Henry C. Blackwell, recording secretary; and Mrs. Richard R. Whitehead, corresponding secretary.

THE WILLIAM MC KINLEY MEMORIAL HOSPITAL—1892

The William McKinley Memorial Hospital was the outgrowth of a movement to establish a homeopathic dispensary. On March 10, 1887, a meeting of doctors interested was held at 6 North Stockton Street, at the

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home of Mr. Wilson Pierson, attended by the following: Drs. F. H. Williams, James R. Cooper, Eugene B. Witte, William T. Rogers, William G. McCullough and William H. Griffith.

In 1889 parcels of land on Brunswick Avenue were purchased, composing approximately six acres. The old farm property upon which the house stood, known as the "Thomas B. DeCou property," was used as the first hospital and was named "The City Hospital."

In 1900 the directors, consisting of Drs. F. H. Williams, W. G. McCullough, James Rudolph Cooper, W. T. Rogers, E. B. Witte and W. H. Griffith, started to erect a new brick hospital which, when completed September 1902, was renamed and reincorporated as "The William McKinley Memorial Hospital."

The hospital proving too small for the growing needs, in 1924 it was determined to add a new wing and a public campaign and drive was started for \$200,000 to build it. This was successful and the new building was opened to the public October 1, 1925. The cost was over \$250,000.

In 1919 a new nurses' home was built on the northwestern corner of the hospital property. This was made possible by a benefaction of some \$50,000 received by bequest from Henry C. Kelsey. The training school was the first of its kind in the city of Trenton, and since its incorporation in 1899 has graduated 135 nurses.

The present officers of the institution are Newton A. K. Bugbee, president; Samuel Haverstick, vice-president; Charles F. Stout, secretary; J. Edward Myers, treasurer; and William B. Kents, superintendent. There is also an efficient Women's Aid. The hospital has a bed capacity of 145, including 29 private rooms.

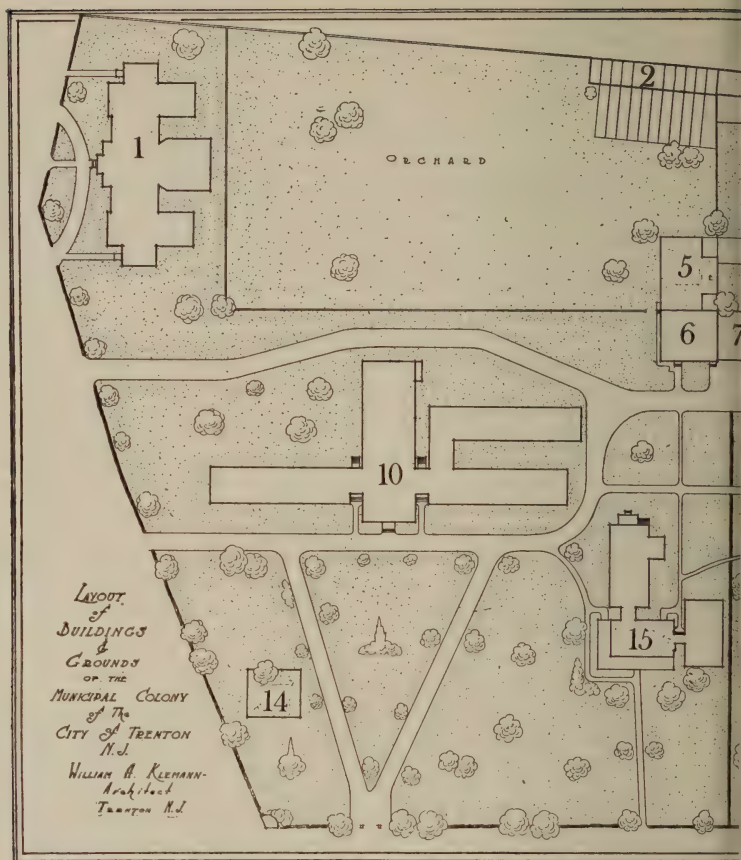
THE MUNICIPAL COLONY—1911

The city of Trenton cares for its city dependents, its sick and afflicted and its sufferers from contagious diseases, at the Trenton Municipal Colony.

In 1911, upon the establishment of commission government, the board of commissioners of the city of Trenton ratified the general plan for the creation of the Colony as formulated by Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly. A group of hospitals and homes was established with municipal funds appropriated by the commissioners, under the original plan, with the result that the Colony has become recognized for its attainments as a medical, humanitarian, sociological and civic achievement.

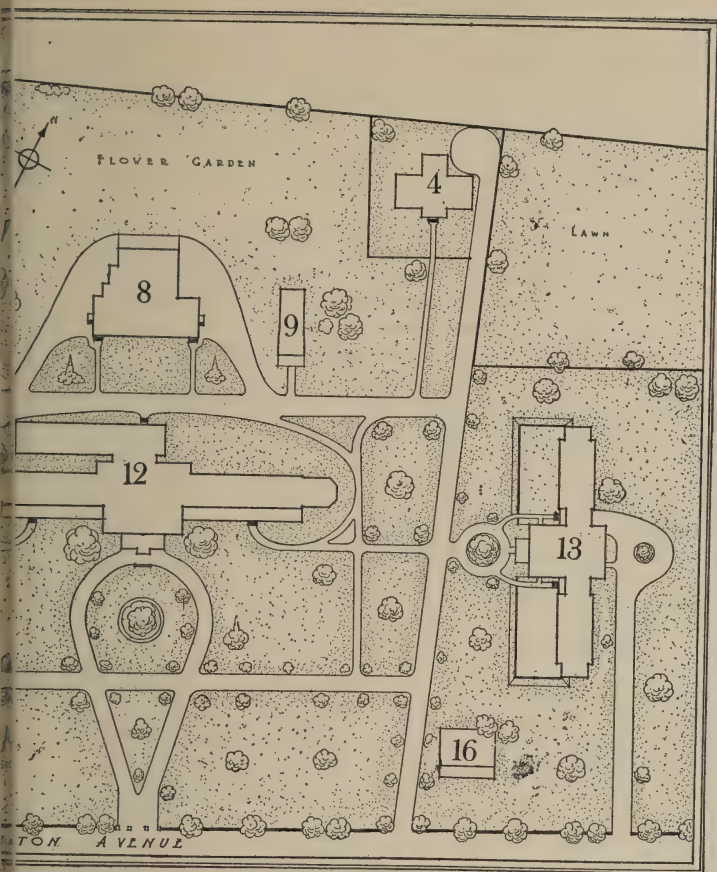
The Colony comprises the Home for the Aged and Infirm, the Tuberculosis Hospital, the Children's Hospital for Contagious Diseases, designated as the "Contagion Hospital," the Venereal Hospital, or Urology Hospital, the Isolation Hospital, Nurses' Home, Medical Superintendent's Cottage, and Non-Professional Staff Cottage. These buildings are of modern construction and occupy a fifteen-acre tract a short distance outside of the city limits in Hamilton township. Other buildings connected with the institution are the boiler-house and laundry, stables, garage and a small building used as a crafts-shop for occupational therapy, where patients may engage in useful labor. The cost of erecting the buildings was \$445,000. Since their purchase by the city the Colony lands have more than doubled in value.

A total of 347 beds for patients is provided, a surplus being required for



LAYOUT OF BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS OF

Key to buildings shown above: 1—Hospital for Venereal Diseases; 2—Fry House; 3—Garages; 5—Storehouse; 6—Administration Building; 7—Garages; 10—Home for Aged and Infirm; 11—Pump House; 14—Meat Superintendent's Cottage; 15—Nurses' Home.



HOSPITAL COLONY OF THE CITY OF TRENTON

Buildings shown above: 4—Isolation Building; 8—Boiler House and Laundry; 9—Occupational Building; 12—Tuberculosis Hospital; 13—Hospital for Contagious Diseases; 16—Non-Professional Building.

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future needs and also to take care of an epidemic outbreak in the city. Since its inception the Municipal Colony has taken care of hundreds of cases which, because of their contagious or chronic character, could not be admitted to the local hospitals.

In 1917 fire destroyed the old Tuberculosis Hospital and the splendid modern structure that was erected in its place has achieved a country-wide reputation for its care of tuberculosis cases.

The Home for the Aged and Infirm, which has housed 1,110 inmates since its erection, is a modern building that cares for the homeless dependents of the city of Trenton. Previous to its erection the city cared for its poor in the old and run-down almshouse on Princeton Avenue which occupied the present site of Junior High School No. 1, the money reverting from the school appropriation for this land being used toward defraying the cost of erecting the present Colony Home. The sick inmates of this building are cared for in an infirmary, and the living, sleeping and dining-rooms are large, airy and clean. Part of this building has been remodelled for the care of advanced cancer patients, and an enclosed porch provided.

The Children's Hospital for contagious diseases is one of the most important of the Colony hospitals, since it specializes in the treatment of children suffering from contagious diseases. Special corps of nurses and physicians are in attendance, and every facility and means to aid the little sufferers in their fight for recovery are provided in this institution. Diphtheria, scarlet fever and other virulent diseases are treated here, and the adult cases of contagion are cared for in a separate unit in this hospital. During the past nine years the Children's Hospital has cared for 2,089 cases.

The Venereal or Urology Hospital was erected in response to the federal government's call to cities to combat the spread of social diseases, and in construction and equipment conforms to the plans recommended by the United States Public Health Department. The service of this hospital has proven to be of great value in its relation to the public health conditions of Trenton. During the past five years 252 patients have been treated in this unit.

Patients suffering from smallpox and other malignant diseases are cared for in the Isolation Hospital. For many a year Trenton has been spared an outbreak of pestilence by the segregation of smallpox patients in this unit and a city-wide outbreak averted. In 1924 every one of the twenty-five smallpox patients isolated in this hospital recovered from the disease. The Isolation Hospital is always kept in readiness for malignant disease cases.

An occupational therapy building is maintained where patients are given an opportunity of doing light manual work, which has resulted in many instances in a marked mental and physical improvement. Artistic lamps and furniture are made, as well as institutional repair work done, resulting in an income to the patient-workers and a saving to the city.

The Colony has its own modern laundry, including a sterilizing plant used for the disinfection of clothing and bedding; a central heating and hot-water plant; a refrigerating plant; and an incineration plant. A day-and-night ambulance service is also maintained.

Trenton's leading physicians compose the medical staff of the Colony

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and direct the medical policy of the institution. Regular visits to the Colony hospitals are made by the members of the staff who serve without pay. Eighteen nurses live in the Nurses' Home.

A stone monument has been erected on the grounds of the hospital bearing the following inscription:

"An Arm of Aid to the Weak, A Friendly Hand to the Friendless."

Conceived by Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly in 1911.

Erection of Buildings Carried on Under the Administration of Commissioners Edward W. Lee, George B. La Barre, J. Ridgway Fell, William F. Burk, George W. Page, Abram Swan, Jr.

THE ORTHOPAEDIC HOSPITAL—1920

The Orthopaedic Hospital had its beginning in a small way. As far back as 1907 a group of women who had formed a small club, meeting together occasionally for recreation, decided to take up some form of charitable work, and after investigation concluded that a district nurse was much needed in Trenton and set about raising the necessary funds. Various entertainments were given by which enough money was raised to begin. A competent nurse was engaged and a small apartment rented at 138 Allen Street. The members of the committee at the time the district nurse committee was formed were: Mrs. Bruce Bedford, Mrs. Josiah Harmar, Mrs. Charles L. Hyde, Miss Frances M. Dickinson, Mrs. William E. Green, Mrs. Ferdinand W. Roebing, Jr., Mrs. Richard M. Cadwalader, Jr., Miss Marjorie Slade, Mrs. William S. Rogers, Mrs. Karl G. Roebing, Mrs. William T. White, Mrs. W. Meredith Dickinson, Mrs. Carroll S. Tyson, Jr., and Mrs. Henry E. Mattison. The work grew and prospered and in the summer of 1912 the nurse established a pure milk station, where milk was prepared and distributed to babies of the needy. The mothers paid a small fee when possible. In 1917 the work of the visiting nurse was discontinued, owing to the fact that the city was doing work of the same character. The next nurse employed was a social worker and organizer, and established the Child Hygiene Station where mothers were instructed in the care of their babies. The committee also undertook to care for children who were, in a slight degree, mentally deficient.

The first work in the city for tuberculosis sufferers was done by this committee. They sold Christmas stamps and the nurse visited in the homes of the patients, until 1912 when the Municipal Hospital was opened, and the city provided for such cases.

After the epidemic of infantile paralysis in 1916, there were many children who were crippled as a result of that disease, and the need for expert advice was felt. In 1920 Dr. Richard B. Ernest came from the New York Orthopaedic Hospital to hold clinics for the cripples in the small rooms on Allen Street. The number of patients increased rapidly and it was found necessary to move to larger quarters. The first-floor apartment at 165 East Front Street was secured, and later the second floor, as a hospital. It was incorporated April 1920, the following names being signed in papers of incorporation: Mathilde H. Bedford, Sophia M. Kennedy, Charlotte McG. Whitehead, Frances M. Dickinson, Annie F. Green.

The little hospital was opened with seven beds, August 1922, with Dr.

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Richard B. Ernest surgeon in charge. Within a few months there were more patients than could be accommodated and the committee decided it was time to buy property. The two large houses at 177 and 179 Brunswick Avenue were bought by Mr. Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., and given to the hospital as a memorial to his father. The buildings were completely remodelled, and the vacant lot adjoining was given by Mrs. Carroll S. Tyson, Jr. The new hospital was formally dedicated on February 25, 1924. There are twenty-three beds, four private rooms, a fine operating room, gymnasium and X-ray apparatus. It cares for many children also who come from their homes twice each week for treatment. Two welfare nurses are employed who visit the homes of the patients.

In 1926 the third floor was altered into wards for men and boys over sixteen years of age. A small house nearby, 32 Cavell Avenue, was bought for a nurses' home. Another addition is now being built. The president since 1922 has been Mrs. Charles E. Gummere and the executive chairman of the hospital is Mrs. W. M. Dickinson.

CHARLES PRIVATE HOSPITAL—1924

The Charles Private Hospital started as a small nursing home at 50 North Clinton Avenue, but soon outgrew its quarters and a small but fully equipped hospital building of four stories was occupied at 142 North Clinton Avenue. The hospital has fifty rooms with individual dining-room and bathrooms. Medical and surgical cases of all sorts are treated. The superintendent is Miss Grace Fields.

CHAMBERSBURG GENERAL HOSPITAL—1926

The Chambersburg General Hospital was built by Dr. Gesa M. Fran during 1926 and was operated as a private hospital until July 31, 1927. Since that time the hospital has been conducted by the board of trustees of the Chambersburg General Hospital, a corporation chartered by the State of New Jersey, as a public hospital. The officers of the corporation are: Leo W. Goldy, president; Louis C. Kersey, treasurer; Edward Whitehouse, vice-president; Harry Ackerman, secretary. The medical director is Dr. William M. Stratton.

The institution is equipped with twenty-five beds, minor and major operating room, fully equipped X-ray room, maternity delivery room and sterilizing room. Free patients are cared for, and various other charities are practised by the institution.

II. Homes

WIDOWS' AND SINGLE WOMEN'S HOME—1855

This institution was founded in the early '50's and incorporated in 1855. Its foundation was largely due to the initiative of the Ewing and Gree families.

The first officers were Mrs. Mary Johnston, first directress; Mrs. Louie V. Krewson, second directress; Miss Juliet Phillips, secretary; and Mr. E. W. Ihrle, treasurer. Among the managers were the following: Mi

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Mary Hall, Mrs. E. I. Grant, Miss Elizabeth Stryker, Mrs. David Clark, Miss Catharine Dill, Mrs. Henry W. Green, Mrs. Lewis Parker, Mrs. Lewis Perrine and Mrs. Mary Armstrong. Among the men associated as an advisory committee were James T. Sherman, James Ewing, Thomas J. Stryker and Charles C. Yard. The title by which the association was originally known was "Trenton Society for the Relief of Respectable Aged and Indigent Widows and Single Women." Any person contributing not less than \$3 annually was considered a member; the payment of \$30 at one time constituted a life membership and the payment of \$100 at one time made a person a patron. Rules laid down for applicants provided that \$40 be paid down as admission and that the applicants provide themselves with bed, bedding and furniture, otherwise \$50 must be paid on their admission. The age of applicants must not be under fifty years. Persons seeking admission were required to make over all their property to the Home. Inmates were required to make their own beds and care for their rooms also, and if capable, to assist in domestic duties and to sew and knit. No stimulant or spirituous liquors were permitted except by order of the physician, and no profane or improper language was allowed. No person was allowed to interfere with or find fault with the matron.

The interest of many charitable persons having been enlisted, the association was soon able to purchase a permanent home in a portion of the Old Barracks where it remained until it built and occupied its present modern and commodious quarters. The Spring Street tract was a gift from Judge Caleb S. Green. In 1869 a bequest of \$30,000 was received from John A. Roebling. This sum as a nucleus, together with other contributions including benefactions from N. R. Ivins and Walter S. Lenox, enabled the institution to erect its present home in 1902.

The institution is sustained by the dues of its members and the gifts of others. In addition the inmates each pay \$300 as an admittance fee. Before the War an annual supper was held in the home from which a substantial fund was received. Since that time an annual donation day has taken its place, when money is given and supplies provided by friends of the institution. The home has accommodations for some twenty or more persons and there is always a long waiting list.

The president of the institution is Mrs. John H. Scudder, and among other prominent women associated with her are: Mrs. John A. Campbell, Mrs. Daniel J. Bechtel, Mrs. Charles Stuckert, Mrs. William H. Brokaw, Mrs. Arthur H. Wood, Mrs. James J. Wilson, Mrs. W. J. B. Stokes, Mrs. C. Edward Murray, Mrs. Horace B. Tobin, Mrs. Isaac G. Wood and Mrs. George W. Arnett.

THE UNION INDUSTRIAL HOME—1860

The full name of this institution as given in the act of incorporation is the Union Industrial Home Association for Destitute Children of Trenton, New Jersey. The home was started by a group of benevolently minded women in 1859 and was incorporated the following year. The first officers were: Mrs. George G. Roney, president; Mrs. David Clark, vice-president; Mrs. Henry B. James, secretary; and Mrs. John R. Dill, treasurer. With the officers were associated fourteen other women, who composed the board of managers. There was also a board of counsellors composed of the fol-

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lowing: Stacy G. Potts, John R. Dill, James T. Sherman, John A. Roeb-
ling, Daniel P. Forst and Isaac Stevens.

The general object of the institution as stated in the constitution is "to provide and sustain a home for destitute children and to afford them the advantages of moral, religious and useful training." It was also provided that "each evangelical denomination shall be represented as nearly equally in the board as is practical and consistent with the interests of the institution." The home was opened on February 10, 1860, in a small house on Perry Street. Within one year fifty-nine children had been received and the home was moved to a more commodious house on Warren Street, which had formerly been occupied by Andrew Crozier. In the autumn of 1885 Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Stokes purchased at a cost of \$7,800 a lot on Chestnut Avenue, which they presented to the association. Ground for the erection of a building was broken in August 1887 and on September 24 of that year the cornerstone was laid by the Rev. Daniel R. Foster, pastor of Bethany Presbyterian Church. The completed building was dedicated on November 15, 1888.

The association still occupies this building, which has been considerably enlarged to meet the increasing needs. The institution is supported by the subscriptions of its friends and has also a small income from invested funds. It has been the custom to hold an annual supper and fair. The association has cared for and educated hundreds of orphan or half-orphan boys and girls and sent them into the world fully equipped to earn their living. Where it is possible parents and guardians are expected to aid in the cost of the children's keep. The children in the home are constituted a part of the Public School System of the city and have regular teachers assigned to them. The home has today an enrolment of thirty-six boys and thirty-three girls.

The officers for the year 1928 were: Mrs. Paul L. Cort, president; Mrs. Edward L. Katzenbach, vice-president; Mrs. A. Crozer Reeves, treasurer; and Mrs. Kenneth W. Moore, secretary.

The board of counsellors are: Justice Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., Senator A. Crozer Reeves, Ferdinand W. Roebing, Jr., James J. Wilson and Archibald W. Brown.

The association is contemplating the erection of an additional building on the present site.

THE STATE HOME FOR GIRLS—1871

This institution, supported and managed by the State of New Jersey, is located off Stuyvesant Avenue near the line of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Previous to occupying its present site the school was at "Pine Grove," in the sixth ward of the city.

The estate comprises one hundred and eighty acres of land, the greater part of which is under cultivation. There are accommodations for about three hundred girls, who are housed in a series of modern buildings. The administration building is a counterpart of Washington's Headquarters in Morristown, N.J., and was formally opened in 1910 and named the "Fort Cottage." This building served as New Jersey headquarters at the Jamestown Virginia Exposition before it was removed to its present site. It is furnished in the Colonial style.

The State Home for Girls is correctional in type, and is designed for

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girls between the ages of eight and seventeen who may be committed to it by the courts. The ideal of its training is to fit the girls to return to society, sound in health and able to earn their living on a practical basis.

The institution is, at present, completing a ten-year building program which will make its physical plant one of the best in the country.

ODD FELLOWS' HOME OF THE GRAND LODGE—1885

The Odd Fellows' Home was organized November 18, 1885, by a few of the members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, among whom was George W. Hamell of Trenton, then grand master of the Grand Lodge. It continued as a voluntary association until 1906, when the Grand Lodge of the Order in New Jersey bought the property and took over the management.

The home is located on the outskirts of the city, at the intersection of Pennington and Parkway Avenues. The nine acres of land which, with the buildings and furnishings of the home and farm, constitute the plant, could not be replaced today for \$150,000. It is entirely free of debt and has an endowment of over \$200,000.

It is free to aged and indigent members of the order, their wives and widows, and is now caring for about seventy-five such residents at an average maintenance cost of \$7.60 per week.

The home is maintained by a per capita tax levied on all members of the order in this State, while every person admitted to the order contributes \$3 toward the permanent building fund.

The Odd Fellows were the first fraternal organization in this country to establish homes for the aged and indigent members and the home in New Jersey was the third one to be opened.

This home is only for the aged, the order in this State maintaining an orphanage in Newark for the children of their deceased members.

THE NEW JERSEY CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY—1894

This society was incorporated in New Jersey in October 1894. It is governed by a board of managers, thirty-six members, who serve without compensation. Twelve are elected each year to serve for a period of three years.

For seventeen years, prior to 1922, the property of the society consisted of the McKinley Receiving Home, located on Brunswick Avenue, Slackwood, in Lawrence Township. In February 1922 the society took possession of its new Receiving Home at Parkway and Parkside Avenues, Trenton. This property is valued at \$150,000, is modern in construction and appointments, and has normal accommodations for sixty-four children.

The object of the society is to provide suitable family homes in the State of New Jersey for homeless and dependent children that may be committed to its care, and to do the work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

The society does not provide permanently for any of its wards at the Receiving Home. There are usually, at any time, about sixty children in the Receiving Home awaiting placement in family homes.

The society also maintains an Aid Department. Through this department it aids and protects neglected and abused children in their own homes.

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It helps mothers to find employment where they may take their children with them. It also provides temporary care for children in distress.

The society has had three presidents: W. W. Knox, D.D., of New Brunswick, Dr. Daniel R. Foster, deceased, of Trenton, and Edward S. Wood, of Trenton, the present incumbent. Mr. Wood has served continuously since December 1909. It has also had three superintendents: the Rev. M. T. Lamb, the founder, who died in 1912, C. V. Williams, now of Chicago, and the present superintendent, the Rev. J. C. Stock, who has served since 1914.

The society is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

THE FLORENCE CRITTENTON CHRISTIAN REFUGE ASSOCIATION—1895

The Florence Crittenton Christian Refuge Association was organized February 15, 1895, for the care of wayward and homeless white women.

A rented house on Livingston Street was occupied as the first home, until 1897, when the association moved into the present home, situated at 1212 Edgewood Avenue, an old Colonial farm-house owned by the Cooks.

The first officers were: Miss Anna T. Bailey, president; Mrs. T. H. Welling, first vice-president; Mrs. James B. Oliphant, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. L. Manning, treasurer; Mrs. M. B. Eyler, matron. The first advisory board consisted of: the Hon. William M. Lanning, James Buchanan, the Hon. Robert S. Woodruff, David Willetts and the Rev. C. A. Eyler. The mission was affiliated with the national Florence Crittenton Mission in 1901. The following have served as presidents: Miss Bailey, Miss Heller, Mrs. T. H. Welling and (since 1915) Mrs. Samuel D. Oliphant.

Aside from the hospital aid from the County, the work of the mission is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, there being no endowment fund. During the thirty-three years of its existence the mission has provided a home for more than a thousand girls and about eight hundred babies.

A salaried superintendent and resident nurse have charge of the home under the direction of a board of managers. A competent physician is in attendance upon call, his services being largely gratuitous.

Members of the present board are: Mrs. S. D. Oliphant, president; Mrs. A. C. Oliphant, first vice-president; Mrs. Howard Heath, second vice-president; Mrs. Josiah Hollies, third vice-president; Mrs. William Turner, recording and corresponding secretary; Mrs. John Pope, treasurer.

THE FRIENDS' BOARDING HOME—1898

The Friends' Boarding Home of Burlington Quarterly Meeting was established at Trenton, March 24, 1898.

Anna T. Jeans, a wealthy member of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and a woman who did a great amount of good during her lifetime, left at her death among many bequests a certain amount to be distributed among the different quarterly meetings comprising the Yearly Meeting, to assist in establishing Friends' boarding homes. The object of the donor was to provide a boarding place with a homelike atmosphere for all Friends, but especially to make comfortable and happy members who did not have the means to care for themselves. With this help dependent members of the Society are cared for with but little expense to their respective Meetings, as it is the duty of each Meeting to care for all lacking the means to care for

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themselves. At the same time it provides a boarding place for all members well fixed financially but not having homes of their own. At any time when there are unoccupied rooms, others of any denomination are welcome on the same terms as at other places with corresponding conveniences.

The home was originally located on North Stockton Street, but is at present on Greenwood Avenue. The present board of managers consist of: Arthur E. Moon, president; Laura H. Satterthwaite, vice-president; Elsie Prey, secretary; Franklin S. Zelly, treasurer; Sara C. Atkinson, assistant treasurer; and Rebecca S. DeCou, chairman of executive committee.

MARY FAITH HOME—1921

This institution was established eight years ago in honor of Mrs. Mary Brokaw, who gave the first contribution of one dollar towards a home for girls. At this time Mrs. Ona Anderson was a city missionary and came in contact with many worthy cases. After starting with three rooms it was found that more space was needed, and a house on Broad Street was taken; the institution remained there only a short time and then moved to Princeton Avenue. With the demands made every day for caring for mothers and their children, it was felt that a place in the country was advisable and an old farm was procured and the house remodelled to suit the needs of the institution.

This home was started entirely on faith, and is supported by voluntary contributions from interested individuals, organizations and churches. It is a missionary work, and religious services are held every day in the Home by the matron, Mrs. Nettie Watson, who has been in charge for seven years. The nature of the work is to shelter those in need of a home, to secure friends, and to encourage the weak, to help the wayward and erring girl, and to assist widows and their children, sometimes taking them for an indefinite period. Among those who appreciate these services are girls and women who have been found upon the streets, stranded and penniless, without shelter and employment.

In October 1922 the institution was incorporated, and is now governed by a board of directors. The home is situated near the Lanning School, Pennington Road.

III. Philanthropic and Educational Institutions

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—1856

The Trenton Y.M.C.A. was organized in 1856. According to the authentic records of the local association the first president was David Cole who was principal of the old Trenton Academy. The city directory of 1857 in its enumeration of leading citizens gives the name of Mr. Cole as president. The association in those days met the first Tuesday evening of every month in a room located at 21 East State Street.

The records reveal that in 1870 the Trenton Y.M.C.A. embraced a membership of about three hundred, and rooms were then taken across the street from the first headquarters, at 20-22 East State Street. Joseph P. Welling was the president in that period and much tangible progress was

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made in the development of a comprehensive program. During 1871 Dr. William Elmer, a prominent physician of those days, was made president, and under his régime the activities of the association were further expanded. Public meetings were held on the second Tuesday of every month and during the winter season lectures, essays, debates and kindred other educational functions were extensively promoted. During the summer seasons in those years open-air meetings were prominently featured at different localities throughout the city every Sunday afternoon. Some other early presidents whose administrations showed marked progress were the Rev. John C. Brown, Lewis Parker, Jr., and John C. Titus.

A lull in the onward march of the association seems to have occurred about 1878 and for some years thereafter only meagre accounts are given in the historical records of the Trenton Y.M.C.A.

A healthy reorganization of the association is chronicled as happening in the year when the late Judge William M. Lanning, as president, R. M. Anderson, as recording secretary, and Samuel L. Baily, as treasurer, guided the destinies of the institution. At that time quarters were leased at 33 West State Street, known as Concordia Hall, until the *Sunday Advertiser* purchased and took over the building. The first general secretary was E. M. Thompson and he was succeeded in 1887 by R. Howard Taylor.

After serving about a year Judge Lanning resigned and was succeeded by the late Sering P. Dunham, who held the office for nearly four years. The next presiding officer was John A. Campbell, who is now president of the Trenton Potteries Company and still actively identified with the work of the association.

The old rooms at 33 West State soon proved too small for the manifold endeavors of the institution and during the season of 1889 and 1890 the churches of the city were utilized for the religious services and various halls for entertainments and other social features of the organization's work. Soon this arrangement became inexpedient and a suite of rooms was occupied in the Baker Building, the gymnasium being located in the Masonic Hall Building. Library Hall was engaged twice a week for entertainments and the religious services conducted by the association were usually held in Taylor Opera House or in different churches throughout the city.

In March 1892 a new building for the exclusive use of the association was erected on East State Street at a cost of about \$120,000. The East State Street structure at the time of its erection and for a long while subsequent was considered one of the best-equipped Y.M.C.A. homes in the country. It was 228 feet deep with a 56-foot frontage, four stories high, and contained a commodious auditorium seating about one thousand people. Additional facilities included a very fine gymnasium, swimming pool, bathrooms, shower baths, locker rooms, dormitories and bowling alleys, parlors, reading rooms, recreational and educational classrooms.

Dedicatory exercises for the East State Street building were held in November 1892. The building was later furnished by the ladies of the Women's Auxiliary at a cost of about \$6,000.

With the opening of the building the work of the Y.M.C.A. of Trenton began to leap forward with great alacrity. The membership of the organization soon reached the one thousand mark and as the years went on branch buildings were established in other sections of the city.

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Under the direction of men instilled with the spirit of real sportsmanship the Trenton Y.M.C.A. did more, perhaps, than any other local institution for advancing the interests of clean sports. For many years the association conducted a high-class baseball team that was recognized throughout the country as one of the best diamond aggregations outside of the big leagues. Its splendid supervision over the calendar of sports was also largely instrumental in bringing Trenton to the front as the basketball center of the country. Tennis and other pastimes—both of an outdoor and indoor nature—were promoted under the most wholesome influences as the result of the organization's efforts in this respect. The sports-loving proclivities of the youth of the city were thus given an opportunity to be developed under Christian auspices and in an environment free from all semblance of moral corruption.

In 1909 Harry G. Stoddard succeeded Mr. Campbell as president and he continued to serve in that capacity until February 1911, when Edward L. Katzenbach was elected to the chief executive office. The administrations of both Mr. Stoddard and Mr. Katzenbach were marked by innumerable triumphs in the expansion of local work and the association continued to prosper under their able management.

Since 1915 H. Arthur Smith has been president of the organization and it has been during his régime that recognition was given to the fact that conditions demanded a new and larger building. With this knowledge in mind a committee from the board of directors was appointed during the summer of 1918 to negotiate the sale of the old building to Nevius Brothers and on August 8 of that year the transaction was consummated.

At about the same time Mr. Charles A. Green, the present general secretary, was called to take charge of the local field. Mr. Green had had extensive experience in other cities and his acquisition by the local organization was prompted largely with the thought in mind of promoting a new building campaign at the most expedient time.

December 5, 1918, a committee composed of Messrs. H. Arthur Smith, H. M. Voorhees and James J. Wilson was appointed to consider the selection of a site for the new building. At a meeting of the directors, April 28, 1919, this committee reported that it had purchased the property at the corner of East State Street and South Clinton Avenue, familiarly known as the Dolton estate, and, a few days later, the Farley and Bugbee properties, adjoining the original purchase, were secured. This gave the association for its new project a site of 150 feet on East State Street and 195 feet on South Clinton Avenue.

In July 1919, a special meeting of the board of directors was held for the purpose of authorizing and formulating a campaign for the new building fund. General C. Edward Murray was made general chairman of the new building committee and an aggressive campaign was conducted during the week of January 20-28, 1920.

Prior to the formal opening of the city-wide canvass eight business men voluntarily made donations of \$25,000 each to start the campaign. The donors of these handsome contributions were General C. Edward Murray, O. O. Bowman, George R. Cook, Frederic A. Duggan, Colonel Washington A. Roebling, W. J. B. Stokes, J. Oliver Stokes and a joint contribution of \$30,000 by Karl G. Roebling and F. W. Roebling, Jr. The campaign won a hearty response from the people of Trenton and the quota

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of \$500,000 was over-subscribed to the amount of \$53,000. The success of the movement has made possible the erection of the magnificent monument of which the association may justly be proud, for the building at East State Street and South Clinton Avenue undoubtedly represents the last word in Y.M.C.A. edifices.²

The total cost of the land, building and equipment was \$757,500. The approximate membership is two thousand eight hundred, of whom eight hundred are boys. There are one hundred sixty members resident in the dormitories.

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD Y.M.C.A.—1892

The Pennsylvania Railroad Y.M.C.A. was organized November 13, 1892, and its first home was on Perry Street near the coalport yards. The first secretary was Mr. Busey. The city Y.M.C.A. secretary, W. A. Venter, with the following railroad men, were at the organization meeting: Messrs. Hatfield, Rathbun, Shepherd, Bailey, Joslin and Archibald Green, secretary of the religious work committee.

The following named men composed the early committee of management: Messrs. H. Johnson (Chairman), A. F. Spicer, Jas. Broughton, Frank Kitchen, Bailey, A. Green, Joslin and Howell.

The second building was at 43 Chestnut Avenue, near the Barracks yards. J. R. Campbell in the year 1903 was appointed secretary to succeed William Charles and served the association until he retired on January 1, 1927, at which time D. J. Kennedy from New York City was appointed secretary. The third location for the railroad work was established at 508 East State Street, and remained there until April 1923, when it was united with the Central Y.M.C.A. in the present building located at 2 South Clinton Avenue. The following-named railroad men compose the present Pennsylvania Railroad Department committee of management: C. H. Miller, chairman, E. P. Bruere, treasurer, H. S. Fry, recording secretary, W. L. Anderson, Dr. R. H. Moore, C. O. Long, D. R. Worthington, M. B. Slack, Geo. L. Ziessel, G. A. Pitman, P. P. Anderson, Z. C. Johnston and E. E. Pyle.

THE WILLIAM G. COOK MEMORIAL Y.M.C.A.—1909

Hampton W. Cook, desiring to perpetuate the name of his father, William G. Cook, in the Wilbur community and city of Trenton, sought the advice of the Y.M.C.A. board of directors and decided to erect a building to be named the William G. Cook Memorial Y.M.C.A. On October 18, 1909, the deed for the ground was turned over to the board of directors and accepted by President Harry Stoddard. The ground was broken for the building at the corner of Greenwood and South Olden Avenues in the fall of 1910, and finished in November 1911. The board of directors of the Y.M.C.A. appointed a committee of management which under its supervision was authorized to direct the affairs of the branch. This committee of management was composed of Messrs. C. B. Case, chairman, W. J. J. Bowman, J. Clarence Richardson, Robert V. Whitehead, Frank Thropp and J. Edward Myers. The committee installed Frank Condon, as secretary, and Albert E. Bratton, as physical director, in charge of the building and to organize and

² See Y.M.C.A. booklet, printed by Hibbert Printing Co., 1922.

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plan for the activities. The first meeting of the organization was held on November 18 at the home of Harry Baxter on Olden Avenue where a number of young men of the community, together with the secretary and physical director, organized and formed a nucleus of the first men's group. On Thursday, January 4, 1912, the dedicatory services were held.

The association has grown from this small beginning to a membership of 709. The building consists of fifteen dormitory rooms on the third floor that are filled to capacity; a men's room, two boys' club rooms, dining-room and kitchen on the second floor; lobby and gymnasium on the first floor; swimming pool, locker room, bowling alleys, filtration and heating plant in the basement. This has given the community of Wilbur an institution that is being used by people of all creeds.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—1903

The Trenton Y.W.C.A. was organized in the autumn of 1903 at the home of Mrs. Henry W. Green, and the following spring Mrs. Austin C. Cooley was elected as the first president of the organization which started with a larger membership than any similar association up to that time. Quarters for the new organization were secured in the W.C.T.U. Building and later in the Wilkinson Building. When a call for gymnasium work came the association rented the old Armory room on Hanover Street in the rear of the First Presbyterian Church. The next growth took the association to Hanover Street, opposite the present quarters, where rooms were rented to transients. The fact that more than one thousand members were enjoying the varied activities of the association by the close of the third year proved the need of a more adequate building, and in the summer of 1908 the association established itself at 138 and 140 East Hanover Street. There regular gymnasium work and a cafeteria, now grown to large proportions, had their beginnings, as well as did extension work in factories. Classes in domestic science were offered before this branch of knowledge was taught in the public schools, and were well attended. Outdoor life was supplied for the girls by a summer cottage at Somerset and by a camp at Point Pleasant on the Delaware. An outstanding piece of work rendered by the Y.W.C.A. along civic lines was the aid given city officials by organized bands of volunteers in the fight against the influenza epidemic in 1918.

By 1923 the association had outgrown its quarters, and after a successful building campaign work was begun on the present well-equipped administration building on East Hanover Street, with a residence building facing on Academy Street. These buildings were dedicated January 25, 1925.

In 1927 work for colored people was begun at the branch on Montgomery Street.

The following have served as presidents: Mrs. Austin C. Cooley, Mrs. Charles Howell Cook, Miss Edith C. Moon, Mrs. William N. Mumper, Mrs. Howell C. Stull and Mrs. Edward W. Dunham.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE—1911

In 1911 was organized the second International Institute in America,—the first being in New York. It was first known as the Branch Y.W.C.A. A room was rented at 400 Genesee Street and put in charge of Miss Aimie Sears.

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The activities consisted of dressmaking, cooking and English classes. A library of books in Polish, German, English and Hungarian was at the disposal of the people on stated evenings.

The use of several schools was secured and English classes were taught by volunteers. In one building folk-dancing and gymnastics were added to the general program. There was a club for boys and on Sundays the branch room was open and young people encouraged to use it at stated hours.

The names of new arrivals were sent from New York and such were met at the station by a worker who took them to their new homes. Subsequently work was begun in East Trenton and classes in English were conducted not only in school buildings but also in public halls, kitchens and one in the laundry of Mercer Hospital.

In October 1914 the Cavour Lyceum was opened for young Italians, who studied and debated on many questions of current interest. Many well-known Trentonians assisted in inspiring these young men to qualify for business and professional careers.

In 1914 the Sharp property at 942 South Clinton Avenue was purchased, and continues as headquarters for the institute.

Miss Emma Linburg, now Mrs. Horace B. Tobin, was the first chairman, later succeeded by Mrs. Thomas Trenchard, Mrs. C. Edward Murray and, at the present time, Miss Mary L. Johnston.

The program includes in its scope the welcoming of new arrivals, teaching them whatsoever they need in the new environment, providing necessary recreation, securing work, assisting in family problems and so far as possible thus bridging the chasm between the old and new life. No distinction is made between races, classes or creeds. The work is carried on by a staff of five and reaches between one and two thousand people each month.

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—1876

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was the outgrowth of a visit made to Trenton by Miss Frances E. Willard and Mrs. Mary R. Denman, the union being organized on February 29, 1876, with thirty-two members. Through the courtesy of the Board of Trade business and prayer meetings were held in its rooms for nearly two years. Subsequently, a room was rented over Washington Market, and occupied until October 1878, when quarters were taken in the Y.M.C.A. building. In February 1879, the Y.M.C.A. surrendered the custody of its library into the hands of the W.C.T.U., and the rooms formerly occupied by the Y.M.C.A. were leased until February 1885 when the Union Library, 214 East State Street, was formally opened and dedicated. The cost of the building was \$33,000, and when it was dedicated there was no debt upon it.

In 1880 the union organized a night school for boys who were at work through the day, teaching them some of the rudimentary studies, promoting habits of thrift and in many ways befriending them. This was kept up for several years until the school authorities, recognizing the need of this work, established the Public Night School thus relieving the union of further responsibility. For two years a similar work was done among the working girls.

For eighteen years Sunday Public Temperance Meetings were held, conducted by noted speakers on the temperance platform, as well as a large number of Trenton ministers.

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In May 1883 a separate organization was formed called the Bible Readers' Aid. In 1884 the Fruit and Flower Mission was started, and ever since visits have been paid weekly to the hospitals, almshouse, prison, county jail and homes of the sick, for the distribution of flowers, fruit, papers, tracts and also for the holding of Gospel services wherever the way was opened. When the Y.M.C.A. was reorganized and the Ladies' Auxiliary was formed, members of the union became active in that organization.

In 1891 a work was begun for business girls which gradually broadened its sphere of usefulness, and weekly singing, gymnasium and cooking classes were held with a monthly social where the girls listened to earnest addresses on topics of vital interest to young women. The interest in this increased so that four hundred young women signed the pledge "Total Abstinence or No Husbands." The Y.W.C.A., desiring to organize a branch in Trenton, in 1904 the union agreed to lend its aid and to turn over its work among girls to that society, with the result that one thousand members were enrolled of which the Amethyst Club of the union formed the nucleus.

In 1895, the work for erring girls was brought to the attention of the union and as the result of its cooperation the Florence Crittenton Mission was started. When the Free Public Library was organized, the Union Library sold the majority of its books to that institution.

At the present time the work is divided into nineteen departments. There is also work among the colored people, which is under the charge of the president, Mrs. Howard Heath.

In addition to the mother organization (Trenton No. 1), there are four branch societies, viz.: Willard, Emma Bourne, Hillcrest and Whildy Union. Each of these has from one to nine departments.

At the present time Mrs. Howard Heath is president, Mrs. M. E. Thompson, secretary, and Mrs. Margaret H. Hunt, treasurer.

THE MOUNT CARMEL GUILD—1920 (NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY HOUSE)

The Mount Carmel Guild is a charitable and social welfare organization of the Catholic women of the City of Trenton. In January, 1920, the Right Rev. Thomas Joseph Walsh, Bishop of Trenton, established this guild for the purpose of banding together those interested in being of practical aid to the poor and needy of the community. All the workers are volunteers and the organization is supported by the dues of the members.

The annual dues of the active members are \$1; of the associate members, \$5; of the supporting members, \$10; and of the special benefactors, \$25. Those desiring to contribute larger sums are designated as special annual contributors, and this class of membership includes the \$100 contributions.

The work of the guild is divided into twenty-four departments, each under a special chairman. The guild has a membership of upwards of three thousand. The first president of the guild was Mrs. John L. Kuser, now deceased. Her successors were Miss Mary L. Convery, Miss Mary T. McCue, Mrs. F. V. Cartwell and Miss Winifred B. Gilmore, the present incumbent.

The character of the work carried on by the guild is as wide as the needs of humanity and embraces departments for "Adult Reform," "Ameri-

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canization," a "Girl's Club," "Colored Missions," "Day Nurseries," "Employment," "Institutional Visiting," "Legal Aid," "Distribution of Literature," "Medical Aid," "Mother's Clubs," "Physical Relief," "Physical Training," "Vacation Schools," "Outfitting," "Social Inquiry," and "Publicity."

The guild publishes a year-book *Review*, giving full details as to its work and methods. A membership campaign is conducted annually. The Right Rev. Monsignor John H. Fox, V.G., has been moderator of the guild since its inception, and the present membership is about three thousand two hundred.

BOY SCOUTS—1912

The first troop of Boy Scouts was organized at the Y.M.C.A. in 1912 with Gilbert H. Roehrig as scoutmaster. The oldest official record is dated January 16, 1914, when a meeting was called to organize a second class council. The first officers were Dr. W. A. Wetzel, president, William E. Green, vice-president, Owen Moon, Jr., treasurer, Gilbert H. Roehrig, secretary, and William Burgess, Jr., commissioner. The first camp was held on Marshall's Island, August 1 to 9, with Walter L. Hughes as director. Seventy-four boys attended.

There were then twelve troops and two hundred boys in the organization. The first council was organized in November 1916, with Samuel Haverstick, president, Dr. Wetzel, James Kerney, General Murray and Samuel Levy, vice-presidents, Howard L. Hughes, secretary, William E. Green, treasurer, J. Connor French, S. E. Kaufman, M. G. Rockhill, D. W. Scammell and J. H. Sines, additional members, D. William Scammell, commissioner, and William Burgess, Jr., scout executive. William D. Durling was elected scout executive on December 28, 1917, and served until his resignation, January 1, 1921. Scouting rose to a high state of efficiency under his leadership. In 1921 W. F. Abriel was elected executive and served until February 1923. In May 1923 E. R. Carrick was elected and is serving at present. The council owns Camp Pahaquarra on the Delaware in New Jersey, about eight miles above the Delaware Water Gap. It is 1450 acres in area and was once an old copper mine operated in pre-Colonial times by the Dutch (1645-57). It was purchased (1925) by the council for \$19,900 and is at present equipped to care for one hundred twenty-five boys per week. The troops are affiliated with the churches, lodges, the American Legion, the Knights of Columbus, the Y.M.H.A., the School for the Deaf, etc., and on January 1, 1928, there were nine hundred Scouts in Trenton (1127 in the County), divided into forty-eight Troops. Boys not old enough to be Scouts may join the Wolf Cubs. In Indian sign-language the sign for "scout" and "wolf" is the same, and therefore Junior Scouts are "Wolf Cubs."

THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

When Trenton Council No. 355, Knights of Columbus, took possession of its spacious new headquarters on East State Street in 1923, welfare work among the boys of the numerous city parishes was entered upon at the request of the Right Rev. Thomas J. Walsh.

Under the present plan the Knights take care of boys from the age of nine until they are old enough to join the order at the age of eighteen. The

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younger lads are members of the Cubs, associated with the Trenton and Mercer County Area of Boy Scouts, while those up to fifteen are active in three troops of Boy Scouts. The Knights have the only Scout band in the city, whose appearance in various civic parades has always aroused a great deal of interest.

For the boy between fifteen and eighteen there has been formed a unit of Columbian Squires. The boys in this organization have a three-year program, which fits them to become useful citizens of the city and good students. Incidentally, they are taught to become leaders of other younger lads.

In addition the Knights of Columbus have an orchestra of sixty pieces with lads ranging from ten to sixteen or seventeen years of age. This is directed by Joseph F. Mayer, who also looks after the band. The boys have appeared on the stage a number of times and have won a reputation as a musical organization.

For the benefit of the parochial schools the Knights annually conduct basketball and baseball leagues and for the high school lads an elocution contest. The entire program is directed by a boys' committee of which Judge J. Connor French is chairman. The activities are carried on through the assistance of volunteer workers from the membership.

The Knights also play a part in the civic life of the city by extending the use of its auditorium for meetings of the Boy Scouts and the American Legion. The organization is represented in the various basketball, handball and baseball leagues and its members play an important part in every movement that has for its purpose the bettering of Trenton.

THE YOUNG MEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION-YOUNG WOMEN'S HEBREW ASSOCIATION—1916

The present Y.M.H.A.-Y.W.H.A. as a combined organization came into existence by the consolidation in 1916 of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, founded in 1909 and the Young Women's Hebrew Association, founded in 1912, the Andax Club, the Young Judaea Association, the Adelphi Club and the Elysian Club. A campaign was launched for a building fund and in October 1916 the old Interstate Telephone Building on South Stockton Street was purchased for a community home. The building was dedicated on Sunday evening, December 9, 1917.

The Y.M.H.A.-Y.W.H.A. was the first organization of its kind in New Jersey to establish a home and also the first to have a paid executive secretary.

The first officers were: David Holzner, president; Samuel Levy, first vice-president; Jonas Fuld, second vice-president; Harry Haveson, third vice-president; Isaac Goldberg, secretary; Dr. Harry K. Jacobs, secretary, and Charles Fishberg.

The first secretary was David L. Feldman. He was followed by Sidney Marcus, who was succeeded by Maurice Bisgyer. Dr. M. H. Chaseman followed Mr. Bisgyer and the present executive is Haym Peretz.

THE GIRLS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY—1894

The Girls' Friendly Society, an organization of the Anglican Church, was founded in England in 1875 and established in America two years later.

The society extends practically all over the world. In this country alone

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membership numbers sixty thousand and in the International Society four hundred thousand.

The Trenton branch was established in 1894 by the Rev. E. J. Knight, then rector of Christ Church and later bishop of Western Colorado.

The promoters and first officers were Mrs. R. V. Whitehead, branch president, Mrs. E. J. Knight, Mrs. Chas. E. Gummere and Mrs. Lewis Perrine, associates.

Branches in Trenton at the present time are: Christ Church, formed 1894; Grace Church, formed 1897; Trinity, formed 1920; St. Michael's, formed 1922; All Saints', formed 1923; St. Paul's, formed 1924.

Membership is extended to all girls and young women of good character, irrespective of creed, race, or color; and every phase of adolescent life is reached through its various departments. It brings the individual girl as early as the age of five years into a society where the forces of religion, friendliness and sympathy are employed in her behalf, and where she is given the opportunity of extending them to others. It not only endeavors to fit the girl for society, but remembers its duty to make the world a fit place for her to live in, and is therefore concerned with social, industrial and vocational problems.

THE GUILD OF ST. BARNABAS FOR NURSES

This is a national organization under the auspices of the Episcopal Church, though membership in the guild is not limited to those belonging to the Church but is open to all nurses who have been graduated from a recognized school of nurses as well as to student nurses in course of training in such a school. There are branches in over fifty centers in the United States with a total membership of about five thousand. In this diocese there are branches in Trenton, Elizabeth, Camden, and Plainfield. The Trenton branch has a membership of about one hundred and includes some twelve associates, comprising clergymen, doctors and women interested in the nursing profession. The chaplain is the Rev. Samuel G. Welles and priest-associates are the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler and the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz. The object of the guild is to minister to the religious and social needs of nurses. It assists nurses in realizing the dignity of their calling and in maintaining a high standard of Christian life and work. Meetings with a short religious service and recreational features are held monthly, and an annual church service for all nurses with a sermon or address upon the Sunda ynearest to the birthday of Florence Nightingale.

IV. Health and Relief Organizations

THE CITY BUREAU OF HEALTH

The earliest record of any official provisions relating to the public health is found in an ordinance passed by Common Council under date July 3, 1832. There were twelve sections to the ordinance, having to do with elementary public sanitation and providing penalties for disobedience to the regulations laid down. A board of health was appointed consisting of the following: Dr. James F. Clark, Dr. John McKelway, Dr. Peter Howell, Dr. Joseph C.

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Welling, Dr. Francis A. Ewing, Daniel Baker, Thomas C. Sterling, John Wilson, Benjamin Hayden, Elisha Gordon, James D. Westcott. (From "Ordinances, City of Trenton, December 21, 1792, to April 14, 1836.") Presumably this body or its successors continued to function with more or less efficiency, though there is no record of any proceedings until the lapse of many years. The first minutes of the board of health go back only to 1866. The board as constituted in 1867 included two representatives from each of the then six wards. Of the twelve members, six were physicians. The president of the board was Dr. John L. Taylor, and the secretary was Franklin S. Mills, who continued in that office until 1882. There were no inspectors. Members filed complaints, which were referred to the street commissioner with orders to have them abated. This was the main function of the board during these years. The first regular health inspector was James H. McGuire who was appointed in 1882 under an ordinance passed in 1881. He served for several years and was succeeded by William H. Mickel, a druggist, who remained until 1896, when the first medical officer, Dr. W. B. McGailliard, was appointed and served three years. He was succeeded by Dr. A. S. Fell, who still holds a corresponding office under the commission government.

In the twelve-year period from 1899 to 1911, only two additional employees were added,—one clerk in 1904 and a meat inspector, Dr. G. F. Harker, in 1906.

In 1904 the city offered for the first time to furnish free antitoxin for the treatment of diphtheria to all who could not afford to pay for it. In that year also the medical inspection of all school children was first advocated.

In 1907, the bureau of vital statistics was transferred from the office of the city clerk to the board of health.

In 1911 commission government succeeded the old councilmanic form and the first milk inspector was appointed. In 1913, the present filtration plant was completed and put in operation. In 1912, the city adopted an ordinance to control the purity of ice sold. In 1913, the name "Board of Health" was changed to "Bureau of Health." In 1914, the first public health nurse was engaged. In 1915, the city established, for the first time, a chemical and bacteriological laboratory. A part-time dental clinic for treating the teeth of children of poor parents was established in 1912, and in 1921 this was made a whole-time proposition.

During 1917, a wartime venereal disease clinic was established. This was enlarged and permanently established in 1919. Also in this same year an ordinance was adopted giving the health department control over all boarding homes for children.

A division of school medical inspection and welfare nursing was established with Dr. Florence C. Child in charge. This began to function in 1920, and the health work of all parochial schools was taken over and clinics established.

The department personnel at present consists of forty-two people.

The first nurse employed by the bureau of health began work in 1914. Her activities covered home visits to the needy poor of the city, securing for them clothing, provisions, employment, etc., visits to the homes of tubercular patients, and supervision of the municipal dispensary where medical, surgical and tubercular patients were treated.

The general plan of handling dispensary work and outdoor visits was

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adhered to until 1923 when an additional tubercular nurse was added, and a new venereal disease nurse. The chief function of the latter was to locate sources of infection and to persuade these infected persons to apply for treatment, either to a private physician or to the city dispensary.

The division of school medical inspection and welfare nursing was created by city ordinance in 1920, and a supervisory chief was also appointed. At this time school medical inspection work was started in the twelve parochial schools of the city, and infant welfare nursing, which had been conducted in Trenton since July 1, 1919, by the State bureau of child hygiene, was transferred to the city division in charge of welfare nursing.

At the present time there are nine thousand children under inspection attending Catholic schools. The public schools have their own separate organization for this purpose.

The work of the school nurses is chiefly concerned with the detection and correction of physical defects, such as decayed teeth, defective vision, enlarged tonsils, nasal obstructions, anemia, postural defects, malnutrition, etc. Since starting the work in 1921, about one thousand two hundred pupils with poor vision have obtained glasses.

Infant welfare work is also conducted by the city with eight nurses assigned to this department. There are several baby-keep-well stations where infants are weighed and measured weekly and examined by a physician. The city also conducts prenatal clinics for the care and instruction of pregnant mothers who are not under the supervision of private physicians.

MERCER COUNTY HEALTH LEAGUE—1902

The first meeting of the Mercer County Health League was held in October 1902. Dr. William Elmer was the first president, and Francis Bazley Lee, secretary. Charter members included Dr. Elmer Barwis, Mrs. I. H. Welling, Francis B. Lee, Rabbi Nathan Stern, School Superintendent Ebenezer Mackey, James Kerney, Mrs. M. A. Fry, Dr. Alton S. Fell, Dr. W. L. Wilbur of Hightstown, Dr. T. A. Pierson of Hopewell, Thomas B. Holmes, Miss Grace E. Valentine, Dr. A. W. Gardner and Dr. W. N. Baxter.

Under the name of the "Mercer County Tuberculosis and Sanitation League," Mayor F. W. Donnelly reorganized the association in 1912, with the following officers: Mayor Donnelly, president, Dr. Ebenezer Mackey, Edward Anderson, Mrs. I. H. Welling, vice-presidents, Miss Iva Verne Blanchard, secretary, and Charles Fehrlich, treasurer. Later this position was filled by Frank W. Thompson. Inspired by Mayor Donnelly the league was very active from 1912 to 1914, inaugurating a fine program of health work. During this period the first nursing service for Trenton and the County was conducted by the league, the nursing service being taken over by the city after its value had been proven. The first open-air rooms were built in the Columbus School at the initiative of the league which later equipped the department and also furnished milk for the children. The classes were later turned over to the board of education. More complete registration of tuberculosis cases was secured and better sanitary conditions prevailed in the city and vicinity. The "Kiddies' Kamp" for undernourished children was started by Mayor Donnelly in a tent in front of the old tuberculosis hospital in 1912, with five children. During the next few years school nurses took charge of the "Kamp" which was conducted at the seashore.

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In 1918 the Trenton Rotary Club bought Park Island (renamed Rotary Island) for the children of this vicinity and the league moved its "Kamp" there. In 1919 Mayor Donnelly started a drive for a permanent "Kamp," and the first dormitory was built.

Under the name of the Mercer County Tuberculosis League the association was reorganized in May 1919 with Charles H. Cook as president. Other officers were Dr. G. R. Moore, Dr. M. W. Reddan and Mrs. F. V. Cantwell, vice-presidents; David Holzner, treasurer; and Mrs. J. E. Van Horne, secretary. During that year about one hundred twenty children were taken to "Kamp." The league was reorganized in 1920 and renamed the Mercer County Health League. F. D. Preston of the national association served as executive secretary from January until July 1920. Miss Margaret L. Johnston became executive secretary in July 1920. In 1921 another dormitory and playhouse were built, contributions by the public and Trenton Chapter of the Red Cross making this addition possible.

The league was further reorganized in 1922 with officers as follows: City Commissioner George B. La Barre, president; Dr. G. R. Moore, Howard C. Severs and S. E. Kaufman, vice-presidents; Mayor Donnelly, honorary president; F. T. Bechtel, treasurer; and Miss Margaret L. Johnston, executive secretary. The work has greatly expanded during the past few years. Much welfare work is conducted by the league as a result of its nursing service and "Kiddies' Kamp" follow-up. An effort is made to put families on a self-supporting basis and to adjust social problems.

The "Kamp" has been conducted as a preventorium since 1923, running over a period of sixteen weeks each season with a total of one thousand weak children being greatly strengthened each year, the weakest children staying all season. In addition to the children predisposed to tuberculosis, others are cared for who have heart disease, nervous disorders or crippled limbs, or are convalescent, getting strengthened for operations, undernourished, etc. There is complete medical examination, with proper rest, diet and play. In 1927 another dormitory with bath-houses was contributed by the merchants and the Carpenters' Union.

The local baby clinics and tuberculosis clinics have had a rapid growth in the past five years. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the baby contests. Health is demonstrated from one hundred thirty booths at the show during the entire week, and in other ways. Commissioner La Barre is chairman and Miss Johnston director of the exposition and baby contest.

Members of the executive board of the league for the past five years include Senator A. C. Reeves, S. E. Kaufman, John E. Gill, H. C. Severs, John A. Lambert, Dr. Alton S. Fell, John L. Brock, John W. Manning, Mrs. Joseph M. Middleton, Mrs. Esther Moohan, Miss Sara T. Pollock, Frank Kohn, Joseph G. Buch, Mayor William H. Thompson of Hightstown and Mrs. Charles E. Rue of Windsor.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS—1915

The Trenton Chapter of the Red Cross was organized during the war period when the people of this community saw the necessity of such service and in a short time was recruited up to a strength of about twenty thousand members. The official headquarters were in the Old Barracks. The chapter is justly proud of its record, for there has been no call from Washington

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which was not promptly answered. The present post-war membership is about nine thousand.

During 1927 the chapter rendered assistance to about six hundred war veterans; it has settled over \$80,000 in government claims for war veterans and written about \$1,000,000 in government insurance. It instructs women and girls in courses in home hygiene and the care of the sick; it has taught some two hundred girls, boys and adults effective methods of rescuing and reviving drowning persons. For blind people, nearly two thousand pages of Braille transcribing by hand were completed. Through its efforts this city and vicinity raised \$25,000 for sufferers in the Mississippi flood zone.

There is a board of thirty-nine members and the officers and executives for the present year are: Kenneth W. Moore, president; Virginia E. Turford, vice-chairman; R. C. Maxwell, honorary chairman; Robert W. Howell, treasurer; Mrs. John R. Summerfeldt, secretary; and Bertha Bray, executive secretary, assisted by Stella M. Scott and Alba Formidoni.

CITY OF TRENTON OUTSIDE RELIEF

The city has always undertaken a measure of relief for its needy and indigent citizens, but this department was reorganized and made more efficient after the establishment of commission government in 1911. Since that time the personnel of the department has been increased by the employment of a professional welfare worker with assistant, and the establishment of a confidential exchange, so that all agencies interested in this form of charitable service might use the same as a clearing house. The present head of the department is George H. Dapper, Jr., who succeeded the late William H. Nutt in September 1927. Until Mayor Donnelly took over the department little welfare work was done. Realizing the necessity of follow-up work, coupled with relief that was required to rehabilitate and make families self-supporting, there has been built up a welfare department that ranks among the highest in outside relief throughout the State. When application is received for relief, a thorough investigation is first made. After this investigation is completed, if the case is worthy, relief is provided. The city contributes a portion and then seeks the cooperation of other social agencies to make up what is lacking. Relief is continued only until the applicants' problems can be readjusted, and they are placed in a position where they can care for themselves.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL—1859

A local Society of St. Vincent de Paul, an offshoot of the parent charity organization of France, was formed in Trenton February 27, 1859, and took the name of St. John's Conference. The late Rev. John P. Mackin, then pastor of St. John's Roman Catholic Church, was its first spiritual director, and the following other officers were selected: Thomas Crawford, president; Matthew Curran, vice-president; Michael Cleary, secretary; and Robert Wilson, treasurer. Mr. Crawford had the remarkable record of serving as president for over forty-five years. The society met weekly, and dispensed charity to the needy applicants in the various sections of the city. Besides the small contributions of the members, lectures, picnics and other "benefits" have helped to maintain the funds. The society has always made a feature of keeping in close contact with persons in distress, and there has

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been maintained a system of home visitations which carry spiritual as well as corporeal comfort to the beneficiaries. The organization is purely voluntary and there are no bills for maintenance of the work.

St. John's Conference covered the entire social field up to March 30, 1879, when St. Mary's Conference of St. Vincent de Paul was established by the late Very Rev. Anthony Smith in St. Mary's parish, with William Kelly as president; Andrew Cahill, vice-president; John Farrell, secretary; and Lawrence Farrell, treasurer. Since that date conferences have been organized in a number of other parishes, of which there are ten in all. There is a central supervisory body which is known as "The Particular Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Trenton, N.J.," of which the following are the officers: The Right Rev. John H. Fox, spiritual director; John M. Rogers, president; Nicholas F. Farley, vice-president; William A. Burns, secretary; Robert F. McGrory, treasurer.

In dollars and cents a recent annual report shows a distribution of \$8,473.28, of which the largest items were: groceries and other goods, \$2,152.06; cash grants, \$3,297.14. The amount varies from year to year, according to the extent of the distress. There are in all ninety-three active members in the city, with nineteen honorary members and sixty-three subscribing members.

V. Rescue Missions

THE SALVATION ARMY—1889

The Salvation Army commenced what is known as field or spiritual work in Trenton February 1889, with two young women—Captain Winters and Lieutenant Graham. The first hall or meeting place was located on Factory Street, from which they moved in 1890, renting the old Arcade Building on Hanover Street.

There followed a number of changes, both of officers and locations, until 1920, when the building occupied by the Mercer Trust Company at 201-203 South Broad Street was bought by the Army and remodelled to meet the local need. The property consists of a splendid auditorium and office on the ground floor, the officers' home or "quarters" on the second floor, and a gymnasium for the young people in the basement.

Religious services are conducted nightly by Ensign and Mrs. Louis Chase, the officers in charge.

A local advisory board is composed of a number of Trenton's leading men, who are giving personal attention and valuable service to this Department of the Army.

The social service department was opened by Captain Thomas Joplin in 1900, the first home for homeless men being located in a rented building on Perry Street, west of Broad Street.

This branch of the Army work consists of employing jobless men in collecting waste or cast-off materials, restoring broken furniture and worn clothing, and disposing of the same to the working classes of Trenton at small cost; and collecting, baling and shipping to the paper mills old newspapers, magazines and rags.

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In 1909 these activities were transferred to the Terradelphia Building on Carroll Street. In 1925 the property at 512-518 Perry Street was bought and remodelled into a well-equipped, three-story building, housing and feeding some twenty-eight male employees and the same number of transients in sections set apart for that purpose.

Sunday morning religious service and Wednesday evening Bible class are conducted weekly by Major and Mrs. Oscar R. Hagg, the officers in charge.

THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA—1908

The work of the Volunteers of America in Trenton was reestablished in the fall of 1908 by Adjutant and Mrs. Butler. The officers who followed were Acting-Captain and Mrs. Prescott. They had charge of the work for a year and were very active during the Billy Sunday campaign in Trenton. These officers were succeeded by Staff-Captain and Mrs. R. E. Burnham, who labored in Trenton for over nine years. Through their efforts the property at 614 Perry Street, now occupied by the Volunteers of America, was purchased. The present officers, Staff-Captain and Mrs. Van Barriger, have been for two years in charge of the work. The work in Trenton includes, besides the holding of religious services on Sundays and weekdays at the Mission Hall, open-air meetings in the summer time, relief work among the poor and the furnishing of meals and lodgings to the unemployed and vagrants. In the women's department mothers and children are cared for and those searching for friends or for work are given shelter and food.

Assistance is also given to Mrs. Maud Ballington Booth's work at the State Prison.

THE CITY RESCUE MISSION—1915

The City Rescue Mission was organized February 22, 1915, with John E. Gill as president and William Anderson, superintendent. John W. Manning succeeded Mr. Gill as president.

From its organization until 1917 the mission was located on North Warren Street, near the Battle Monument. It was then moved to South Broad and Factory Streets, where it remained until September 23, 1924. Since then it has occupied quarters on Perry Street.

Its first board of directors was composed of John E. Gill, B. B. Hutchinson, Frank Dinsmore, Fred T. Bechtel, William Anderson, John Cochrane and Peter G. Arnold.

The purpose of the mission is not only to cater to the spiritual wants of its visitors, but also to the physical, including food, clothing and lodging. During the incumbency of Superintendent Fred Hammond from August 25, 1924, to the present date, receipts for beds amounted to \$1,394.20 and for lunches, \$196.20; the number of free baths given was 3,373; free lunches, 5,362; lunches paid for, 3,924; beds paid for, 5,577.

There had been a total attendance during that time of 17,460; employment was found for seventy needy cases; and free lodging given to 4,739 men.

The present officers of the mission are: David Crossley, president; Samuel Haverstick, vice-president; Albert N. Kerr, secretary; Fred T. Bechtel, treasurer; Fred Hammond, superintendent.

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AMERICAN RESCUE WORKERS—1921

This organization, with national headquarters in Philadelphia, is the successor to the Salvation Army of America which separated in the year 1895 from the Salvation Army then under the English management of General William Booth. The American Rescue Workers, as the organization is now called, does work similar to the Salvation Army and established itself in Trenton in 1921 with Captain Joseph Brunch in charge. Major J. W. Gossell has been in charge for the past year. The organization has occupied quarters at 228 Perry Street, where it conducts a dining-room with no provisions for lodgers, but sends applicants to the City Rescue Mission. It conducts religious services in its mission hall and on the streets, mainly in the east end of the town. Agents visit the sick in their homes and in hospitals. Support is derived from voluntary contributions.

VI. Day Nurseries and Baby Shelters

ST. JAMES' DAY NURSERY—1899

The Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart, who conduct St. James' Day Nursery, came to Trenton in 1899 at the invitation of the Right Rev. James A. McFaul. The sisters established a day nursery at 136 North Warren Street on August 1, 1900. In this building, the nursery was conducted until September 21, 1923, when it was moved to the present large, modern building, equipped with everything conducive to the good health and happiness of the little ones confided to the care of the sisters. On June 13, 1924, the sisters celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of their coming to Trenton. It was upon this occasion that the late Colonel W. A. Roebling presented the sisters with the means to build a large sun-parlor for the babies.

THE TRENTON DAY NURSERY—1916

The Trenton Day Nursery was organized June 15, 1916, by the following committee: James Kerney, Frank Thompson, Mrs. C. F. Adams, Louis de Valliere, Cornelius Turford, Dr. George R. Moore, Mrs. R. C. Maxwell, Arthur E. Moon, Owen Moon, Jr., Arthur E. Crook, John W. Thompson, Miss Sadie Doranz.

The object of the nursery is to receive and care for during the day the young children of poor, industrious working-women whose employment calls them from their homes and who would otherwise be obliged to leave their children entirely without protection and subject to accident.

Two meals a day of good, wholesome food are given; and bathing is strictly attended to.

The officers of the board of managers are as follows: president, Mrs. Daniel J. Bechtel; vice-president, James Kerney; secretary, Frank Thompson; treasurer, Mrs. John W. Thompson.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL DAY NURSERY—1918

The Guardian Angel Day Nursery connected with the Immaculate Conception Church of which the Rev. Austin Fox, O.M.C., is pastor, was opened

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on November 5, 1918, at 591 Chestnut Avenue in the parish sodality house under the management of the Sisters of St. Francis.

Subsequently two rooms on the first floor of the school building, 540 Chestnut Avenue, were set aside for the use of the nursery. This nursery is now self-supporting, although it has its benefactors, who contribute to its support, especially at Christmas time.

THE CAROLYN STOKES DAY NURSERY—1924

The Carolyn Stokes Day Nursery is located at 104 Taylor Street, in the center of East Trenton's industrial section. It was formally opened in 1924, under the supervision of a trained worker. It was built by Mr. and Mrs. W. J. B. Stokes as a memorial to their daughter, Mrs. Carolyn Stokes Blanchard who, with her husband, died during the influenza epidemic of 1918. The building is splendidly equipped and has the latest improvements throughout. It cost about \$35,000, the plans and supervision of building being the gift of J. Osborne Hunt. The nursery work is the outgrowth of a community work established by the social service department of the Contemporary Club in 1915. The ambition of the department was to later open a nursery. In 1923 the generous donation from Mr. and Mrs. Stokes justified the going ahead with the project. Being unable to find a place suitable for the work, Mr. and Mrs. Stokes decided to build the present nursery. They have appointed a board of trustees so that the permanency of the work shall be assured.

During the year 1926-27 the nursery cared for over five thousand children, in addition to doing real community service in many other ways. One room, built especially for the purpose, is used by the Bureau of Health for a baby clinic every Tuesday and for a prenatal clinic every Thursday. There is also a boys' club of twenty members, meeting every Tuesday evening in the building.

The work is maintained by an endowment of \$1,000 yearly from Mr. and Mrs. Stokes, with annual donations from the Thermoid Rubber Company, the Joseph Stokes Rubber Company, the Contemporary Club, and from other friends.

The social service department of the Contemporary Club supervises the nursery work and assumes the raising of the other necessary funds.

THE JUNIOR LEAGUE BABY SHELTER—1925

The Junior League of Trenton, a member of the Association of Junior Leagues of America, after contributing to and working with many of the social agencies of Trenton found that there was a glaring need in this city for an institution to give temporary care to babies and children under three years of age who were deprived of the normal home surroundings.

In the daily rounds of the social worker were found children of deceased parents, of ill parents, foundlings, and many others in distressing conditions. With the idea of sheltering and improving the health of these unfortunates until they were adopted or until their home conditions were bettered, the Junior League opened on June 1, 1925, the Junior League Baby Shelter at 211 East Front Street, occupying the second and third floors with a capacity of nine beds and with a resident graduate nurse in charge.

These children, under medical supervision, are given the finest opportu-

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ity for physical improvement. Under the growing demand for more beds, the shelter was moved on July 1, 1926, to 82 North Clinton Avenue, its present home, which now has sixteen beds. This institution is supported by the Junior League through its various entertainments and other money-making enterprises.

TRENTON COLORED DAY NURSERY—1922

The Trenton Colored Day Nursery had its initiative in Shiloh Baptist Church, of which the Rev. J. A. White is the pastor. With money contributed by the church, supplemented by gifts from the *Trenton Times*, the trustees of the Trenton Day Nursery and others, a house at 118 Belvidere Street was bought and remodelled. The building is fully equipped. There is a playground with accessories. The nursery is under the direction of a board of trustees elected annually and is supported by contributions from the public.

The present officers are: Mrs. Fannie Stewart, president; Mrs. Lena Binn, first vice-president; Mrs. Henry J. Austin, second vice-president; Mrs. Louise White, recording secretary and mother of nursery; Mrs. Martha Harvey, assistant secretary; and the Rev. J. A. White, treasurer.

The nursery takes care of about three hundred fifty children monthly.

VII. Miscellaneous Organizations

THE MINISTERIAL UNION

The Ministerial Union was organized more than forty years ago and during that time has met once a month for the discussion of questions related to church work. The officers for 1927-28 are as follows: president, the Rev. John Goorley; vice-president, the Rev. Gilbert G. Press; secretary, the Rev. George H. Ingram.

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OR INTER-CHURCH FEDERATION—1906

The Council of Churches, as the Inter-Church Federation at the first was called, was organized October 23, 1906. The promoter of the organization and first president was the Hon. William M. Lanning. The Rev. Hugh B. MacCauley, D.D., was the first secretary. These two officers were earnest supporters. For the first years the federation raised a budget for the care of the poor of the city. William Solaini was superintendent in this ministry. Finally it was decided that an organization reaching a larger portion of people of the city should have charge of this work. In 1923 it was decided to change the name. The Rev. George H. Ingram was chosen executive secretary and he has continued in that office until the present. The principal work of the council is to care for services in institutions on Sundays, to hold open-air services during the summer, to hold noon theater meetings during Holy Week, and in various ways to promote the general matters of the Kingdom. The office is at 806 Trenton Trust Building. The Rev. William Thomson Hanzsche is the present president.

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THE NEEDLEWORK GUILD—1896

The Needlework Guild is an organization of English origin and was adopted in this country in 1858.

The Needlework Guild of America, of which the Trenton guild is a branch, is a non-sectarian organization. The object is to collect and distribute new, plain, suitable garments, to meet the great need of hospitals, homes and other charities, and to extend its usefulness by the organization of branches. The plan of work is very simple. The annual contribution of two or more new articles of wearing apparel or household linen, or a donation of money, constitutes membership in a branch of which men, women, and children may become members.

The Trenton branch was organized in 1896, in the home of Miss Elizabeth A. Smith. In 1927 nearly six thousand garments were collected and distributed to twenty-seven local charities. For several years the guild has supported two French orphans, besides contributing money for relief work in the city of St. Quentin, France, which was adopted by the national society. The Needlework Guild owes much to the Trenton Chamber of Commerce, which has widely advertised the work, and also to the retail merchants of Trenton, who have a division of their own, and who contribute hundreds of garments annually to be distributed by the guild.

The guild has a present membership of about three thousand. Officers are Miss Mary S. Atterbury, honorary president; Miss Caroline E. Nixon, president; Mrs. J. Ridgway Fell, first vice-president; Mrs. John N. Brooks, secretary; Miss Edna V. Skillman, treasurer; and Mrs. Frank Fell, chairman of the executive committee.

MERCER COUNTY PROBATION DEPARTMENT—1900

The first probation officer, Charles H. Edmond, was appointed in 1900 under the State law passed that year. He served until 1917 when William N. Morrison was appointed as chief probation officer to succeed him, and he still holds the office. The Probation Department prepares case investigations of all criminal cases before the Mercer County Criminal Court for the information of the Court when passing judgment. About 60 per cent of the offenders are placed on probation, and during the entire twenty-seven years of probation in Mercer County, less than 15 per cent have been returned to Court for violation of the conditions of probation or on new charges. January 1, 1928, there were 1021 on probation—924 male and 97 female probationers. The Mercer County Probation Department assumes the supervision of probationers from the police courts of Trenton and since the enactment of the Federal Probation Law has been supervising federal cases pending the appointment of the federal probation officer.

THE CHURCH MISSION OF HELP—1920

The Church Mission of Help is a nation-wide organization working under the auspices of the Episcopal diocese of New Jersey, with a local branch in Trenton located at 405 Wilkinson Building. This branch was first organized in 1920 under the Board of Christian Social Service. The bishop of the diocese, the Right Rev. Paul Matthews, D.D., is honorary president, and it was under his guidance and direction that the organization was established.

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The members of the board are men and women representatives of the diocese, a district of New Jersey which takes in fourteen Counties.

Its purpose is to give aid to young women in distressful circumstances, without regard to race, color, or religious affiliation. The organization aims to enlist the advice and cooperation of all available agencies, judicial, legal, medical, and charitable, in caring for its charges and their illegitimate offspring. It provides clothing for the mothers and layettes for the babies, and where necessary secures hospital care or shelter during confinement for mother and child. It follows up all cases with individual guidance and endeavors to secure employment under favorable conditions for those who may need it. It aims to reconcile the erring to their families where estranged and seeks to put them in touch with friends, and particularly with the religious bodies to which they may severally belong. In one word, the Church Mission of Help acts as the sympathetic friend, counsellor and protector of these unfortunates at the most crucial period in their young lives, when, perhaps forsaken by their relations and friends and frowned upon by the world, they are helpless and despairing.

The staff consists of an executive secretary, who acts also as casé supervisor of the work done in the diocese; an office secretary, whose interest is the office and the necessary records that are kept for the benefit of those who are helped by the organization; and a case worker for the colored girls in Trenton. There is a great field for such a worker, and results are being shown by the number of girls being reached through this worker, who is also a trained nurse. This organization, covering such a large territory, has two branch offices, one at Elizabeth with a case worker and office secretary, and another at Camden, with a case worker in that office.

TRENTON TRAVELERS' AID—1926

The Trenton Travelers' Aid, an organization affiliated with other like societies existing in the chief centers, assists travellers who are lost, stranded, discouraged or who might otherwise be victimized by unscrupulous persons. Since its inception in 1926, it has assisted 1,364 persons, including 102 immigrants in one year. Previous to this time the International Institute and Mt. Carmel Guild handled this type of work in addition to their regular duties. The demand increased so rapidly that it was deemed advisable to provide an executive secretary and assistant on a full-time schedule at railroad, trolley and bus terminals to give their constant attention to this important matter. The Travelers' Aid cooperates with private and public social service organizations and other like bodies. The present officers are: president, Kenneth W. Moore; first vice-president, Mrs. Edward L. Katzenbach; second vice-president, Mrs. Louis de Valliere; secretary, Mary L. Johnston; executive secretary, Fannie Herring; assistant, Marion Gilbert. An executive board of twenty directs the activities of the society.

MERCER COUNTY BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

Some twenty years after the formation of the State Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in 1868, the Mercer County branch was established in Trenton. The first president was the late William Hancock, father

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of William S. Hancock, for many years prominently connected with Trenton's philanthropic enterprises. The first secretary was Captain John Matheson, an ex-sea captain. Other charter members were Judge G. D. W. Vroom, S. E. Kaufman, D. Cooper Allison, Colonel Thomas S. Chambers, Lewis Parker, cashier of the Trenton Savings Fund Society, and Dr. William A. Clark. Although the activities of the society lapsed for a time, it was later brought to life by the efforts of Dr. Laura H. Satterthwaite and Mrs. Alton S. Fell. It is prepared to investigate any case of abuse of any animals within its jurisdiction. The present officers are: Fred J. Wert, president; C. Earl Pitman, vice-president; Dorothy T. Clark, treasurer; and Mrs. Charles B. Kennedy, secretary. The agent of the society is Leon A. Shockley.

VIII. Some Former Benevolent Organizations

THE FEMALE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY OF TRENTON AND ITS VICINITY—1820-43

One of the earliest of the societies to minister systematically to the poor and needy appears to have been an association of well-known women who, over a century ago, formed an organization known as "The Female Benevolent Society of Trenton and Its Vicinity." The first meeting of the society was held in the Young Ladies' Academy March 17, 1820, when an organization was effected and a constitution adopted. The officers chosen at this meeting were Mrs. Elizabeth Stockton, first directress; Miss Ann Belleville, second directress; Miss Julia Ann Rhea, secretary; and Miss Theodosia Hunt, treasurer. Among other members appear names well known in that period of Trenton history: Richey, Higbee, Woodruff, Halsted, Beatty, Barnes, Cadwalader, Gordon, Glentworth, McCall, Paxson, Southard, Stryker, Beasley, Woodruff and Armstrong. The minute book of the society, covering the period from 1820 to 1843, is in possession of the Free Public Library and makes interesting reading. The minutes of the society were fully and neatly kept and the accounts of the treasurer duly audited.

The object of the society was to provide fuel, provisions, clothing and bedding for the needy, and the funds to obtain these articles were raised partly from the annual dues of the members (\$1) and partly from the contributions of the charitably disposed. A committee was appointed to solicit donations and a visiting committee chosen to ascertain the needs of worthy persons and provide for their relief. Notices of the meetings were printed in the newspapers and given out by the churches. Semi-annual meetings were held in the homes of members and in the lesson room of the Presbyterian Church. Supplies were purchased and stored under the charge of a steward. Garments and bedding were made and distributed. Worn clothing and shoes were solicited and given away and wood—there is no mention of coal—was bought and distributed. At the end of the first year it was reported that the sum of \$44.39 had been contributed by the citizens of Trenton. A gift of fifty loaves of bread from one person was also

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acknowledged. An organization known as "The Trenton Board of Relief" was thanked for a gift of \$50.

The minute book closes with the annual meeting held November 12, 1843, when the treasurer reported that there was a balance in the cash account of \$37.44. The largest amount of cash received in any one year (1841) appears to have been \$164.67. How long the society continued to function after 1843 does not appear, as the record ceases at that time. Doubtless when this society went out of existence its place was taken by one or more similar organizations, since there must have always remained urgent need for providing relief for the poor and indigent.

TRENTON SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITIES—1878

This society was the outcome of the Dorcas Society established in 1840 and was organized fifty years ago, December 14, 1878. The first officers were: Mrs. W. B. Dayton, first directress; Mrs. Buchanan, second directress; Miss Anna Hall, treasurer; and Mrs. Fuller, secretary. Fifteen district visitors were appointed and an executive committee chosen which purchased provisions and clothing material. Orders for coal were also given out. Sewing at fixed prices was provided for applicants, which was paid for in stores in the society's keeping. The society was disbanded in 1881, but in the following year was reorganized with the following officers: Mrs. Gummere, president; Mrs. Buchanan, vice-president; Miss Hall, treasurer; Miss Abbot, secretary; and eighteen district visitors.

At the annual meeting in 1895 it was reported that relief had been given to upwards of two hundred families during the year by the society. The officers at that time were Mrs. Charles Snowden, president; Mrs. William E. Clark, vice-president; Miss M. M. Johnson, secretary; and Mrs. David Warman, treasurer. The society was supported by the annual contributions of members and others. A legacy was received in 1905, the interest of which was used in the work of the society. The society was incorporated in 1905. In 1911, the officers were Mrs. David Warman, president; Miss Elizabeth Farrand, secretary; and Mrs. L. B. Hartman, treasurer. The society continued its activities until the early years of the present century when it went out of existence.

THE BIBLE READERS' AID SOCIETY—1883-1925

Among the religio-charitable institutions now defunct, the Bible Readers' Aid Society has had perhaps the longest period of usefulness in the community. The society was established in 1883 and continued its work up to 1925, when the association went out of existence and its activities were taken over by the Y.W.C.A. to which its property, including its Montgomery Street building, was made over. Among those who were instrumental in establishing the society were Mrs. James Ronan, Mrs. Ezra M. Hunt, Mrs. Ellen P. Reeve and Mrs. Ridgeway. Among the well-known women who from time to time have served in an official capacity were Mrs. H. C. Stull, Mrs. James Ronan, Mrs. E. R. Walker, Mrs. H. C. Moore, Mrs. W. I. Vannest and Mrs. R. P. Wilson. Those serving on the advisory board included W. I. Vannest, D. Reeve, H. C. Moore, Edwin R. Walker, Hugh H. Hamill and James Ronan. Miss Cordelia F. Cook, whose labors as Bible

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reader began in 1894, served in that capacity for nearly thirty years, up to the time the society ceased to function.

The object of the society was to provide religious instruction and temporal aid to the sick and the poor, the neglected and the unchurched. The society had its headquarters in its own building on North Montgomery Street, near Academy, and the place was popularly known as the "Montgomery Street Mission." Regular mission services and a Sunday school were maintained here. In addition mothers' meetings, a sewing class for girls, and a kindergarten were conducted. The work of the society was supported entirely by voluntary offerings, and enlisted the services of a large number of religious and charitably disposed persons.

TERRADELPHIA

One of the former enterprises for the relief of the down-and-outers was a project started in the '90's by Thomas M. Terradell, a local character of the Colonel Mulberry Sellers type. With some money of his own and the contributions he was able to secure from those he had interested, he bought a number of small properties in the block beyond Coalport and bounded by Jefferson, East Carroll, Ewing and Barclay Streets and used the buildings as temporary lodging houses for wayfarers. Later on he erected on the site a substantial four-story brick structure, 50 by 175 feet, known as Terradelphia. How he expected to utilize so large a building does not appear, for he seems to have occupied only the basement and first story for his charitable purposes. In the basement there was a work-room where the inmates sawed and cut up wood which was sold, thus providing funds to defray the cost of their lodging and keep. On the ground floor were the mission chapel, the dining-room, baths and lodging-rooms. Tramps and derelicts, occasional and regular, were cared for, the daily number ranging from forty to one hundred and fifty. Every inmate was required to work out the full cost of his board and lodging. The enterprise was not able to sustain itself and in the early part of the century was compelled to discontinue its operations. Subsequently it was conducted for a time as a lodging house by the Salvation Army.

Mr. Terradell died in 1928.

THE TRENTON WELFARE ASSOCIATION—1916-22

This association was organized in 1916 and continued its operations for six years when its affairs were wound up and it went out of existence owing to the lack of adequate public support. The association maintained an office in the Broad Street Bank Building with a paid secretary in charge. The purpose of the association as stated was service to the individual and the family in the form of relief and social betterment and it sought close cooperation with other social agencies of the city, seeking to act as an auxiliary and clearing house. Among those who fathered the association and participated in the management were John A. Campbell, C. Edward Murray, Robert K. Bowman, W. J. B. Stokes, Karl G. Roebing, S. E. Kaufman, Dr. Martin W. Reddan, Jonas A. Fuld, Edward L. Katzenbach, Thomas F. Waldron and William B. Maddock. Miss Hannah L. Longmore was the active secretary in charge of the office. For a period the association was successful in the work it set itself to do and received a full measure of

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popular support. In its financial statement for 1920 it reported total contributions of nearly \$30,000 and an expenditure for relief of \$17,000. Administration and office expenses totalled about \$5,000. On its list were registered one thousand five hundred individuals and families whose cases were investigated and needs ministered to. Visits and consultations amounted to some four thousand. No charges were ever made that the association was not doing a needed and efficient work or that funds were not economically administered, but somehow the public interest seemed to languish and adequate support was not forthcoming. When the association closed its doors in 1922 there were no outstanding debts and a small balance remained in the treasury.

IX. Cemeteries

Roman Catholic and Jewish cemeteries are listed under their respective organization names in the chapter, "Churches and Religious Institutions," as are also graveyards adjoining the churches.

MERCER CEMETERY—1843

Mercer Cemetery was organized in 1843, the incorporators being Charles C. Yard, Joseph C. Potts, Samuel Lloyd, Alexander H. Armour, David Witherup and Joseph A. Yard.

A purchase was made of some fifteen acres of land fronting on South Clinton Avenue in a neighborhood where there were then few or no buildings, and a stock company formed with a capital of \$20,000. At the present time few burials are taking place in this cemetery, as most of the available space is occupied. The present officials of the institution are Albert H. Atterbury, president, and Louise Decker, secretary, who, with Joseph L. Bodine and Lewis C. McClurg, are the trustees.

RIVERVIEW CEMETERY—1858

Riverview Cemetery, or rather a small portion of it included in the present grounds, was originally a burying plat belonging to the Society of Friends. The property was acquired by the society in 1685 from John Lambert, and was a portion of his estate. According to the minutes of the Chesterfield Meeting the first burial to take place here was that of John Brown, one of the original colonists, who died in that year. Previous to its acquisition by the Quakers, tradition says that it was an Indian burying ground, which seems probable from the fact that the soil in the vicinity has yielded many Indian relics. The plat was used exclusively by the Quakers up to 1858, when they sold some two or three acres of their holdings to a company which was formed in that year for acquiring the property and adjoining land for cemetery purposes. Jacob M. Taylor, who was the owner of several acres of land in the vicinity, formed a stock company in association with Isaac Stephens, William S. Yard, David Witherup, John K. Smith and William M. Force. The company was incorporated February 26, 1858. Jacob M. Taylor was the first president of the corporation and John K. Smith secretary and treasurer. From time to time additional land was se-

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cured until now the tract embraces about fifty acres. Included within its boundaries was an estate known as "Pine Grove," at one time in possession of Joseph Bonaparte. The present number of stockholders is thirty-one and the officers are Frederic Barlow, president, William H. Atkinson, secretary and treasurer, as well as superintendent. Among the stockholders are Charles S. Van Syckel, N. Robert Montgomery, John S. Vannest, A. Crozer Reeves, Edward A. Stokes and the estate of William S. Stryker. William H. Atkinson has (1928) completed twenty-five years in the office of superintendent. The lot owners number about six thousand five hundred and the total number of burials for the past seventy years is estimated at thirty thousand.

The ancient Quaker plat, known as "Lambert's burying ground," contains the remains of the earliest settlers in Trenton, probably including Mahlon Stacy himself. Only two or three of the old graves are marked by stones, as it was not the custom of the primitive Quakers thus to identify the graves. Two stone slabs adjoining each other indicate the spot where John Bainbridge and his wife were buried and bear the same date 1732. The third slab in the row evidently once bore an inscription, but the name cannot now be deciphered.

There is a section reserved for Civil War veterans, which was provided and deeded to the city by the late Chancellor Henry W. Green in 1862, and the Mercer County board of freeholders have since added to the plat.

One of the most venerable figures in the early days of this community, whose body was removed to this cemetery, was the Rev. James Francis Armstrong, for fifty years pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Trenton in union with the church in Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) who died January 19, 1816.

Representatives of many leading Trenton families are buried here, including such once-prominent persons as John A. Roebling, designer and builder of the Brooklyn Bridge, William S. Stryker, the historian, Associate-Justice Bennet Van Syckel, Chancellor Henry Woodhull Green, Bishop John Scarborough, Garret D. W. Vroom, Chief Justice Charles Ewing, Samuel K. Wilson, Chief Justice Mercer Beasley, General Gershom Mott, U.S. Senator Frank O. Briggs, Thomas Maddock, one of the earliest of Trenton's potters, and Dr. Charles Conrad Abbott, author and naturalist, on whose tombstone appears the following inscription: "In this neighborhood Dr. Abbott discovered the existence of Paleolithic man in America." A notable national figure interred in the cemetery is Major General George B. McClellan, who was buried here in 1885 and to whose memory was erected in 1903 an imposing granite shaft surmounted by an American eagle.

GREENWOOD CEMETERY ASSOCIATION—1874

Greenwood Cemetery Association was incorporated March 12, 1874.

The original incorporators were as follows: William W. Ward, Joseph McPherson, Charles L. Pearson, John Woolverton, Sylvester Dana, Thomas P. Marshall, David S. Howard, Abram F. Quick, Nathaniel Britton, John J. Ford.

Under the provisions of their act of incorporation it is provided that on the sale of any or all the plats in said cemetery, not less than 5 per cent of the net proceeds shall be appropriated and funded for the further embell-

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lishment and maintaining and improving fences and other accommodations of the cemetery grounds.

An interesting provision of the act of incorporation is that "any association or persons for burial purposes and also any religious society may purchase and hold lots in said cemetery adjacent to each other in which they may bury, agreeable to any rites and ceremonies of their own, subject only to the rules and regulations adopted by the board of directors of said cemetery association."

The land occupied by this cemetery was originally what was known as the "Anderson Farm," and was purchased from the Andersons by the Cedar Grove Land Association. When this association failed to function the land was taken over by the Greenwood Cemetery Association. The original conveyance of land to the Greenwood Cemetery comprised about one hundred and twenty acres, out of which for the opening of roads on each side of the cemetery, and the extension of Greenwood Avenue through a portion thereof, there still remain about one hundred acres for cemetery use.

The mausoleum erected in the cemetery grounds is private, independent of the cemetery, although when the cemetery association consented to the erection of this mausoleum within its grounds it reserved to itself the right to charge for services in opening and closing crypts, and the maintenance of the structure itself.

The present officers of the association are as follows: president, Harry A. Ashmore; vice-president, William H. Brokaw, Jr.; treasurer, Adam Exton; and secretary, George W. Macpherson.

SOME ABANDONED CEMETERIES

THE CITY CEMETERY KNOWN ALSO AS GALLOWS HILL CEMETERY

In April 1802 a committee was appointed by the mayor and John Beatty to buy a place for the burial of the poor of the city. A tract on Brunswick Avenue (Road) of two acres owned by Nathan Beakes was purchased about 1804. Gallows Hill is that rise of land on Brunswick Avenue with its peak at Paul Avenue. The cemetery was abandoned many years ago.

THE TRENTON CEMETERY

The Trenton Cemetery was established in 1837 by Elisha Gordon. In 1838 The Trenton Cemetery Company was incorporated. This place of burial was located back from Princeton Avenue, north of Gordon Street. It was divided into four sections by two avenues which intersected, Centre Avenue being about on the line of Chapel Street and Cross Avenue running north of Gordon Street. The cemetery had 572 burial plots, some irregular in shape. Burials were made there for a period, but the place was finally abandoned for that purpose because of the nature of the soil (clay ground).³

³ Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church*, pp. 188-9.

CHAPTER X

Industries and Trades

BY JOHN H. SINES

I. Manufacturing and Industry

TRENTON'S manufacturing and industry date back to the grinding of grists and the sawing of logs in the primitive mills transported from the lands beyond the seas and set up on the banks of the Delaware River and the Assunpink Creek. From this humble beginning more than two hundred years ago there has come a business development which now makes Trenton one of the important manufacturing centers of the country, with trade that reaches to all parts of the civilized world and with industries so diversified that the contraction or elimination of one or more lines has little or no effect on the whole. Pottery, steel, iron and rubber have long figured as the city's leading industries but with these major activities there have been scores, even hundreds, of others, all tending to increase the prosperity and contentment of the thousands of persons employed therein.

Neither written records nor oral traditions furnish many details concerning the early industries of Trenton, although it is known that even the first settlers were impressed by the fact that they had located in the midst of a fruitful country, with ample waterpower for mills and workshops.

STACY'S GRIST MILL

Trenton's first industry, of course, was the grist mill built by Mahlon Stacy, which followed very shortly after that pioneer's landing with others in Burlington, where there was already a settlement of Friends, in December 1678. The colonists must have come here in the spring of 1679, on the breaking up of the

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winter. The mill was completed at the time the Labadists, Sluyter and Dankers, stayed at the Stacy house the night of Friday, November 17, 1679, for it is so stated in their journal of the voyage. The mill appears to have been always a going concern, as the following record tends to show :

The 7th mo. 2nd, 1686. Agreed that the Friends do bring in What Corne they are willing to Give in order to Assist any Whome the meeting thinks Meate to Receive, to Stacy's Mill to one Garner which he Lends the meeting for one year.¹

Thus it appears that in 1686 there must have been a goodly number of people around the Falls to have had some on the poor list, and the mill must have been in operation continuously. Stacy left one-third of the profits and income of the mill to his wife for life. The profits must have been appreciable at the time of making his will in 1703.

The next enterprise on record is the forge or iron works established about 1723 by Samuel Green in partnership with William Trent. About 1729, James Trent, son and heir of William Trent, who died in 1724, became associated with John Porterfield, Thomas Lambert and Anthony Morris in the ownership of land on both sides of the Assunpink Creek, where the iron plant was situated. In 1733 a severe freshet carried away the dam of the iron works and also the dam of the grist mill and dye house, and did much other damage. It appears that after this they abandoned the works and moved to a more suitable site on the creek at what is now State Street and Chestnut Avenue.

In 1734 Isaac Harrow set up a plating and blade mill on Petty's Run, near the Old Barracks. The Run still exists but flows through a culvert under ground, emptying into the Delaware River. This mill was advertised to be sold in 1745, and Benjamin Yard became the ultimate purchaser at that time. The mill of Benjamin Yard is said to be the first steel mill in New Jersey. Mr. Yard is said to have sold these works to Owen Biddle and Timothy Matlack in 1762, and Yard appears

¹ See *Bordentown Register* (date of newspaper article between 1876 and 1878), as indicated in a scrap-book of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, p. 160.

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to have erected another plating mill, which is said to have been destroyed in 1776 by the Hessians, or by the Continentals to prevent the place falling into their hands.²

About the year 1755 Daniel Coxe built a stone paper mill on the north bank of the Assunpink Creek, near where it empties into the Delaware.³

There was also a fulling mill for treating cloth in Trenton prior to March 28, 1729, when James Trent made his deed to William Morris,⁴ for it recites that it conveyed, among other things, one fulling mill, then or late in the occupation of Jonas Ingraham, and one saw mill, or such part as remained.

OTHER INDUSTRIAL VENTURES IN COLONIAL PERIOD

Various other attempts were made during the Colonial period to get profitable industrial operations under way. For instance, in the *American Weekly Mercury* of September 1734, it was stated that one Isaac Harrow, an English smith, had set up a planing and blade mill to make "dripping and frying pans, chafing dishes, broad and falling axes, carpenters' tools, coopers' tools, tanners', curriers' and skinners' knives, ditch, peel and common shovels, smoothing irons, cow bells, bark shaves, melting ladles, clothiers', garden and sheep shears, scythes, mill, cross-cut and hand saws, coffee roasters and bell plates." This catalog of products not only attests to the smith's versatility but serves to indicate the character of much that was common to everyday life in the early settlement—including the sheep-shearing, the tanning and the bark-handling.

It was also noted in the *Mercury* of that date that George Howell, last-maker, could supply customers with his product at "rates as reasonable as those charged for lasts from England." It is quite apparent that home-made shoes prevailed at the time. Another advertisement offered from the store of William Morris "good rum by the hogshead and salt by the hundred pounds."

The passing of man is to be noted in that the *Pennsylvania*

² Article by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey in the *State Gazette*, Trenton, January 1, 1915, with authorities cited.

³ Raum, *History of Trenton*, p. 235.

⁴ See above, Chap. I, p. 50.

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Gazette of April 1745, and again in September of the same year, advertised for sale the estate of Mr. Harrow, including a "shop, forge and conveniences for working the hammer by force of water perfected."

Another advertisement heralded the fact that "the grist mills at Trenton, with two small tenements, now in the tenure of Joseph Pierce," were "to be let." This was apparently the Trent mill, built on the Assunpink site of the original Stacy mill.

Again, in August 1750, Benjamin Biles offered a Trenton tanyard, "well accustomed, with a capacity of 800 hides, besides calf skins, per year." At the same time, William Pidgeon was the agent for the sale of "ware mills and plantation in a fertile country on the Delaware River, six miles above Trenton," where "boats carrying fifty or sixty casks may load at the mill-door for Philadelphia." Another advertisement offered a nine hundred-acre tract a mile and a half north of Trenton, "with water and wood for grist mill, forge or saw mill."

Early business ambitions seem also to have embraced some enterprises not at all commendable. For instance the *Weekly Mercury* of October 1735 warns its readers against quackery, reporting that "a certain person who lives near the Yardley ferry has lately turned oculist," with the result that "an experiment upon Mr. Benjamin Randolph has caused him to become quite blind and in great pain."

However, quackery and crooked business have played an insignificant part in the manufacturing and industrial development of Trenton. Since the very beginnings of the community men in all lines of craftsmanship have set their eyes far ahead and builded strong and well. It was natural that they should early take up the oldest of all arts, that of making pottery-ware and bricks, products of the ceramic clays to be found in abundance in Trenton and its surroundings.

EARLY TRENTON POTTERS

Establishment of the Trenton pottery industry dates back to the earliest settlements in what was then West Jersey. To Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, a proprietor in the Western Division,

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is given the credit of being of the first to make chinaware, or white ware, in the American Colonies. Through his Burlington agent, John Tatham, he erected a Jersey pottery sometime between 1680 and 1685. A year or two later, according to documents now in London, Dr. Coxe wrote of the progress of his pottery undertaking and of the demand for his product, not only in the mainland Colonies but also in "ye Islands of Barbadoes and Jamaica." In 1691 the doctor disposed of his property, including "kills" and implements to the West Jersey Society, a London association of forty-eight persons. After that, for a number of years, there are no records of what was done by the workers in clay.

Like vagueness prevails concerning the early years of brick-making in Trenton and vicinity. The industry, however, must have been under way at a very early date, for there is documentary evidence that the Legislature of West Jersey, in May 1683, passed an Act providing that bricks within the Province should be made in iron-shod moulds, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth and $9\frac{1}{2}$ in length, "well and mechanically burned." Brick inspectors were to be appointed by the court and fines were to be imposed for violations of the law.

After several rather unprofitable and unstable pottery enterprises had been started and abandoned, the first permanent pottery of Trenton was located on what is now North Warren Street, where St. Mary's Cathedral was in later years erected. It was owned by the McCullys who came from Ireland about 1735 and moved to Trenton after settling for a time at Mount Holly.

For the next fifty years or more clay-working was carried on in an extremely primitive manner, the ware being generally produced by the oriental methods described in the Bible. White-glazed ware was then unknown, only crude, coarse dishes and other crockery being obtainable at the plants. It was not until just before the Civil War that the industry was thoroughly stabilized and the production of the finer grades became possible.

The making of bricks, however, progressed a little more satisfactorily. There are records of considerable brick-making in about 1817 by a man named Emley. About the same time, John Smith established a small plant on the road to Princeton. In some

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cases brick-making was carried on in connection with farming. This was notably true of Morgan Beaks, who made about three hundred thousand bricks per year until 1842 or thereabouts, when he disposed of the business to Samuel Mulford. Mulford made a hundred and fifty thousand annually for a couple of years and then failed. Beaks took the yard over again for a year when he sold it to Peter Grim and George Kulp. A year later Beaks was in charge again.

Thus the industry was continued until it was finally placed upon the solid basis of more recent years. In addition to those already named, prominent early brick-makers included Joseph Hymer, Henry Nice, William King, and Peter and Daniel Fell, whose descendants have made names for themselves in the modern trade.

In the meantime numerous other lines of business were coming into being, notably iron and steel. The use of wire, in particular, was becoming common and the creation of a mighty industry that would in many ways revolutionize structural engineering and even daily living was at hand. The Greater Trenton was in the making—a manufacturing city destined to send its products to all parts of the world.

MAKING OF POTTERY

While the making of pottery in Trenton and vicinity dates back to Colonial days, the developing of the city into a great ceramic center covers a period of only a little more than half a century.

During these later years, Taylor and Speeler were leaders among the pioneers of the pottery industry. They began business here in 1852, making yellow and Rockingham ware. By 1856 they were attempting white granite ware. Taylor, it is said, was the first to fire a kiln with anthracite coal. This concern came, later, under the management of Isaac Davis.

The making of cream-colored ware was next undertaken by William Young & Sons and Millington & Astbury. Finally, in 1873, John Astbury and Richard Millington formed a partnership with Thomas Maddock. With this move the making of sanitary ware received a great impetus. This branch of the

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industry rapidly replaced in a number of the plants the making of ware for culinary purposes. It did not, however, serve to hinder progress in the creation of beauty as well as utility in ceramics. Trenton potteries soon began to produce not only the common white ware for general use but the most delicate



TAYLOR AND SPEELER'S POTTERY, *circa* 1852

porcelain and Belleek for the finest banquet halls of the world and for the everyday use of millions of families everywhere.

The greatest development came, nevertheless, with the building up of the sanitary pottery industry. This was due, in part, to the marked and widespread activity in the erection of better homes and more magnificent hotels,—to that general movement which has resulted in what is characterized as the “American standard of living.”

THE WORK OF THOMAS MADDOCK

Much of the progress of Trenton as a pottery city has been due to the work and vision of Thomas Maddock. Born in England, in April, 1818, of a family that had been potters for generations, young Maddock served his apprenticeship as a decorator in the Davenport Potteries at Longport. He left England in 1847, with William Leigh, and came to America, ambitious to construct a kiln for the firing of decorated ware, a then unthought-of idea here. Settling in New York, Maddock and Leigh made a name for themselves by the decoration of dinner services for the White House in

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Washington and for the famous St. Nicholas Hotel in New York. Later Mr. Maddock engaged in the retail crockery business in Jersey City, acting as sales agent for Millington & Astbury, Trenton manufacturers.

Then, April 4, 1873, a partnership was formed under the name Millington, Astbury & Maddock, for the manufacture of earthenware. This venture proved very successful but Thomas Maddock was not satisfied. He believed that sanitary ware, then imported in small quantities from England, could be made more advantageously in this country. Undismayed by the failure of others, Maddock devoted himself to patient and long-continued experiments. For one thing, operators did not care to learn the making of the new product. They were satisfied with their work in the general-ware potteries. Maddock persisted, however, and finally overcame the difficulties of manufacturing. Then came the job of marketing the product and this was far from an easy one. Jobbers were hard to convince. Many a time Maddock the inventor became Maddock the salesman, carrying samples weighing as much as fifty pounds around to stores and offices in New York, Brooklyn and elsewhere. To get a start it was even necessary to label early products with the familiar imprint of the lion and the unicorn, fighting for the crown, with the words "Best Staffordshire earthenware made for the American market." In those days there was not much appeal in the slogan "Made in America."

Success came at last, however, as a reward for persistency and Maddock lived to reap the benefit of his hard work, as well as to see other potters turn to the sanitary branch of the business. And in the years which have followed other Maddocks have been foremost among American potters who have improved and enlarged upon the original sanitary ideas until the industry has run into hundreds of millions of dollars and extended to almost all parts of the country. This finally gave to Trenton the new Maddock plant, one of the outstanding establishments of its kind in the world.

THE TRENTON POTTERIES COMPANY

Growth of the pottery trade, general and sanitary alike, also resulted in the founding of numerous allied industries, as well as big combinations of manufacturers.

Foremost among these combinations was the Trenton Potteries Company, the largest producers of sanitary and general ware in the world. This great corporation started out with D. K. Bayne as president, William S. Hancock as vice-president, John A. Campbell as general manager, C. E. Lawton, secretary and treasurer, and E. C. Stover, assistant general manager. Changes by death and otherwise during recent years have made Mr. Campbell the president of the concern. Enlargements and improvements have kept pace with progress and the name of the Trenton Potteries Company is one to conjure with wherever the ceramic art is known.

One of the many interesting characters in the development of Trenton's pottery industry was the late Charles A. May. Beginning as a decorator who carried a dinner pail and walked from one side of the city to the other in his daily toil, Mr. May in later years became the head of the great Lamberton plant that specialized in hotel china and sold its product not only in all parts of this country but also abroad.

Trenton at one time had upwards of fifty pottery plants. Consolidations

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and other changes have somewhat reduced the number but the city still occupies a foremost place in the industry.

WALTER SCOTT LENOX

In any reference to the production of the finer—or the finest—examples of the ceramic art in Trenton, the name of Walter Scott Lenox must be given a prominent place. He was one of the idealists to whom society owes so much, a man with singleness of purpose who could withstand the bludgeonings of fate and try and try again until his work was accomplished. Born in Trenton in 1859, Mr. Lenox became interested in pottery work when he was a mere boy. When his school days were concluded he became a potter, learning a trade that it might pave the way for him to develop an art. Step by step he progressed until he became art director of the Ott & Brewer plant. His ambition, however, was to have a plant of his own. Finally, in 1889, he effected a partnership with the late Jonathan Coxon, Sr., and the Ceramic Art Company came into being. The two worked together until 1894, when Lenox acquired the interest of his partner, and he operated alone until in 1906 he organized Lenox, Inc., under which name the plant and business have since been conducted.

The venture of the young artist had its early troubles. So dubious were his backers about his success that they stipulated that the new factory must be so erected that it might readily be transformed into a tenement building. Lenox, however, was sure of himself, so much so that he always insisted upon his own label, never descending to the subterfuge of placing foreign marks upon his work to gain a hearing and trial. Gradually the discriminating public of America became aware of the fact that Lenox was creating in Trenton a type of china fitted to grace the table of the connoisseur and to compete with the product of the most famous makers of Europe. Lenox adopted as his trade name "Belleek" and Lenox Belleek is now known and prized wherever the finest in china is desired.

But it was not business troubles and handicaps alone that Lenox had to contend with. Finally he was stricken with paralysis and blindness. Doomed to perpetual darkness and deprived of the use of his legs, he was urged by friends to give up the fight and seek whatever of comfort and ease that remained in life. He elected, however, to go on, as one of his friends has written, "to a victory he could not rise to greet, to a triumph he could not see."

Fortunately, Lenox had among his associates the secretary and afterward the president of his company, Harry A. Brown, affectionately known to him as "Dominie." Fortunately, too, the mind of the blinded and crippled potter remained active, brilliant and resourceful and so these two men worked out the destinies of the company together. Finally all of the financial obligations of the concern were met and a bonfire of the cancelled notes was made in the office that the smoke might rise like incense to the nostrils of the sightless potter. Mr. Lenox survived until January 11, 1920, and the success of his dream as an artist and an artisan softened the dual affliction of his declining years.

Prominent in the affairs of the Lenox concern was its late technical expert, Isaac Broome, sculptor and ceramist, who was born at Valcartier, Canada, May 16, 1835. Coming to the United States as a child, Mr. Broome gained

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his art training in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He was elected Academician of the Academy in 1860. Among his sculptural accomplishments was work on the Crawford statues for the pediment of the United States Capitol at Washington. He also executed a statue for W. W. Corcoran's mausoleum at Georgetown, D.C. He received medals for ceramic arts at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876, and at the Paris Exposition two years later. Mr. Broome served as commissioner on ceramics to the Paris Exposition for the United States and the State of New Jersey. In addition to being a teacher and lecturer he was the author of *The Brother*, a novel published in 1890, and *Last Days of the Ruskin Cooperative Association*, published 1902, and was also an extensive contributor to newspapers and magazines.

In addition to Mr. Brown, Mr. Lenox's associates and helpers included Frank G. Holmes, the designer of the plant, and William H. Clayton, in charge of the decorating. Through their efforts, carrying into effect the ideas of their stricken leader, American prejudice against native china was eliminated and the prestige of American pottery was established everywhere.

IRON AND STEEL

Fortunately located within easy access to the sources of raw material and fuel supply and with varied and ample shipping facilities at hand, Trenton has been for many years an important center for the manufacture of iron and steel. Products have included structural work, machinery, and implements and novelties. They have formed a large and increasing part of the city's industrial output.

In addition to the Roeblings, who from the beginning of their gigantic enterprise have been their own iron manufacturers, several other concerns have figured largely in the city's iron and steel business.

They included the Trenton Iron Company, the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, the Phoenix Iron Company and the Trenton Malleable Iron Company. Passing years have brought about changes, consolidations and new ownerships, but the diversity of the industry has continued and the combined product has been sent forth into the marts of trade until the skill of Trenton artisans has been broadcast to all parts of the world. The Trenton Iron Company's production of aerial tramways has been of special publicity value to the city, and the J. L. Mott Company, making sanitary ware in iron as well as in porcelain, has added generously to the city's industrial reputation. In these later years the American Bridge Company has taken over large

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interests here and made them a part of the great United States Steel Corporation. This has served to broaden and widen the market for Trenton products, especially structural iron and steel for bridges and buildings.



THE ORIGINAL ROEBLING WIRE MILL, 1848

The establishment of numerous well-equipped foundries and machine shops has served to give well-paid employment to thousands of men and to increase the city's productive wealth by millions of dollars. Machine-making has included the production of all sorts of apparatus for iron, steel, pottery, rubber, brick, tile, and other industries. Chains, motors, boilers, engines, marine apparatus and the like have been made for both foreign and domestic trade.

JOHN A. ROEBLING'S SONS COMPANY

It was in the '40's that what is now the John A. Roebling's Sons Company came into existence, later to make Trenton famous for the building of suspension bridges and the using of wire for countless other purposes, from strands that rival a hair in thinness to great cables that carry hundreds of tons in weight.

Wire goes back to the time of the golden threads in Aaron's robes, to the pyramids and to the ruins of Herculaneum. Even the tombs of pre-Inca Peru give up specimens of the wire-drawer's art. It was, however, in more modern Germany that the present process of wire-drawing was invented, paving the way for the work of a Saxon boy who was to make the name of Roebling—and of Trenton—known in all quarters of the globe.

As early as 1830 or thereabouts young Europeans of brains and ambition were coming more than ever to look towards America as the land of

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liberty and opportunity. One of them was John A. Roebling, who journeyed from Mühlhausen in Saxony and took up a tract of land in Western Pennsylvania. He was a civil engineer, with a degree from the University of Berlin, but there was little chance in the new world for the use of his talents in this connection. Instead he turned his hands to the plow, after the manner of the thrifty Germans, and founded the nucleus of a little town that was first called Germania and later Saxonburg.

It was not long, however, before the engineering ability of this young German was enlisted by the system of canals and portages which afterward became the Pennsylvania Railroad. His particular job at the beginning had to do with the hauling of canal boats up the Portage Railroad which Bartrand, one of Napoleon's Generals, built to overcome part of the Pennsylvania mountain country. Perhaps it was fate—or a divine Providence—that threw a casual German paper into the hands of young Roebling and told him that in Saxony, where wire-drawing had its birth, strong ropes were being made by twisting wires together. That, he decided, was the substitute for the clumsy and inefficient huge hemp cables then used for portage purposes. Scepticism of other engineers gave way to astonishment and praise when the new scheme worked, and soon Roebling was swamped with orders for wire rope. It was in 1840 that the first Roebling rope was finished. Eight years later the young engineer picked out Trenton as a likely city, moved his business here and began the establishment of the foremost wire-rope factory in the world, for from John A. Roebling's little factory there developed a business employing a hundred men and producing products worth \$250,000 annually at the time his sons took over the enterprise. Within a comparatively few years this was enlarged until eight thousand employees were kept busy producing an output than ran far into the millions of dollars. One of the results of this amazing growth was the building of the town of Roebling, a few miles down the Delaware from Trenton, some twenty-five years ago. The company's product now ranges from a wire one four-thousandths of an inch in diameter, twelve times finer than a human hair, to massive cables thirty-six inches in diameter. The wire of the Roeblings is used for a multitude of purposes in all of the trades and arts and sciences that make up the complexities of modern civilization.

Not the least of the uses of Roebling wire rope is in bridge building. John A. Roebling's early experiments with wire rope led him to believe that it could be utilized in the building of suspension bridges. In this, again, he was opposed by other engineers. Opposition and skepticism were overcome and suspension bridges, with wire cables, speedily became a fact. Such bridges have made the name of Roebling—and of Trenton—universally known today. Evidences of the skill and daring of John A. Roebling, his son, Colonel Washington A. Roebling and others of his descendants, are to be seen in many places. Their suspension bridges include one across the gorge at Niagara Falls, carrying railroad trains on a slender web against a background of scenic splendor. Another famous monument to the work of the Roeblings is the Brooklyn Bridge in New York, which cost the life of the senior Roebling and the health of his son, the Colonel. The Roebling name and fortune were staked on these early bridges, just as they are being staked today on even greater and more remarkable struc-

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tures. More New York bridges have followed; the Delaware has been spanned at Philadelphia, joining New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and now the Hudson is to be bridged, connecting this State with New York, not to mention numerous other structures which justify the assertion that "the Roeblings outspin the spider."

The Roebling sons inherited the ability and the determination of their illustrious father. Colonel Washington A. Roebling was the great engineer; Charles G. Roebling's talents ran to the building of plants and machinery and the turning out of an excellent product; Ferdinand W. Roebling devoted himself largely to selling, and the trade of the company was extended through his efforts to every part of the world. Sons of the Roebling sons were also trained in the business and they, too, have carried on, aided by a strong organization capable of perpetuating itself and continuing business on and on.

From the very beginning it has been the policy of the Roeblings to manufacture not only the wire that they sell but also practically all of the various parts that go to make up the finished product. This has not only insured the excellence of the finished wire but has served to give to Trenton a more extensive business than would have been possible under any plan of merely assembling articles purchased elsewhere.

THE PHOENIX IRON COMPANY

One of the early industries of Trenton in connection with the manufacture of metals was the Phoenix Iron Works. This had its beginning when Josiah N. Bird and Edward D. Weld purchased the shop and axe factory of Jonas Simmons & Company at the foot of Mill Street. After establishing their machine shop they erected an iron foundry in 1849 and began the production of spikes. Boilers, stoves and heavy machinery were also made. Failure was the portion of the business in the panicky days of 1857 and the plant was then taken over by Liscomb R. Titus and Garret Schenck. In 1861, Charles Carr became the proprietor and the name Phoenix was adopted. Enlargement of the plant followed in 1870. Seven years later Mr. Carr died and Wilson D. Haven became the owner of the business. Mr. Haven incorporated the concern in 1878 and much of the success which followed was due to ability and enterprise.

In the late '70's or early '80's Phoenix Iron Company did a lot of work for the government, particularly in the way of lighthouses and postoffice buildings. Foreign contracts also served to increase the business of the concern and kept Trenton construction foremen travelling up and down the country and across the seas as well.

One interesting result of the Phoenix Iron Company's operations was the fact that a somewhat unusual contract gave the city a lighthouse on the Delaware River, though not for long. This was when the company was given the federal government job of erecting a lighthouse on American Shoals on the Florida reefs, not far from Key West. In those days perfection had not been attained in the fitting and numbering of iron parts so they could be put together accurately at the point of destination. It was accordingly required that this lighthouse be completed and erected at the place of manufacture, and afterward taken down and reerected where desired. Trenton's lighthouse was of the skeleton construction type and tow-

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ered to a height of 110 feet. It was said by the government inspector on the job to surpass any lighthouse in Europe or America for strength and gracefulness.

TRENTON IRON WORKS

Incorporated with a capital of \$500,000, the Trenton Iron Works began business in February 1847. Peter Cooper, James Hall, Edward Cooper and Abram S. Hewitt were the incorporators. The concern immediately purchased the rolling mill of Peter Cooper, at the foot of Warren Street, and from time to time secured other plants of the same type. There followed in 1866 the formation of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company. Progress of the business resulted in bringing to general attention the men financially backing the plant. Among them was Charles Hewitt of New York, who worked his way through college and then took a position of bookkeeper in the Trenton Iron Works of Peter Cooper. Later he worked his way through the various departments of the concern and became its general manager. He followed this by inventing improved processes of manufacture and made himself famous in steel and iron circles. Still later he devoted his attention to railroad equipment and brought forth a number of inventions. Abram S. Hewitt especially distinguished himself at the beginning of the Civil War when he at the government's request produced improved gun barrels. For this work the war authorities gave him a fine house. He also invented several improved processes for the making of rails and other steel products. He also made a name for himself as a manager of men, having a record of nearly a third of a century without an industrial conflict. In addition to his interests in the Trenton Iron Works, Mr. Hewitt was also associated with other industrial manufacturing enterprises and with numerous religious and philanthropic movements. He was the worthy son of a worthy father. Others prominently connected with the Trenton Iron Works were Peter Cooper, who had established a rolling mill in Trenton in 1845, and Mayor Abram Hunt of New York.

OTHER ENTERPRISES

Another flourishing industry of the '80's was the making of barbed wire for fencing purposes, utilizing the idea of Jacob Haish, a westerner who became a millionaire through his invention. This product was turned out by the Buckthorne Fence Company, organized by a group of prominent Trentonians. One of the most actively interested was Henry C. Kelsey, then Secretary of State. Others included Ferdinand W. and Charles G. Roebling, Clark Fisher and A. G. Richey, together with T. V. Allis of New York. The concern was first called the Allis Manufacturing Company, but later became the Buckthorne Fence Company. William Schulte, who had gone to work in the Roebling plant at the age of eleven, became identified with the Buckthorne concern and rapidly rose from the position of machinist to that of general superintendent. William H. Servis was the secretary and William R. Doyle the general sales-manager. The business thrived because the development of farm lands and ranches in the West required vast quantities of fencing wire. Still further advancement was made when the company radically improved the style of its product. Eventually, however, western manufacturers began a price-cutting war and the business was no longer profitable. It was then that the Buckthorne mills

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were taken over by the Roeblings to become a part of their great wire plant.

A curious phase in the history of Trenton's iron and steel industry is the fact that the building and erection of iron fronts for stores and homes was once a flourishing business. It was an innovation in architecture, started by Bottom & Tiffany. Trenton took up the new idea with caution but it proved popular with builders in New York and other large cities. To advertise their scheme further, Bottom & Tiffany erected an iron house on Lewis Street. Neighbors and others predicted it would be destroyed by lightning in the first thunderstorm, but it stood for many years until at last torn down to make way for factory enlargement. However, the use of "cast-iron fronts" waned after a few years, especially when metropolitan writers began to refer to them as "melancholy."

An enterprise which attracted wide attention was the anvil works of Clark Fisher (at first Fisher & Norris), continued after his death by his wife. Among the first woman manufacturers of the country, Mrs. Fisher, later Mrs. S. A. Andrew, gained much publicity through her business acumen and success, especially when she combined pleasure with business and made an automobile trip around the world, being again the pioneer of her sex in such an endeavor. Other names familiar in iron, steel and machinery circles included the Hewitts, the Mackenzies, the Throppps, the Skillmans, the Wherrys, the Sutphins and the Ivens.

RUBBER

To the City of Iron and Clay, as Trenton has been called because of its metal and ceramic industries, there came in 1850 or thereabouts the beginning of another major industry, that of the manufacture of rubber goods. In 1850 Trenton was little more than a small town, with a population of only 12,000 and with its important manufacturing confined to two or three factories. It was then that Jonathan H. Green believed there was money in the manufacturing of rubber goods. He was right about the money being there but he did not know how to get it out. He started a mill and kept it going for two years but the enterprise failed of success and as a last resort was offered for sale. It was acquired by Hiram P. Dunbar and Garret Schenck. They devoted their attention at first principally to the making of rubber dolls but later began the production of mechanical goods, especially parts of car springs. They also produced a line of belts and packing.

Then came a determination on the part of Dunbar and Schenck in 1854 that conditions were ripe for an extension of their business. They secured the services of Henry Joslin, an expert

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rubber-worker, and with the help also of Allan Magowan their products gained wide prominence and ready sale.

Two years later, in 1856, the Goodyear Rubber Company began to look with longing eyes on Trenton and its trade possibilities, and an agent in the person of Charles V. Mead was sent here to investigate. From that time on, the name of Mead has been inseparably linked with Trenton's rubber industry. Mead, however, was a trouble-maker for the rubber concern then in business here. He charged that Dunbar was guilty of infringing Goodyear patents. The result was court action, discussed in some detail elsewhere in this volume,⁵ which closed the Trenton mill. Mead then established his own shop and went into the business of making rubber blankets, both for domestic use and for horses, as well as rubber sheeting for various purposes. It has since been charged that he infringed the same vulcanizing patents involved in the proceedings against Dunbar. Be that as it may, Mead's modest plant was the foundation upon which he and others later made Trenton one of the most important rubber centers of America. Trenton possessed many unusual advantages for the business, including its location and shipping facilities. Up to the time of his death, in April 1880, Mead organized five distinct companies and all except one of them were reported on a paying basis when he died. Other men established other mills until eighteen or more plants were in operation and the yearly output was estimated at nearly ten million dollars.

SOME RUBBER PIONEERS

Among the rubber pioneers was Allan Magowan, one of the first men in Trenton to become an expert worker in the industry. He early saw the possibilities of the business and sought to interest others in the establishment of a mill. Finally, in 1868, he gained the cooperation of the Whitehead brothers, then operating a woollen mill, and the Whitehead Brothers Rubber Company was formed, with an ample plant in Hamilton Township. Later such names as Stokes, Cook, Oakley, Sickel, Skirm, Haverstick, Linburg, Broughton, Murray, Wilson, Oliphant, Lowthrop, Dickinson, Bell and Vannest were added in rubber manufacturing circles, all of them having largely to do with the development of the trade.

During these years of advancement numerous inventions improved the quality and increased the quantity of the city's rubber output, while aggres-

⁵ See Chap. XII, below, "Courts, Judges and Lawyers."

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sive and frequently picturesque selling methods spread the name of Trenton to all parts of the country and even beyond. No small part of this publicity was gained through the efforts of Frank A. Magowan, son of Allan. It was while Allan was superintendent of the Whitehead plant that Frank entered the employ of the company as a salesman. He was young and aggressive and ingenious, and it was not long before he was looked upon as one of the foremost rubber salesmen of the land. Then he became general manager of the Whitehead mill and succeeded so well that he decided to have a plant of his own. Financial cooperation was easy to obtain and in 1881 Frank A. Magowan formed and started the Trenton Rubber Company, which many years later changed its corporate title and took on the name of Thermoid.

Young Magowan's success was phenomenal and he followed his initial venture with the organization of the Empire Rubber Company and later the Hamilton Rubber Company. He was at that time the principal owner of the Trenton Oilcloth Company, the forerunner of Trenton's extensive business in oilcloth and linoleum. Associated with young Magowan were his father, Allan, and Spencer A. Alpaugh and Gardner Forman.

With his success in business affairs it was natural that young Magowan should gain power and influence in other directions, and in 1887 his personal popularity led his associates to suggest him for mayor of Trenton. He ran as a candidate on the Republican ticket and was easily elected. Reelected for the second term, he became talked of in connection with the United States Senate. Later he became an avowed candidate for governor of New Jersey. He could have had that office, too, except for family difficulties which led to financial reverses and resulted in much unfriendly comment.

Troubles never come singly, it has been said, and Magowan's career was an illustration of this old saw. His financial difficulties multiplied and his rubber enterprises failed, one after another. Then for a couple of years the rubber industry in Trenton was severely crippled.⁶ Finally, however, new capital became interested and conservative and safe business methods were introduced and Trenton returned to its original importance as a rubber center.

It was in those days and a little later that another mayor of the city played an important part in rubber. He was the late Welling G. Sickel. Like Magowan, Sickel was picturesque and original in his ideas of promotion. At one time, for instance, his agency of publicity was a splendid tallyho coach, from the seat of which he cracked the whip over teams of four of the finest horses he could buy. His success in business was equalled by his success as mayor of Trenton, but he never went any further in politics, although he was long a figure in party councils.

Another city official and politician who has figured large in the rubber industry of Trenton is General C. Edward Murray. General Murray served as city clerk and for years has been quartermaster general of the State. As a politician he has long been recognized as a most successful leader, for years acting as what in the better sense might be termed the boss of

⁶ See also Chap. XIX, below, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century," by James Kerney.

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the Republican party in this part of New Jersey. General Murray's sons have followed him into the rubber business and have from the beginning of their business careers been closely identified with the industry.

TILE, FELDSPAR AND PORCELAIN

Closely allied with the pottery industry of Trenton is the city's tile, feldspar and porcelain manufacture.

"Tile," in its technical definition, properly designates only the several ceramic products used in building and engineering construction. In common usage of the term, however, "tile" means a multitude of products, including many made for purely ornamental purposes. The word tile is not infrequently used to designate products which might more accurately be called *terra cotta*.

The tile industry as at present conducted dates back to 1830 or thereabouts, when Samuel Wright, a potter at Stoke-on-Trent, England, was granted a patent for the manufacture of tile by mechanical means. This patent was later taken over by the Mintons, a famous English pottery concern, and production of machine-made tile was started on a generous scale. Other improvements followed in the industry and tile soon found an important place in the building business of the world.

English potters coming to America and locating in Trenton found here a good place for the carrying on of their trade, whether it be in the making of dishes or tile. Tile-making took great strides forward when modern bathroom equipment came into vogue, and the general advance in sanitation added much to the tile business. Tile rapidly came into use in hospitals, restaurants, laboratories, offices, manufacturing plants, private residences, railroad stations,—in fact, almost everywhere.

PROMINENT COMPANIES IN THIS FIELD

Among Trenton industries in this field were the Trent Tile Company, the Mueller Mosaic Company and the Robertson Art Tile Company, all of which are still in business.

The Trent Tile Company was established in 1882. This concern was the original manufacturer of ceramic mosaic tile in white and colors; vestibule, fireplace facings and bathroom tiles were at first mainly in colors. The company was headed for many years by the late Benjamin F. Lee, long prominent in state politics. He was the president of the corporation, and associated with him as secretary and treasurer was the late Alfred W.

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Lawshe. Together they built up an immense industry, with a large foreign as well as a domestic trade. In 1916 the Trent Tile Company passed into the sole ownership of Thomas H. Thropp. During the World War and since then, marked development and extension of the business have resulted under Mr. Thropp's efficient and enthusiastic management.

The Robertson Art Tile Company, located across the Delaware River, in Trenton's nearest neighbor, Morrisville, has added to the general importance of the manufacturing interest of the community. It was started and advanced by such men as A. D. Forst, A. S. Townsend, R. K. Bowman and Everett Townsend.

The Mueller Mosaic Company, producing faience, enamelled, Flemish and Norman flashed tile and mosaics in all colors, textures and shapes, owes its existence to Herman C. Mueller, one of Trenton's most famous artisans. Familiar with every phase of the work, Mr. Mueller designs as well as creates and his handicraft is to be seen in many cities in this country and Canada.

While establishing and building up his own business, Mr. Mueller has also actively devoted himself to community service, especially in education. Membership in both the Trenton board of education and the board of managers of the Trenton School of Industrial Arts afforded Mr. Mueller opportunity to introduce many excellent ideas in the way of vocational training and industrial Trenton has markedly benefited by his love of sound artisanship.

Famous as the largest and best equipped concerns of the kind in the country, the Eureka Flint & Spar Company and the Golding Sons Company have also contributed much to the industrial progress of Trenton.

The Eureka Flint and Spar Company, engaged in mining, importing and pulverizing supplies for pottery, tile, glass, porcelain and paint manufacturing, was organized in 1895, by members of the Thropp family, John E., Peter D., Frank W., Thomas H. and John E., Jr. These men have all figured largely in Trenton's industrial activities, having been connected with numerous concerns in several lines of manufacturing.

Like the Throppes, the Goldings of Trenton have made for themselves and their home city a name which carries far in the circles of trade. Associated with other concerns in the same line of business, the Goldings are now interested in feldspar enterprises which extend from Maine to Georgia and Kentucky and reach out across the seas for imported materials.

MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

Among the numerous industries of Trenton is one reputed to be the oldest institution of the kind in the country—The New Jersey School Furniture Company. Its products are shipped to all parts of the world. They go to equip modern schools with modern furniture, furniture as far ahead of the old lid-banging, crudely-made desks as the palatial educational plants of today are ahead of the log or eight-square stone schools of early America.

The business of the New Jersey School Furniture Company, at one time known as the School Church Furniture Company, was started back in 1870 by L. H. McKee & Company. It was built up through the excellence of a school desk invented and patented by Mr. McKee, a native Trentonian. In

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the years which have followed, Mr. McKee has kept abreast with progress along educational lines and the business has grown accordingly. Among other things this company has invented and created much special machinery adapted to its manufacturing needs. The result has been the development of an important industry, the company being housed in an extensive plant erected and equipped to suit requirements.

Another landmark in Trenton business, which now has a reputation that extends all over the United States and even to foreign lands, is the Fitzgibbon & Crisp Company, makers of automobile bodies. This business was started more than eighty years ago in a modest shop equipped for the building of wagons and carriages. As time went on two of the younger workmen took over the enterprise and it became Fitzgibbon & Crisp Company which for many years afterward turned out some of the finest equipages in the country, having a trade that catered especially to the users of private carriages in fashionable New York. Later the concern was incorporated under the leadership of the late L. L. Woodward who developed the making of automobile bodies and brought the trade up to a point where it received recognition in Europe as well as all parts of America.

Among numerous other industries which have helped to develop Trenton is the Weller Boat Yard which for years turned out, under the direction of Hiram Weller, boats of various sizes and designs for the handling of commerce and later produced what might more properly be called pleasure craft to ply the waters of many streams. The C. V. Hill refrigerator company, the Bloom & Godley bed and mattress company, the Westinghouse Lamp Company, the Agasote Millboard Company, the Strauss worsted and silk mills, and the Princeton Worsted Mills should also be mentioned.

In earlier years there was a paper mill of considerable size and importance here, having for a time the contract of supplying print paper to the *New York Herald*.⁷ Another important industry at that time was the old Potts tannery, located on Tan Yard Alley which has since become a part of West Hanover Street. The old paper mill was torn down to make way for improvements and the tanyard was destroyed by fire in the summer of 1873.

Other Trenton industries which have given way before the changes of the years include the Trenton Watch Works, the American Saw Works,

⁷ One part of Trenton's early paper industry was operated by William McCall and later by Henry M. Lewis. This was about on the site of the Mahlon Stacy grist mill. In 1863 Horatio G. Armstrong came from Philadelphia and began the manufacture of paper bags. His mill was located on the north side of Front Street alongside his home which was in part of the Old Barracks, then used for residential purposes. Colonel Armstrong, one of the co-authors of this History of Trenton, is a son and the Rev. Henry W. Armstrong, of New York, is a grandson of the one-time paper-bag maker who gained much attention throughout Trenton by reason of the novelty of his business. Another interesting part of early paper making was the manufacture of "butcher's paper" from straw. This was of coarse texture, yellow in color, and was used extensively for the wrapping of meat and like food products. At that time cartons as food containers had not been invented.

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the Deutzville^s jewelry factory, the Clark Lamp Works, and the Dibble Manufacturing Company. The Dibble company utilized blood and sawdust for the making of door knobs, roller-skate wheels and other articles. It moved to the Prospect Hill section after a fire and later became the Trenton Brass and Machine Works. The Clark business was doomed by the development of electric lighting, for lamps were then no longer in great demand.

Long one of Trenton's largest employers of labor, were the woollen mills of the late Samuel K. Wilson, famous for his business ability and his philanthropies.

The Trenton Vise and Tool Works, the Trenton Zinc Works, the Emerson & Silvers sword factory, the Sartori calico works, Moore's rope walk and several candle and soap plants also had their place among early Trenton industries. Distilleries and breweries also flourished at different times and prior to the Civil War the making of locomotives gave employment to several hundred men. Even the making of violins, pianos and other musical instruments was included in the places giving employment to Trenton labor.

Early manufacturing in Trenton was assisted by the incorporation of the Trenton Delaware Falls Company, in 1831, and the building of the Trenton Water Power, now known as the Sanhican Creek. Damming of the Delaware River at Scudder's Falls furnished power for many mills and factories here. These included several saw and grist mills. One of the saw mills was built by Benjamin Fish, George S. Green and Charles Green in what is now Stacy Park, Trenton's beautiful river-front development and the site selected for the city's prospective War Memorial. Among the flour mills, or grist mills, was a two-story plant built in 1690 by William Trent on the site of the long grist mill of Mahlon Stacy which was erected in 1680. Others included Walton's flour mill, built in 1824, and later the scene of the tragic death of its then owner, David Brister, who was caught and

^s Adam C. Deutz, of Cologne, Germany, in 1859, bought thirty-two acres of land, south of Lalor Street, for the purpose of establishing a jewelry factory, with an adjacent colony of homes for himself and workmen. The tract was in the midst of a farming community and the venture excited marked interest. Mr. Deutz had several nephews, including Frank J. Arend, whom he took into the business. The enterprise prospered for a time and great quantities of gold bracelets, brooches, watch charms and finger rings were sold all over the United States. From 1867 to 1873, men, boys and girls to the number of one hundred twenty-five were employed. Then came the industrial panic and demand for jewelry lessened. Ill health of Deutzville's founder followed and the decadence of the business resulted. Others tried to carry on the factory but success was indifferent and beginning with 1881 the buildings were gradually converted to other purposes. The name of Deutzville alone remains to remind the public of an industrial dream of other days.

In later years came the Trenton Watch Factory which for a long time gave employment to many workers. Finally, however, the standard of general living changed and the Ingersolls found the making of watches for a dollar or so was not profitable.

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killed in the water-wheel which he was assisting to clean: the Warren Street City Mill; Moore's Flour Mill; and the Cornelia Mill. Most of these started out as grist mills, grinding for farmers and taking their pay in the flour and feed produced, and later developing in merchants' mills, with business on a cash basis.

Among miscellaneous business concerns may be mentioned the Machine Works started in 1864 by John Watson and Charles T. Wetherill, the vise and tool works founded by Andrew T. Thompson, Trenton Lock and Hardware Company, the Brackett and the D'Unger machine shops, the Star and Woodhouse Chain Works, the Trenton Agricultural Works, the Novelty Iron Foundry and the Samuel Heath Limekilns, founded in 1868 by Pickle, Lanning & Company.

Trenton's name was also carried far and wide through the manufacture of crackers, especially crackers for eating with oysters. Adam Exton & Company and Chris Cartlidge are the cracker kings of these days.

In recent years the industries of the city have increased in number to at least five hundred with a payroll estimated at \$50,000,000 annually.

II. Labor

TRENTON, like all industrial cities, owes much to the men who have labored with their hands. Brawn and muscle have builded Trenton strong and well, and the story of Trenton labor and its share in the labor movement is part of the story of the city itself.

It was in 1869 that the first attempts were made to unite American laboring men of all trades in one great federation or central body. At that time, seven clothing cutters in Philadelphia, led by Uriah Stevens, formed the "Secret Order of Five Stars," or the "Knights of Labor." Labor unions, however, had been in existence for a number of years previous to the Philadelphia movement. The first national trade union was formed by printers in 1850.

All trade unions were of a secret nature at first, and it was not until 1881 that the Knights of Labor abolished the oath of secrecy which members had been obliged to take. Prominent among the leaders of the organization at that time, which had already adopted a policy to protect the workers against the aggressiveness of money and corporate power, was Terrence V. Powderly who, with other union men, advanced the principle that labor was entitled to the fullest enjoyment of the wealth it created.

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Powderly's name and work became as famous in the '80's and early '90's as was the leadership of Samuel Gompers in the years which followed. Powderly, son of an Irish immigrant and one of twelve children, was obliged to leave school and go to work when he was only thirteen years old, but he continued to study and read during his spare time and finally began the practice of law. He was naturally attracted to the cause of labor, especially as earlier in life he had many times been blacklisted and thrown out of work because of his union affiliations. He served for fourteen years as Grand Master Workman of the Knights and did much for the workers of his day and generation. Later he became active in politics and attained high public office.

TRENTON LABOR ASSOCIATES WITH THE "KNIGHTS"

Trenton labor naturally looked with interest at anything which seemed to bear promise of better living and working conditions, and organization followed. Unionism, however, had been a spasmodic thing previous to the advent of the Knights of Labor,—or more correctly the "Order of the Knights of Labor of America," with its seal containing the motto "That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all," and its slogan, "Hear both sides, then judge." It was not until the early spring of 1882 that any really effective move was made in Trenton towards associating with the Knights of Labor. It was then that a charter was granted for a lodge in Trenton, bearing the title of Local Assembly, No. 1362, K. of L. Those behind the movement here decided upon a Mixed Assembly and accordingly the new organization embraced various branches of industry and trade. Journalists, merchants, clerks, potters, printers, iron-workers, bakers, cigar-makers, rubber-workers, carpenters, painters, plumbers—in fact, almost every form of human endeavor—were represented. Lawyers were a notable exception and there is no record of any clergyman having held membership in the Assembly.

George Holcombe, an active member of Typographical Union No. 71, and first foreman of the *Trenton Sunday Advertiser* (now the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser*) was the chief

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sponsor of the new federation of local unions. He was aided by such kindred spirits as John H. Saunderson, a well known and popular grocer who conducted a thriving business on Greene Street (now Broad); John Britt, James W. Royle and John Ryan, stone-cutters; William Maher, railroad foreman; James Maher, baker; and John Carney, James Campbell and Michael Falcey, potters. These men and their immediate associates succeeded so well in spreading the gospel of unionism throughout labordom that in a comparatively short time the infant organization became of unwieldy proportions and it was deemed advisable to establish separate trade branches.

This separation was accomplished by the withdrawal of the potters from the parent body and the creation of several new Assemblies embracing the various branches of the pottery industry. In this manner there came into being the Packers' Assembly, the Mouldmakers' Assembly, the Decorators' Assembly, the Jiggermen's Assembly, the Hollow-ware Pressers' Assembly, the Sanitary-ware Pressers' Assembly, and others.

Next to withdraw for the formation of a separate union were the employees of the rubber mills and they, after being duly chartered, branched out as the Rubber-workers' Assembly.

Then came the problem of coordinating the work of these different Assemblies. This was solved by the granting of a charter and the formation of a District Assembly, No. 90, K. of L. of Mercer County. This body was composed of a given number of delegates elected by the various locals and functioned much in the same manner as the Central Labor Union of today.

Thus, step by step, the order grew and expanded, rapidly becoming a potent factor in the industrial and political activities of the city and county. As in the case of the national organization, there was nothing sinister or threatening about the rules and regulations or in the assembly deliberations. Practically all of the officers and members were content to follow the methods of their Grand Master Workman, Terrence V. Powderly who, learned in the precepts of law, deemed it always wise to follow the slogan "hear both sides, then judge."

However, conservatism finally gave place to progressism and

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then to aggressiveness. This created a demand for an official mouthpiece. Communication was had with Mr. Powderly and he designated the *Trenton Sunday Advertiser* as the official organ of the Mercer County Knights of Labor. The paper's office then became the rendezvous of the bigwigs of the order and the scene of their important powwows.

Andrew M. Clark, then owner of the paper; Charles H. Zimmerman, secretary of the State bureau of labor; John O'Neill, secretary of the National Association of Operative Pottery; and Cyrus K. Barnhart, president of Common Council and secretary to the president of the State Senate, under the political rule of General William H. Skirm, were among the prominent men then identified with the Assembly's affairs.

CENTRAL LABOR HALL AND COOPERATIVE HALL

The organization grew ambitious and with this came visions of a Central Labor Hall to house the several Assemblies and also to provide a place where the members might foregather for social intercourse. Long in the minds of the leaders, this building project took definite shape when the sum of \$3,000 was realized from a Labor Day picnic held in Hetzel's Grove, East Trenton. The establishment of Labor Day had resulted in the practice of holding union outings and parades and this was continued for many years—continued, in fact, until, as some wag put it, the ranks of labor possessed so many automobiles that no one wanted to walk and no one wanted to stay home for a picnic with seashore and other resorts brought so near by motoring.

Following the creation of the nucleus of a fund, a winter-time bazaar was held, and the \$3,000 was increased by \$10,000 more. Then there were commenced negotiations which culminated in the purchase of the Robert S. Dowling hotel property on South Broad Street. The building was renovated, lodge rooms being fitted up in the upper stories and a library and reading room were installed. For a time contentment and harmony reigned. Then the potters, who came largely from East Trenton, became dissatisfied with the inconveniences experienced in attending meetings, as the old-time horse-car lines were the only available means of transportation. They soon began agitating

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for the building of a hall in their own section of the city. The outcome of this feeling finally resulted in the sale of the Broad Street property and a pro rata distribution of the proceeds. The potters thereupon established themselves in Cooperative Hall at Grant and Clinton Streets.

Soaring costs of foodstuffs led a little later on to the establishment of cooperative stores—one in Cooperative Hall for the East Trenton districts, and the other at South Broad and Centre Streets. Members of the order were privileged to buy at these stores at a slight advance over the cost of the articles desired.

The financing of these stores was accomplished by the issuance of stock certificates and in time of need owners of the shares were allowed credit to the amount of their holdings. Business was continued for some time, with varying degrees of success and failure, until the potters of the city became involved in a disastrous strike. Next came a long period of business depression and the collapse of the cooperative enterprise was a result. All of these troubles struck hard at the cause of unionism and there followed much internal strife and jealousy and restlessness. The result was the decadence of the Knights of Labor, swift and decisive. The principle, however, survived, and in the years which followed there came the organization of new unions, the formation of the Mercer County Central and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor which arose from the ruins of the mighty industrial army recruited by the great Powderly and his followers of earlier days.

Records of early unionism in Trenton have largely disappeared, and except for the memory of men like James W. Cook this part of the city's history could hardly be assembled. However, the harvests of those early endeavors are still being gathered in improved working and living conditions for all classes of toil.

LABOR TROUBLES

Unfortunately for themselves, as well as for the many others who have suffered with them, history must record that it has been the potters who have largely figured in Trenton's most disastrous labor troubles. Details of these distressing experi-

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ences exist almost entirely in the memories of those who either participated in the periods of strife or witnessed the conflicts from the side lines.

Following a minor strike in 1869 there was the great strike of 1877 which lasted through the early part of 1878 and was coupled not only with an extremely cold winter but also with the nation's terrible financial panic of that time. This strike was called as a protest against a reduction of wages. Potters in those days were largely of English, Irish and German extraction. Most of them lived in East Trenton, although they came downtown to hold their labor meetings in the old Freese Hall, then standing on the present site of the Central Police Station. The strike was long-drawn out and much suffering resulted, not only for the families of the idle potters but for many others as well. The end came when the men tired of going hungry, and in many cases shoeless, and the strike was lost. The late John Brammer and others served on a citizens' committee which secured the best possible terms with the employers, but even at that there was much general dissatisfaction with the settlement and the potters felt that they were beaten rather than convinced. Because of this sense of resentment it is not surprising that permanent peace in the industry was not brought about.

THE POTTERY STRIKES OF 1883-84 AND 1890-91

Next, in the way of notable labor disturbances, came the pottery strike of 1883 and 1884. The industry had largely recovered from the distressing results of the earlier conflict between the employers and the employees. Business had improved and wages had been advanced. Then came announcement again that wages were to be cut. Labor leaders contended there was absolutely no reason for this, except the greed of the manufacturers. National labor organizers came here in an effort to secure some adjustment of the difficulty and the cause of industrial unionism was advanced. The strike was continued through a hard winter and then, during the month of April, settlement was effected by the men accepting an eight-per-cent slash in their wages. The late James H. Mulheron, who afterward became principal keeper of the State Prison and still later United States

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marshal for this district, was a member of the committee which brought about peace, but he and his associates, as is so often the case with peacemakers, were censured instead of praised, the workers feeling that they should have had greater concessions from the employers. It was at this time the pottery towns in the Ohio Valley gained their ascendancy and replaced Trenton as the leading pottery center of America.

However, Trenton's losses during the strikes of the '80's were largely made up during the years following, when making of sanitary ware attracted the attention of many manufacturers. Large plants were erected and many men were given employment, but there came another notice that wages were to be cut. Again the labor leaders declared that the action was prompted by the greed of the manufacturers and was not made necessary by any business condition. Unionism at that time turned from the defunct Knights of Labor and formed the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. A strike was called to resist the wage cut and it was continued through 1890 and 1891. It was a losing battle for the workers and wages were reduced. Later, however, improved methods of manufacture resulted in greatly increased production and sanitary workers again began to make good pay.

THE TRADE DEPRESSION OF 1892

Business continued good until after the election of Grover Cleveland, as President, in 1892. Shortly after his inauguration he called an extra session of Congress and advocated a sweeping tariff reduction, especially on pottery ware. Within twenty-four hours, according to those familiar with conditions at the time, pottery plants everywhere were notified of order cancellations. As a result many plants suspended operations and in others the men were told that wages would be cut from 17 to 28 per cent, according to the article manufactured.

At that time the potters were organized largely in units that operated as separate unions. Many of the branches had few members and little money. One man who remembers the situation says that only \$36 was available for strike purposes when the wage cut was announced. Only the kilnmen were strongly

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organized and well financed. It was decided by the manufacturers not to change wages in this branch. However, the other branches appealed to the kiln workers for aid and sympathy in the strike and this was given. And then, as is too often the case, when the strike was finally settled the kilnmen found that their sacrifices had been in vain. In the common parlance they were left "holding the bag."

Workers involved in the conflict insisted that partisan politics figured largely in the situation. They declared United States Senator James Smith wrote to the Trenton strikers that he was their friend and would see to it that they suffered no injustice. He also assured the manufacturers that he would take good care of their industry and so amend the Wilson-Gorman tariff bill that no hardship would be worked on the trade. The bill dragged in Congress, with numerous committee hearings. Finally a delegation of Trenton potters went to Washington and pleaded for a tariff that would protect Americans from the cheap pottery products of Europe. One of the members of this delegation was James H. Tallon, who in these later years has become prominently identified with the state department of factory inspection. Mr. Tallon told Senator Smith that free trade would mean the destruction of the American pottery industry, the loss of the men's strike, of course, and an end to the political career of any one who advocated such a policy. The senator was also warned that men friendly to the Cleveland administration were owners of large pottery industries in Europe and that they would be able to put the Wilson-Gorman bill through both houses of Congress to serve their own selfish purposes. Nevertheless the measure was passed and was signed by President Cleveland, with the result that the American pottery industry was struck a blow from which recovery was slow and expensive.

THE STRIKE OF 1925 AND 1926

Finally there came the strike of 1925 and 1926, involving sanitary and general ware workers alike. This followed nearly thirty years of peace in the industry, peace which came as the result of action taken by pottery workers in a convention at

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Wheeling, W.Va., in 1897, when Mr. Tallon, serving as delegate from Trenton, put through a resolution requiring that only by the vote of two-thirds of all the members could a strike be called. Previous to that time fifty-one men could vote forty-nine on strike. During the years that followed a spirit of friendliness prevailed in the trade and the sanitary workers received no less than five wage increases, due largely, many of them declare, to the kindly interest of John A. Campbell, a power among his fellow manufacturers and employers.

Then the casting process was invented and introduced in Europe, and American manufacturers once more realized they had to adjust themselves to new conditions. To offset this they suggested to the men a wage reduction, telling them this was necessary if the American trade was to be saved. The only alternative, they declared, was the general introduction of machine methods and the employment of unskilled labor. Deceived into a sense of false security by years of work with good wages and misled by visionary and ill-informed leadership, the rank and file of the men refused to consider the suggestions of the manufacturers. A strike resulted—a mere picnic period, some of the workers regarded it. Members of the unions turned deaf ears to the pleas of such men as Frank H. Hutchins, their national vice-president, to listen instead to the unwarranted claims and hollow promises of radical leaders.

This led to a determination on the part of the manufacturers to ignore the unions and their demands. Machinery was installed to do the work of the artisan and outside labor was employed, some of it Negro labor from the South. The result was that the unions were largely disorganized, most of the potters lost their jobs or went back to work at lower wages under less desirable conditions. And the irony of it all was that men least inclined to strike suffered the most, for the radical leaders soon left the craft for other lines of endeavor, some of them even securing jobs by political preferment. This was a strike in which capital came out ahead, although as in all strikes, it was a heavy loser. Strikes are like war; no matter who wins, everybody loses.

Union labor in Trenton never sustained more serious blows

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than it did in these several great pottery strikes and unwise leadership was largely to blame.

Other strikes have been called, of course, but none of them has resulted in lasting disaster for the city. On one occasion trolley employees abandoned their cars to gain increased pay. Some disorder prevailed but this was largely due to the sympathetic efforts of those outside the carmen's ranks. However, settlement was soon effected and no serious damage was done. Rubber-workers, building mechanics and others, too, have figured from time to time in conflict with employers but most of these strikes have been short-lived and comparatively inexpensive.

Taken as a whole, union labor in Trenton advocates the principle of peace by arbitration and profit and satisfaction for all are the outcome.

CENTRAL LABOR UNION

As was the case with the old Knights of Labor, definite information about the beginning of the present Central Labor Union is difficult to obtain. All of its records have disappeared and most of the people responsible for its organization and growth have passed on.

According to the recollections of men like Benjamin A. Wilson, long its president, and of others active in the later years of its life, the Mercer County Central Labor Union was organized in 1900, with about 1800 members affiliated with eight organizations. There are no records showing what these organizations were, but it is known that among them were potters, kilnmen, cigar-makers, carpenters, printers and brewers. Early meetings were held in Turner Hall. The first officers were: President, James Clark, kilnmen; vice-president, Harry Broughm, potters; recording secretary, John P. Weigel, brewery workers; financial secretary and treasurer, Harry Grainger, potters. After Mr. Weigel had served for a time as secretary, Reuben Forker, a member of the Typographical Union, was chosen to fill the office. Mr. Forker served as central secretary until his death in 1924. He was also active along other lines, doing much for the uplift and advancement of the cause of

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unionism. Among other things, he published for a number of years a labor organ called *The Trades Union Advocate*.

In recent years the locals affiliated with the Central have increased to well beyond the half-hundred mark, and the membership has grown to ten thousand and more. This, according to an announcement at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Central organization, "can be attributed largely to the efforts and sacrifices of the pioneers, who, without any hope of reward, banded groups of men and women together under the banner of the great American Federation of Labor."

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

One of the several outside agencies which have served to put Trenton labor upon a high plane has been the Trenton School of Industrial Arts. This institution, created in its present form largely through the philanthropy of the late Henry C. Kelsey, is now generously supported by the city and by the State, so that its tuition fees are nominal and its facilities are available day and night for all who are ambitious enough to study and learn.

It was largely through the vision and the efforts of Frank Forrest Frederick, director of the school, and Herman C. Mueller, president of the Mueller Mosaic Company and a member of the school's board of trustees, that the institution's artisan course was raised to such a high standard of excellence. Clay-, wood- and metal-working classes have proved of marked benefit to many students and trade apprentices. Grouped with these subjects and aimed to develop the student's sense of form and construction along approved and historically correct lines are courses in freehand and instrumental drawing, designing, ornament, art history, and architectural and machine drawing. In all of the studies efforts are made to place proper values on utility and appearance of product. The result has been in many cases to secure that combination of technical worker and artist, a superior type of worker known as the artisan or craftsman.

Reports to the federal authorities and others have long demonstrated that all classes of labor in Trenton are compar-

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atively well paid and that working conditions are usually of the best, showing that the city is a good place in which to make a living as well as a good place in which to live.

CHAPTER XI

Banks and Commerce in Trenton

BY JOHN H. SINES

I. Finance

IT IS a far reach from trade with the Indians for a few simple products of the field and forest in the seventeenth century to the operations of more than a score of banks and allied institutions and more than half a thousand factories and workshops in the twentieth, but this is the range of history of the financial and commercial interests of Trenton.

Commercial activities started, in a small way of course, with the very beginnings of the community's life. Bartering with the Indians and transporting the commodities thus gained were the chief means of livelihood for most of the early settlers.

Coming over from Perth Amboy's port of deep-sea shipping, which was established much less than two hundred years after the discovery by Columbus, hardy Hollanders gave being to Trenton's initial financial and commercial enterprise by building a fort and trading post on what has since become South Warren Street.¹ This move was not a marked success, but it was a beginning and paved the way for other and more remunerative efforts, with cash and credit instead of furs and beads as the medium of exchange and with a great multiplicity of manufactured products as the commodities of trade and transportation.

TRENTON'S FIRST BANK

Banking in Trenton—banking as it is known and carried on in more modern times—had its birth as early as 1804. In that year, the community's early newspaper, the *Trenton Federalist*,

¹ *The Dutch Trading Post at Trenton*, by C. E. Godfrey (1919).

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in its issue of Monday, December 10, reported as news the establishment of the first banking institution for this part of the country and also advertised the venture with paid publicity—and the latter was no doubt none the less acceptable to the owners of this pioneer publication.

It was in the *Federalist's* report of "the Legislature of this state," which "rose without day the preceding Tuesday, after a fitting of six weeks and the passing of thirty-three public and private laws" that the "establishment" of the present Trenton Banking Company is set forth. Perhaps the inception of the bank was warranted by reason of the good times which the *Federalist* editor seemed to feel were largely due to his partisan associates, since he at that date wrote: "Federalists of New Jersey—you have followed the counsels of Washington, you have pursued the path which his wisdom had traced out as the sure course to prosperity."

At any rate, the first bank of Trenton advertised its purposes and intentions like this :

TRENTON BANKING COMPANY

In pursuance of an act of the General Assembly of this state, passed the 3d inst. entitled "An act to erect and establish a Banking Company in the city of Trenton" Subscription books will be opened by the subscribers on Tuesday the 8th day of January next at 10 o'clock in the morning, at the City Tavern in Trenton, to be continued open during the day and the three succeeding days, unless the whole number of shares shall be sooner filled up; at which time and place those who are disposed to carry the provisions of the said act into effect will have opportunity of becoming Stockholders in said Company.

James Ewing,
Joshua Wright,
George Abbott,
Peter Hunt,
Abner Reeder.

December 8, 1804.

Readers of this later day may be somewhat puzzled by the employment of the old-style "long s" in place of the modern character, especially as it was not done in every instance, terminal "s" being the same then as now; but this was good typography at the date when the New Jersey Legislature passed

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the Act to "erect and establish the Trenton Banking Company."

Those were interesting times! The surrender of Cornwallis and the ending of the Revolutionary War were still fresh in memory. Pirates harried shipping off the Atlantic coast. Dependable financial institutions, capable of rendering effectual banking service, were few and far between. Then it was that the Trenton Bank began business and service on what is now South Warren Street and in what until that time had been known as the "old Court House and Gaol." Since then this bank has expanded as the city has grown and has contributed largely to the development of Trenton's industries and trading by the advice of its directors, by the loaning of funds and by the safe-keeping of deposits. Since then, also, this bank has had opportunity to serve through many an important crisis, through the War of 1812 when the British torch reduced this nation's capitol to ashes, through the Mexican, Civil and Spanish-American Wars and finally through the great European conflict involving the armed forces of most of the civilized world. This parent banking institution has been privileged to witness the founding of numerous like agencies of financial service until, as this is written, more than a score of banks, trust companies, loan associations and the like are available for the financial activities of Trenton.

It is of passing interest to note that these financial institutions have all helped increase the country's prosperity. In the early days money was far from plentiful. The cracked teapot on the shelf above the fireplace provided ample depository for what small coins the average family possessed. Credits had mostly to do with the trading of products of the field and chase. America had not yet learned that big business can be done on borrowed capital. In fact the average person in those days was concerned not so much with money as with the imitation of it, for counterfeiting was, with horse-stealing, a prevalent crime. And for such crime adequate punishment was provided. Coddling of evil-doers had not then become fashionable. Later it was learned that banks, among other things, make counterfeiting more difficult and in many other ways safeguard the financial interests of all.

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HISTORY OF THE TRENTON BANKING COMPANY²

The original stock of the Trenton Banking Company in 1804 was subscribed for in less than a week and plans were at once made for the beginning of business. The subscribers and others held a meeting Tuesday, February 12, 1805, when Isaac Smith, Joseph Bloomfield, John Beatty, Joshua Wright, Thomas Newbold, Alexander Chambers, Peter Hunt, Abraham Hunt, Jonathan Rhea, Joseph M. Lawrie and James H. Imlay were chosen directors for the ensuing year. The next day these directors organized by electing a president and cashier. Isaac Smith was the unanimous choice for president and he was voted a salary of \$700 yearly, as previously authorized by the stockholders. Pearson Hunt was elected cashier and his salary was fixed at \$1,300 per year.

Messrs. Beatty and Abraham and Peter Hunt were named as a committee to secure a banking house, with authority to purchase the "site of the gaol and court house provided the same can be obtained on reasonable terms."

At an adjourned meeting held the same day, the commissioners reported 5,958 shares of stock sold, also expenses amounting to \$78.48. Apparently there was little extravagance in business management in those early times.

All of this progress was doubtless very gratifying to the officers of the new bank but the establishment of the institution was not accomplished without arousing criticism and antagonism. For instance, the *Trenton True American*, which long afterward became famous—or infamous—for its scolding propensities, printed a letter asking a series of questions as to why so many Philadelphians had been allowed to buy stock, together with numerous other reflections on the directors and officers. However, little attention was paid to the letter, for the author, like many of his kind, kept his name a secret, signing only "A Friend of the Bank if Properly Conducted." The letter merely illustrates the rancor of partisan feeling at the time. The *True American* was the organ of the Jeffersonian Democracy and Dr. Smith, the new bank president, was a Federalist. However, it is to the credit of the *True American* that a few days later it said: "On the whole it appears probable that the bank, if conducted liberally and impartially, will be of much utility."

It is of interest that the first banknotes were printed from plates suggested by Governor Bloomfield, a member of the committee, and that the initial expense for bank furnishings, including a vault "secure from fire" and an iron chest, was \$2,541.57.

"GAOL AND COURT HOUSE SITE" PURCHASED

The "gaol and court house site" was purchased for \$2,055, a sum apparently considered reasonable, and a committee was authorized to make necessary repairs and changes at a cost not to exceed \$1,000. A first and second clerk were employed at annual salaries not to exceed \$850 and \$350, respectively. John Neal was the first clerk and Josiah Fithian the second. A little later the bank employed two more men, one to serve as a messenger by

² For the history of the bank in recent decades, and the details of its merger with the Trenton Trust and Safe Deposit Company, see Chap. XIX, below, by James Kerney, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century."

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day and the other as a watchman during the night. Their salaries were fixed at not less than \$200 yearly each. The men thus employed were William Roscoe and David Wrighter.

Actual opening of the bank for business was on the first day of April, 1805. Engraved notes made use of such figures as a horse's head, a plow, a shield and a cornucopia. There was some comment over the fact that Mr. Hunt, the cashier, was a merchant in Philadelphia at the time of his appointment, which was desired by Philadelphia stockholders, but this was overcome by the knowledge that he was a son of Abraham Hunt, Trenton director and long a local merchant. Cashier Hunt, however, made good on his own account and served in this important post for twenty-four years, until his death in 1829. His record for length of service was later surpassed by that of Thomas J. Stryker, who was named cashier in 1842 and served until his death thirty years later. Mr. Stryker served the public in many capacities of trust and was, perhaps, in his day the most widely known bank officer in New Jersey.

Other long-term employees of the bank included one of the first messengers, Joseph Ashton, an Englishman who fought at Trafalgar under Lord Nelson. He served for more than twenty years. His successor, Asher Swem, was messenger for more than thirty years until advancing age led him to resign.

Officers and directors also served the bank for long periods. Benjamin Fish was a director for more than fifty years and a customer of the bank for an even longer period. Philemon Dickinson served as director and president for more than half a century and was long famous for having a term of office unequalled by any bank president in the country. Among the notables who were directors of this bank were Samuel L. Southard, United States senator and secretary of the Navy; Charles G. McChesney, secretary of state of New Jersey; Charles Ewing, chief justice of New Jersey; Aaron D. Woodruff, attorney-general of New Jersey; General Thomas Cadwalader, General John Beatty, and others famous in Revolutionary War history.

COUNTERFEITING THEN A JARRING NOTE

Early years of the bank's history were rather uneventful ones but success attended the venture and progress was made along all lines. Transactions were carried on with banks in other cities with results beneficial to all concerned. One jarring note was that numerous cases of counterfeiting were encountered. Counterfeiting became so common in 1810 and for several years afterward that the Legislature finally made the offense a high misdemeanor. This apparently had its effect for counterfeiting is not mentioned again in the records of the bank until 1829, when there appeared a notation to the effect that "David Johnston was paid \$500 for information respecting counterfeits." Mr. Johnston was the great-grandfather of the late Thomas W. Johnston, of the New Jersey State department of banking and insurance.

Counterfeiting is again referred to in the records of the bank for 1852, when the directors appropriated \$25 and joined with Philadelphia banks in a general campaign against spurious money. Counterfeiting was comparatively easy in those days, for detective threads and like devices had

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not come into use. One of the comparatively early notes of the bank made use of an engraving of the Trenton Delaware River Bridge, a five-arch wooden structure which the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in his *Travels Through North America*, described as "remarkable." The Trenton Bank was always ready to cooperate in public enterprises and at various times assisted in the building of canals, turnpikes, railroads, water-power plants and the like. Thus it bore out the early prophecy of the *True American* that it "would be of much utility." It also made satisfactory profits by such loans and investments.

Bad times, as well as good, were the lot of the old institution. It was affected by national troubles and disturbances. On one occasion, after several years of financial depression, it was announced that the note-teller was holding \$69,000 worth of protested paper. Due to good management every dollar of this amount was afterwards paid.

During the days of the Civil War the bank drew heavily upon its resources to help the federal government and also the government of the State. At one time the state authorities owed the bank the sum of \$600,000.

INTERESTING INCIDENTS IN THE TRENTON BANKING COMPANY'S HISTORY

Records of the bank and memories of its oldest attachés reveal many incidents disclosing interesting and significant sidelights on the history of Trenton. For one thing, the general high character of early Trentonians, and later ones, too, may be seen in that few attempts at forgery were made. In one of the most notable instances, the forger ran from the building and escaped, after presenting the spurious paper at a teller's window. In another, United States Senator Dayton of New Jersey was notified by telegraph of what purported to be his mailed request for the sending of a draft and \$4,000 was thus saved.

The evening of Sunday, January 21, 1872, a band of burglars made a bold raid on the bank. They attacked and tried to gag the watchman on duty, but Asher Swem, one of the guards, defended himself with such vigor that the noise of the combat was heard by Mrs. John V. Hutchinson, who happened to be passing. She gave an alarm, and the approach of the police and others caused the robbers to flee from the rear of the building. They managed first to break up a few boxes and make off with some bonds and other securities. Some weeks later a letter, bearing a Brooklyn postmark, was received by the bank returning several thousand dollars worth of securities upon which payment had been stopped.

On one occasion a debtor made payment to the bank with his only possession, a bit of wild land in the mountains of Clearfield County, Pennsylvania. Some years later this seemingly worthless holding netted a handsome profit by reason of the building of a railroad through that part of the State. On another occasion the bank was given a bequest of \$800 in payment of a bad debt of twenty years before and which had then long since been charged to profit and loss.

At another time the bank made a loan to Prince Lucien Murat, then living with fast horses and fast company at Bordentown. At the news of the dethronement of Louis Philippe, the Prince desired to return to France where he expected to profit through the fortunes of his cousin, Louis Napoleon III. Lacking money for his passage he sought a loan of \$800 and

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gave as security a magnificent diamond-studded bracelet entrusted to him by Hortense, Queen of Holland. A year later the loan was repaid, with interest, and the bracelet was redeemed.

A book containing the signatures of persons opening accounts with the bank includes the names of many men notable in history, among them officers in all of the nation's wars, public officials of city, state and country. Included also are the signatures of Joseph Bonaparte, former King of Spain, who lived at Bordentown for a time, and Marshal Jean Victor Moreau, hero of Hohenlinden, said to have possessed military genius second only to that of Napoleon. Moreau at that time lived in Morrisville, where he erected a fine home and planted the Morrisville Grove.

In keeping with the times, the first cashier of the bank was paid, in addition to his salary, the sum of \$200 yearly for house rent. In 1855 the bank made a loan of \$1,000 to one of its faithful messengers to help him with the purchase of a home. At another meeting the directors voted to help the city hire a night watchman and also gave to several charities, including \$100 to the Philadelphia Refreshment Saloon for Union Soldiers.

The directors served themselves with annual dinners from 1829 to 1874, when the practice was discontinued owing to the increasing demand of other social functions. February 14, 1871, President Dickinson entered in the minutes: "A great snow storm prevailing today, the younger members of the board, out of regard to their health, were unable to attend." Older directors attended with the respective ages of 67, 74 and 86 years.

THE BANK BUILDS A NEW HOME

After occupying the remodelled "gaol and court house" building for more than a third of a century, it was decided expedient to build a new banking house. This new building was completed on January 18, 1839, at a total cost of \$11,721.43. The architect was Thomas U. Walter who built, among other notable structures, Girard College in Philadelphia. Mr. Walter was the son of a bricklayer and for a time worked with his father in that trade. The directors feared that his original plan for the bank here was too ornate, so a special committee of sixteen men "went to work on him to excite his ambition to take advantage of this rare opportunity of immortalizing himself by a perfect, chaste specimen of Grecian architecture." The committee later reported that the young architect "had behaved himself very well," with the result that what was long known as the "Marble Bank" was erected. In the rear of this building there was maintained "a pleasant bit of greenery," as the bank records have it. In 1872 it was desired to enlarge the building and the "grapery" which stood in the yard was sold for \$61.11. As late as 1883 the bank minutes record appropriations for the maintaining of flower beds.

To the usual holiday occasions universally observed by American banks, the Trenton Banking Company added in 1891 the modern Saturday half-holiday, suspending business at 12 o'clock noon. Later it followed the growing custom of opening for a while Saturday evenings for the receipt of deposits.

PROMINENT MEN WHO HAVE SERVED THE BANK

Detailed history of the Trenton Banking Company would embrace the biographies of many men prominent in the city and its surroundings.

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These men have served as directors and officials. Not a few of them have been actively associated with the history of the State and some of them with affairs of the nation. In addition to notables already mentioned, or in elaboration of what has been said about them, from documents of the bank it may be recorded:

John Beatty, the institution's third president, was a practising physician in Princeton previous to entering the American Army in 1775. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the Revolution and later became prominent in public life, serving in Congress and in the Legislature and as secretary of state. Governor Livingston once referred to him as being as honest a member as ever sat in the first Congress.

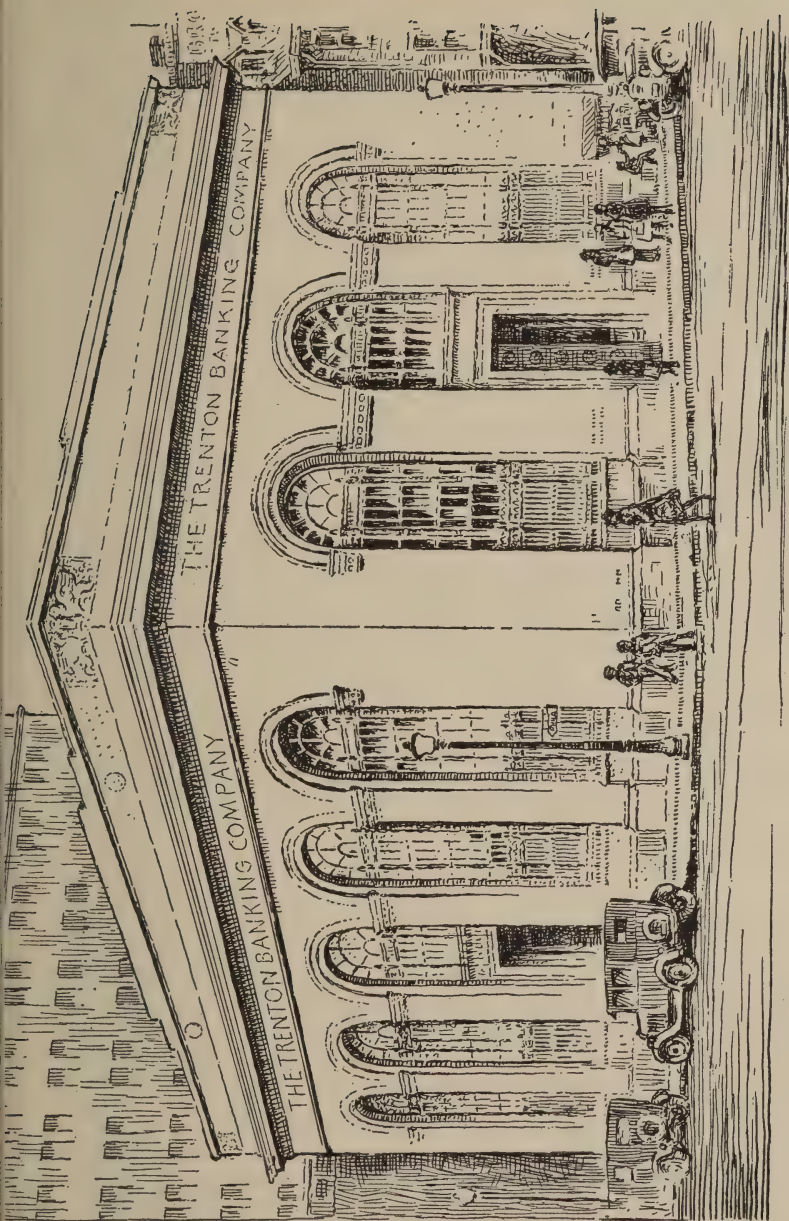
Joseph Bloomfield, a director, was member of the Legislature, attorney-general and governor of New Jersey, a member of Congress and a presidential elector who voted for Washington and Adams. He was also a leader in military affairs and at one time served as mayor of Burlington.

Alexander Chambers, in addition to serving the bank as a director, was one of the guides for the American troops at the Battle of Trenton and was the first to establish Bloomsbury as a port for sloops, thus paving the way for extensive shipping on the Delaware in these later years.

Abraham Hunt was for many years Trenton's leading merchant. He won a place in history by entertaining Colonel Rall and his staff so royally the night of the Battle of Trenton that the Hessian commander was led to leave unopened a note warning him of the approach of the Colonial soldiers, who a little later put his forces to disastrous rout.

Peter Hunt, a nephew of Abraham, was another attorney-general of New Jersey who served the bank as a director.

Other directors prominent in public affairs included: Jonathan Rhea, a quartermaster-general of New Jersey and a presidential elector; Isaac Smith, the bank's first president, a justice of the Supreme Court; although he was a doctor and not a lawyer; Caleb Newbold, member of the Legislative Council and presidential elector; Ellett Tucker, president of the Provincial Council of New Jersey, a justice of the Supreme Court and state treasurer; Aaron Dickinson Woodruff, attorney-general for twenty-four years, member of the Legislature and largely instrumental in having Trenton selected as the State capital; Charles Ewing, chief justice; Zachariah Rossell, a justice of the Supreme Court and adjutant-general; Philemon Dickinson, fifth president, serving from 1832 to 1881, who established the Trenton Sinking Fund while he was a member of Council and also served the county as member of the Board of Freeholders; Thomas Cadwalader, adjutant-general; Samuel L. Southard, member of Legislature, Supreme Court justice, attorney-general, governor, United States senator and secretary of the Navy; John Wilson, judge of Common Pleas Court, clerk in chancery and presidential elector; Charles S. Olden, first state senator from Mercer County, having been elected for two terms from Princeton, and governor of New Jersey during Civil War days; Dr. Charles G. McChesney, secretary of state; Caleb Smith Green, judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals and one of the founders of the Lawrenceville Preparatory School; Joseph H. Bruere, seventh president, serving for twenty-three years, member of the Legislature; Daniel B. Bodine, mayor



TRENTON BANKING COMPANY'S PRESENT BUILDING, BUILT 1919. ON THE SITE OF ABRAHAM HUNT'S HOUSE.

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of Trenton and clerk in chancery; Charles Ewing Green, state chancery reporter and register in bankruptcy; Barker Gummere, clerk in chancery; William S. Stryker, organizer of a Civil War regiment, adjutant-general and historian, president of the bank in 1881; Thomas Stryker Chambers, member of the Legislature and prominent in the National Guard; William H. Skirm, state senator and prominent in the National Guard; Elmer Ewing Green, judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals, as was his father before him; William L. Dayton, United States Minister to The Hague, judge of Court of Errors and Appeals; Benjamin Fisher Lee, clerk of the New Jersey Supreme Court; Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., mayor of Trenton and a justice of the Supreme Court; Edward L. Katzenbach, attorney-general; Bayard Stockton, great-grandson of Richard Stockton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, prosecutor of Mercer County, special master in chancery, and advisory master and equity reporter.

During these later years, Trenton banking history has been made by John A. Campbell and William Edgar Green, eighth and ninth presidents, respectively.

John A. Campbell was born in Shushan, N.Y., in 1856. He was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) with the class of 1877 and received the honorary degree of A.M. in 1907. He came to Trenton in 1880 to engage in the pottery business and has since been active in every line of industrial, financial and civic activity. He was elected a director of the bank in 1898 and made vice-president two years later. His elevation to the presidency followed in January 13, 1904, and on July 1, 1927, he was advanced to the position of chairman of the board. It was during the administration of President Campbell that the present handsome home of the bank, at State and Warren Streets, was erected, possession being taken in June 1919. The building is one of the finest in the State.

William Edgar Green, coming of a family long prominent in business and civic affairs in Trenton, was born January 28, 1878. He is a graduate of Lawrenceville and of Princeton University. Elected as a director of the bank March 26, 1909, he was made assistant to the president October 1, 1915; vice-president, January 12, 1921; first vice-president, January 10, 1923, and president, July 1, 1927.

HISTORY OF THE MECHANICS BANK

Much of the history of Trenton, and even of America, covering a period of about two centuries, is woven into the story of the Mechanics National Bank. The site of the institution is a place of unusual city, state and national importance. Men of world prominence have been entertained on the ground now occupied by this bank, while the Federal Congress and the State Legislature have met there and there, too, has occurred the birth of many a civic and patriotic organization and activity.

THE BANK'S HISTORIC SITE

In the early days of Trenton there stood on the southwest corner of King (now Warren) Street and Second (now State) Street, the present site of this bank, the handsome stone and stucco home of John Dagworthy, long classed as the largest and most handsome house in the community. It was

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erected in 1730, or thereabouts. It included an exceptionally large attic, which was in later years to be used for important public and semi-public meetings.

November 1, 1740, the property became the official residence of Lewis Morris, the royal governor of the Colony of New Jersey. Other changes placed the property in the hands of Samuel Henry, iron manufacturer, just before the American Revolution. Mr. Henry used it as a residence during the Revolution until 1780, when he removed to a farm in Nottingham. In April of that year the place was leased to Jacob G. Bergen, for tavern purposes. Bergen had already made himself a reputation in this business, having successfully catered in Princeton, first at the sign of "The College in Princeton" and later at the sign of "The Confederation." Mine Host Bergen made some changes in the old house, better to suit his purposes, building an additional story, with a gable roof, and converting two of the main-floor rooms into one, so that it might be used for public assemblages. This apartment was long afterward known as the "long room,"—quite appropriately so, since it had a length of forty-three feet. In the basement a barroom was established. It was for this place that Bergen on May 17, 1780, announced in the *New Jersey Gazette* his hopes that his "endeavors to serve the Publick will be acceptable." At that time the house was known as the "Thirteen Stars." Later it became the "French Arms" and finally the "City Tavern."

Bergen's opening of his hostelry marked the commencement of a series of festivities which made it the social center of Trenton. The "long room" served well not only for dances but also for affairs of state and national significance and for public business gatherings. This was continued on down to 1837 when the building was demolished to make room for the Mechanics Bank.

It is of interest to note that for the Fourth of July, 1780, a number of the men of Trenton repaired to the "Thirteen Stars" and after a "handsome dinner" drank thirteen toasts to the honor of the then new republic. In the same year and the year following, the House of Assembly of the State of New Jersey met in the Thirteen Stars. Official records note that the sessions were held in "Jacob G. Bergen's garret." October 22, 1781, an express rider brought to Trenton news of the surrender of Cornwallis and the following Saturday a general celebration was held with the drinking of thirteen more toasts, after attendance at divine services in the First Presbyterian Church. At that time the hostelry was owned by John Cape and was known as the "French Arms." Drinking of toasts seems to have been the favorite indoor sport in those days, for the year following the "long room" witnessed a state and national celebration in honor of the birth of an heir to the French Crown and at that time fourteen toasts were disposed of, to the accompaniment of an artillery salute. The Legislature continued to meet in the building and finally in 1784 the Federal Congress gathered there, having previously left Philadelphia due to riotous outbreaks in the city. It was then that Trenton came near being made the permanent capital of the country. It was then, too, that the United States received its first legacy, Dr. David Cowell leaving Congress one hundred pounds "if they settle themselves at Lamberton," now South Trenton.

General Lafayette was entertained at the ancient hostelry, as were

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President and Mrs. Washington and other notables. It was there, too, that the city's first bank had its birth, stock of the Trenton Banking Company having been sold in the "long room" in 1805. And finally, in 1829, as though to overcome the memory of the early toast-drinking, the New Jersey State Temperance Society was formed in the famous old "long room."

It was on this historic ground that on Monday evening, December 23, 1832, a large mass meeting of citizens was held to petition the Legislature for the chartering of the Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank. January 10, of the year following, a bill was introduced in the House of General Assembly to incorporate the Mechanics and Manufacturers Banking and Insurance Company of Trenton. What relation this movement had, if any, with the subsequent organization of this bank has not been recorded, except that in the *True American* of January 5, 1833, citizens favorable to a new bank were invited to assemble the following Monday evening at the "Rising Sun Tavern" of Miss Hannah Wildes. This Rising Sun Tavern in more modern times became the "American House." While there is no further report of the citizens' meeting it is apparent that the assemblage gathered had little influence, for the bank petition was defeated by the legislators late in the ensuing month.

Demand for additional banking facilities continued, however, and during the summer which followed the unfavorable action of the Legislature petitions were circulated and signed in Trenton and its surroundings, "praying for the establishment of the Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank." These petitions were given to Edward S. McIlvaine and by him were presented to the House of Assembly on October 23, 1833, and in the afternoon of the same day an incorporating bill was introduced. The movement dragged until Wednesday, January 22, 1834, when the bill was rejected in the House by a vote of 22 to 27. That there was much disappointment and annoyance felt by the business interests of Trenton is apparent from the comment of the *True American*, which said in part:

We have not lately had so much excitement among our citizens as appeared when the Bank bill was lost. . . . It was a matter that came home to every business man, in every branch of trade and manufacture, and aroused within his bosom both surprise and dismay.

The situation is best understood when it is remembered that in those years throughout the country generally bank charters were usually granted entirely upon a political or financial basis. There was also an amazing lack of effort to safeguard the interests of those doing business with banks. It was these conditions which led the New Jersey Legislature to adopt a resolution for the appointment of a joint committee to secure what legal provision was needed to prevent fraud and failure in banking institutions.

THE INCORPORATING ACT ADOPTED

However, none of the opposition raised served to discourage unduly the business and professional men of Trenton in favor of the Mechanics Bank, for they immediately reassembled their forces and the day after their bill was defeated sent General Samuel R. Hamilton and William Halsted, the city's most eminent lawyers, to appear before the House and ask recon-

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sideration of the charter measure. These men of the Bar were reinforced by Charles Parker, state treasurer. The appeal had its result as the bill was reconsidered and next day was adopted by a vote of 33 to 16. The measure was then sent to the Senate where on Wednesday, February 19, 1834, it was adopted by a vote of 9 to 4, immediately becoming a law under the caption "An Act to Incorporate the Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank at Trenton."

The incorporators of the new bank were Samuel S. Stryker, William Potts, Edward S. McIlvaine, Henry W. Green, Joseph A. Yard and William A. Benjamin. The charter provided for a minimum capital of \$150,000 in shares of \$50 each, with the privilege of increasing the amount to \$250,000. Subscriptions to the stock were taken by Ebenezer P. Rose, Charles Parker, Stacy A. Paxson, William Grant and Joseph Wood, as commissioners. The first board of directors consisted of Stacy G. Potts, Edward S. McIlvaine, Samuel R. Hamilton, George Dill, Anderson Lalor, Henry W. Green, Charles Parker, Samuel McClurg, Jasper S. Scudder, John McKelway, Robert Chambers, John A. Weart and Joseph Wood.

It was decided that the institution should be fully capitalized at \$250,000. This amount was quickly subscribed. The directors organized, April 15, 1834, by electing Jasper S. Scudder as president and Charles Parker as cashier. Then came the question of location, and a new four-story brick building on North Warren Street was leased from the owner, Armitage Green. The structure was empty at the time and the directors made a good bargain in that their rental was not started until the following September. Equipment of the bank included the installation of a vault at the cost of \$149.85—an amount amusingly insignificant when compared with present-day expenditures for bank vaults.

MECHANICS BANK COMMENCES BUSINESS

Improvements and alterations were finally completed and at 9 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, September 25, 1834, the Mechanics and Manufacturers Bank was opened for business. In addition to President Scudder and Cashier Parker, the staff consisted of Stacy A. Paxson as general clerk and John Dobbins as porter. As in the case of the Trenton Banking Company, the majority of the stock of the Mechanics had been subscribed by Philadelphia interests and this led to a request for legislative enactment to permit the election of two Pennsylvania directors.

At the first annual election of directors, held April 14, 1835, the old board members were reelected and the following were added: Samuel S. Stryker, Crispin Blackfan, Lewis W. R. Phillips, Isaac G. Farlee, James Hoy, Sr., Samuel Comly and Jolly Longshore, the last two being from Pennsylvania. Mr. Longshore was a prominent farmer at Yardley, with a fine home along the Delaware River. Reorganization of the board did not affect the reelection of the president and cashier. Salaries were fixed at \$800 for the president, \$1,000 for the cashier, \$700 for the clerk and \$250 for the porter. The first financial statement, rendered November 5, 1835, showed debit and credit accounts of \$172,489.42, insignificant amounts when compared with statements issued today.

The following year, 1836, brought about the purchase of the old City Tavern property as a permanent home for the bank. This was done early

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in the administration of Charles Parker, father of Joel Parker, governor of the State, who became president April 14, 1836. In authorizing the purchase of the property the board stipulated that the price should not exceed \$5,000.

A NEW BUILDING ERECTED

In September following the board decided to build on the corner of the property and contracted with Joseph Witherup for a two-story structure of brick, with slate roof, at a cost of \$3,500. Erection of the building was done under the supervision of William Grant, who became president in April 1837.

Just previous to the decision to build the new bank the people of Trenton experienced a period of unusual prosperity. As one writer put it, "substantial and elegant buildings were going up in all parts of the city," with "seven factories in full operation and two other mills being built." Completion of the bank, unfortunately, was followed by a season of much financial distress and specie payment was suspended all over the country. The stability of the Mechanics Bank and the good work of its officers and directors was apparent, however, for the *State Gazette* of December 22, 1837, made this comment, following the publication of a detailed banking statement:

The condition of The Mechanics Bank is now before the Community and it is proved to be worthy of great confidence.

Gradually improving conditions followed during the next few years while deaths and business changes gave the bank several new leaders. Samuel Evans became president April 16, 1840, and Colonel Jacob Kline succeeded him April 15, one year later. Colonel Kline died November 15, 1844, and George Dill was elected to the presidency. Mr. Dill served until April 13, 1852, when Timothy Abbott, Jr., was named. Mr. Abbott resigned October 17, 1853, and Joseph Brearley, a merchant of generous means and keen business ability, was chosen to fill the vacancy. President Brearley served until 1870 and during his administration the bank took many forward steps. Among other things the building was improved, a "thief-proof iron safe" was installed, and the capitalization was increased.

For the country at large there were many panicky years during this part of the century but Trenton bankers weathered the storms. In the fall of 1857, the *State Gazette* said editorially:

The Mechanics Bank has not engaged in speculation and its stability and solvency is beyond question. . . . It certainly deserves great credit for the manner in which it has stood up in this season of distress.

THE BANK PASSES UNDER THE NATIONAL BANKING LAW

June 1, 1865, the directors of the bank held a special meeting and changed the institution over into a national, instead of a state, bank. It then took on the name "The Mechanics National Bank." Commenting on this new venture, the *Trenton True American* of July 3, 1865, said:

The Mechanics & Manufacturers Bank passed under the National Banking Law on Saturday, July 1, and will hereafter be known as The Mechanics National Bank. This Bank has obtained in this com-

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munity a high reputation as a safe and prudently managed institution. Its officers are gentlemen of the first integrity—enjoying a large degree of confidence.

January 15, 1866, the capital stock of the bank was increased from \$250,000 to \$500,000.

An embarrassing incident is reported on July 17, 1869, when the officers and clerks were unable to open the door of the inner vault, containing their funds and records. They were obliged to borrow money and keep temporary accounts for two days until lock experts and mechanics had cut their way into the vault and adjusted the trouble, which proved to have been caused by a broken screw.

President Brearley sought to resign in 1867 because of the state of his health but he was prevailed upon to reconsider his action and he continued in office until January 11, 1870, when he told the board he could not longer remain in service. His successor as president was Timothy Abbott, who had resigned the office in 1853 to become vice-president of the Trenton Iron Company.

Early in 1872, the bank purchased the adjoining State Street residence of John O. Raum and converted the first floor into a meeting place for its directors.

President Abbott died November 20, 1882, and the directors elected Daniel P. Forst, long identified with the bank, as vice-president. His selection as president followed a little later. President Forst immediately planned for the enlargement and improvement of the bank. Mr. Forst's death, May 9, 1887, necessitated the election of the bank's eleventh president, and John Moses was named for the place. January 12, 1888, the bank was designated as a national depository and shortly thereafter \$547,000 of government funds were deposited therein. March 27, 1890, President Moses resigned because of ill health. He was succeeded as president by Sering P. Dunham, then of Scudder & Dunham, predecessors of S. P. Dunham & Company, long one of the leading mercantile concerns of Trenton. Mr. Dunham at once inaugurated a number of changes in banking methods, including a system of balancing daily all of the accounts kept in the general ledger. This was then an important innovation. President Dunham continued in office until January 9, 1899, when because of advancing years and the demands made upon him by a large and growing mercantile business he felt obliged to resign. His administration was characterized by broad intelligence, coupled with safety and conservatism. His work included the building of a new and handsome home for the institution, which was decided upon by the directors in 1894 and completed in May 1895.

The bank sustained a serious loss, Monday, January 15, 1894, in the death of Augustus G. Richey, its vice-president for five years, its counsel for thirty-seven years, and a director for thirty-eight consecutive terms. Mr. Richey was an eminent lawyer, active in Republican politics, a state senator at one time, and prominent in civic and religious circles.

Following the resignation of Mr. Dunham, Counsellor William M. Laning, afterward United States judge, was elected to the presidency. He served, however, only from January 12, 1899, to April 27 of the same year, finding that the time required at the bank interfered seriously with his legal practice.

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It was then, for the first time in its history, that the bank secured in the election of Edward Casper Stokes a man essentially trained as a banker. Marked growth and advancement was experienced by the Mechanics Bank from the very beginning of Mr. Stokes's administration. His cleverness as a financier, his ability as an orator and his unremitting attention to the presidency all served to advance the interests of the bank. Enlargement of the banking house again became desirable in 1907 and an addition to the Warren Street side of the building was constructed and occupied that year. Another enlargement of banking facilities and general improvement of the building became necessary in 1914. In 1928 the Mechanics Bank merged with the First National, the new organization now being known as the First-Mechanics National.³

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT STOKES

Interesting bits of history were made by the bank during the administration of President Stokes. June 17, 1901, for instance, the board of directors expressed the wish of "bon voyage" to Vice-President Henry C. Kelsey, on the occasion of his initial trip to Europe. For more than a dozen years after that, Mr. Kelsey made annual pilgrimages abroad for rest and recreation and for the purchase of rare articles of art. Mr. Kelsey, for years a prominent figure in New Jersey politics, was also famous for his philanthropy. Among other things he gave to his adopted city the magnificent Trenton School of Industrial Arts. He was also a large contributor to hospitals. In June 1913, Senator Harry D. Leavitt, an assistant cashier, was promoted to the position of assistant to the president and in the following November he was again advanced, being made vice-president:

The bank was the first in Trenton to give notice of its intention to accept the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act and was among the first anywhere to institute vacation, holiday, tax and other club funds. The club work was later turned over to its trust department, in charge of Carl K. Withers, a young banker of enterprise and vision, and marked progress followed. Another innovation for Trenton banking was inaugurated by the Mechanics in the employment of the first girl clerk. This distinction was given to Miss Anna T. Callahan. Her work with the institution was so successful that her appointment was followed by the employment of other girls, not only by the Mechanics but also by the other banks of the city. In a short time Miss Callahan and others of her sex were an important part of Trenton's banking activities. Profit-sharing with its clerks was inaugurated by this bank long before such practice became common among employers.

March 19, 1917, President Stokes announced to the board the death of Ferdinand W. Roebeling, who first became a director in 1869 and served continuously until his demise, with the exception of two months in the fall of 1892.

Much fame and prestige has been brought to Mechanics Bank—and to Trenton, as well—through the varied activities of its president, *Edward Casper Stokes*. Continuing and enlarging his political career, the former governor of the State, who had previously served as assemblyman, senator and chancery clerk, later became the state chairman of the Republican party

³ See also Chap. XIX, below, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century."

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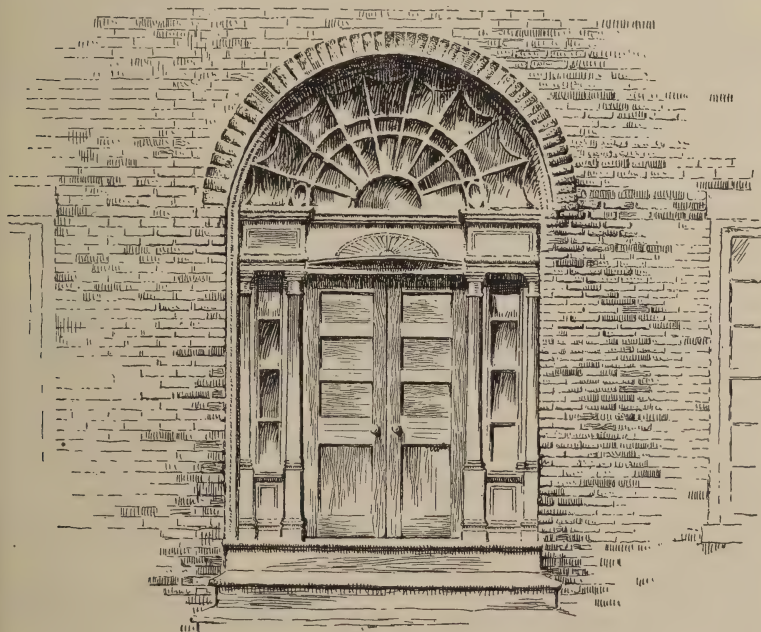
in New Jersey and afterward ran as candidate for the United States Senate.

Born in Philadelphia, Pa., December 22, 1860, Edward Casper Stokes became a Jerseyman a few years later when his parents removed to Millville in the southern part of the State. He was educated in the public schools of that town, at the Friends School in Providence, R.I., and at Brown University, from which institution he was graduated in the class of 1883. Subsequently the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Rutgers College and also by Dickinson College.

Turning his attention first to education and then to public life, Mr. Stokes served for six years as superintendent of the schools of his home town of Millville, before going into the various offices he has held under the state government. His banking career began in the Millville National Bank, where he was receiving teller for six years. In banking, he has, among other things, the distinction of having been the first president of the New Jersey State Bankers' Association and the first vice-president of the Trenton Bankers' Association.

OTHER BANKING VENTURES

For sixty years in the business life of Trenton, depositors and borrowers were apparently content to do their dealing almost exclusively with the Trenton Banking Company and the Mechanics National Bank, which in



DOORWAY, OLD STATE BANK, BUILT 1813. WARREN AND BANK STREETS.

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the process of community development had been organized just thirty years apart. Other banking ventures were tried but failed. Among them, however, was the State Bank, organized and opened in 1813 with like institutions established under an Act of January 28, 1812, at New Brunswick, Newark, Morristown, and Camden, which had an eventful career. This bank was opened on State Street, between Warren and Broad. It later erected a home at Warren and Bank Streets, the present site of the convent connected with St. Mary's Cathedral. The commissioners were Stacy Potts, Peter Gordon, Charles Rice, William Scott and John R. Smith, who with Ellett Tucker, Reuben D. Tucker, Lucius Horatio Stockton, Evan Evans, Edward Yard, William Wood, Phillip F. Howell, James J. Wilson and Abner Reeder were the first directors.

Competition of the other banks finally proved too strong and in 1845 the Legislature passed an Act to extend the charter of the State Bank long enough for it to settle its affairs. Twelve years were given from January 28, 1842, which was forty years after its charter had been authorized. The settling process was concluded in due time and the old bank passed out of existence.

Other banks not now in existence were the Mercer County Bank, incorporated in 1870, the Merchants' Bank, and the State Savings Bank, which opened March 31, 1869. Previous to this an attempt was made in 1820 to organize "a Savings Bank within the State of New Jersey." January 11, of that year, a number of citizens assembled at the Rising Sun Tavern, later the American House, and Samuel L. Southard was selected as the presiding officer of a committee that met soon afterward to proceed with the establishment of such an institution. This committee adjourned until March 1 following, and there are no other records available, indicating that the project was abandoned in its borning.

TRENTON SAVING FUND SOCIETY

In 1844, however, came the organization of the present Trenton Saving Fund Society, which is one of only two institutions of the kind in New Jersey that began business previous to 1850.

The Trenton Saving Fund Society was incorporated by an Act of the New Jersey Legislature on March 7, 1844. Its charter contained some unusual stipulations, among them that Peter D. Vroom, John C. Redmond, John Read, Stacy G. Potts, George Dill, Xenophon J. Maynard, Richard J. Bond, Thomas J. Stryker, Jacob Kline, Jasper S. Scudder, Timothy Abbott, Charles Parker, Henry W. Green and their successors "should continue the Board of Managers in perpetual succession, should not directly or indirectly be entitled to receive any emoluments for their services and should be prohibited from borrowing money on notes, bonds, mortgages or other securities or otherwise be personally interested in the deposits or profits of the institution, except it be for deposits made by them as trustees for the benefit of others."

In other words the Society was founded as the outgrowth of a philanthropic sentiment, a cooperative movement originally intended for the benefit of the wage-earners of Trenton.

March 5, 1855, a supplementary Act of incorporation was passed by the

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Legislature, with a further supplement in 1864, to enlarge the scope of the institution's investments and increase its community usefulness.

The Society began business Tuesday, July 20, 1847, in one of the offices of the old City Hall. July 25, 1848, it moved to offices in the Chancery Building, later to be the site of the Trenton Trust Company. It remained there until April 3, 1860, when it located in the Scott Building, now 6 South Broad Street, and on July 1, 1862, it took over the quarters of the defunct Merchants' Bank, now 8 South Broad Street.

June 30, 1881, title was taken to the property of Benjamin Fish, 123 East State Street. This building, long the home of Mr. Fish, was renovated and occupied by the society until July 5, 1899, when the managers decided upon the erection of a new banking house. This structure was completed in April 1901, at a total cost of \$104,433.61. The property today could not be bought for three times that amount. The building is designed after the Italian Renaissance period of architecture, and the interior is of marble, bronze and mahogany, with all modern banking equipment and facilities. The ceiling is surmounted by a large dome, with handsomely tinted glass. During the building operations the Society did business in the former home of the Broad Street National Bank, South Broad Street. Following the opening of the new home, Monday morning, April 29, 1901, the *Trenton Evening Times* had this to say:

The *Trenton Times* extends its congratulations to the officers and managers of the Trenton Saving Fund Society who commenced business in their new and magnificent building on East State Street, this morning. The stately structure is not only a credit to everyone in any way connected with it, but an ornament to the city and an enduring monument to the integrity and character of the Society. It is one of a number of splendid institutions in this city to which the people point with pride.

Operation of the Society has been from the beginning under the direction of a board of managers, of which the *Trenton Sunday Advertiser* of February 2, 1908, said "it has become a badge of honor in the community to be enrolled as a manager of the Trenton Saving Fund Society." It is interesting to note that prior to 1891 no officer or manager received any remuneration for his services, with the exception of the treasurer whose pay was increased over a period of twenty-two years until he was paid \$1,000 annually. The president, Caleb S. Green, who administered the affairs of the Society for nearly forty-three years prior to his death, never received a penny for all his work.

Among the prominent Trentonians who have in recent years been associated in the Society's affairs may be mentioned: John A. Campbell, William I. Vannest, Judge G. D. W. Vroom, General William S. Stryker, Isaac F. Richey, Augustus G. Richey, Caleb S. Green, John H. Scudder, Charles Whitehead, Edward H. Stokes, John S. Chambers, William S. Hancock, Lewis Parker, Jr., William H. Yard, Robert V. Whitehead, Judge William M. Lanning, Henry W. Green, Foster C. Griffith, Jonathan H. Blackwell, State Comptroller Newton A. K. Bugbee, United States Senator Frank O. Briggs, Benjamin Fish, Arthur D. Forst, Charles Hewitt, Robert A. Messler, Henry C. Moore, John Moses, Percy A. Green, Counsellor John V. B. Wicoff, and Samuel K. Wilson and others.

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FIRST NATIONAL BANK

Growing out of the development of the federal banking system, the First National Bank of Trenton was given a charter January 28, 1864, with an original capitalization of \$100,000. This, of course, has since been largely increased. During the first year of its existence the bank did business on South Broad Street, in quarters vacated by the moving of the Trenton Saving Fund Society. Then it removed to a brownstone building on East State Street, where it has since remained, although since its merger with the Mechanics plans have progressed for the erection of an imposing building at State and Broad Streets.

When the State Street building was erected it was easily the most notable structure in that portion of the city. The banking rooms were on the second floor, with stores beneath. One of these stores was long the home of the cigar business of the late William Y. Cadwalader, prominent resident of Trenton and Yardley, Pa.

Men who have figured largely in the affairs of the First National have included William I. Vannest, president in the early '90's, John H. Scudder, Charles Whitehead, William S. Middleton, George M. Comfort, General Richard A. Donnelly, Joseph Richardson, William H. Brokaw, Henry C. Case and others.

Rising from a clerical position in the institution, Arthur H. Wood some years ago became its president. He served in that capacity until 1928 when he was given the position of the chairman of the board of directors and Colonel Edward C. Rose, one of the most active of Trenton's younger business men, was elected as president.

BROAD STREET NATIONAL BANK

Among the several financial institutions which have helped make history for Trenton is the Broad Street National Bank. It was organized May 19, 1887, and immediately sprang into popular favor. Business was started in a small store at 188 South Broad Street, where its first day's deposits amounted to \$22,090.02.

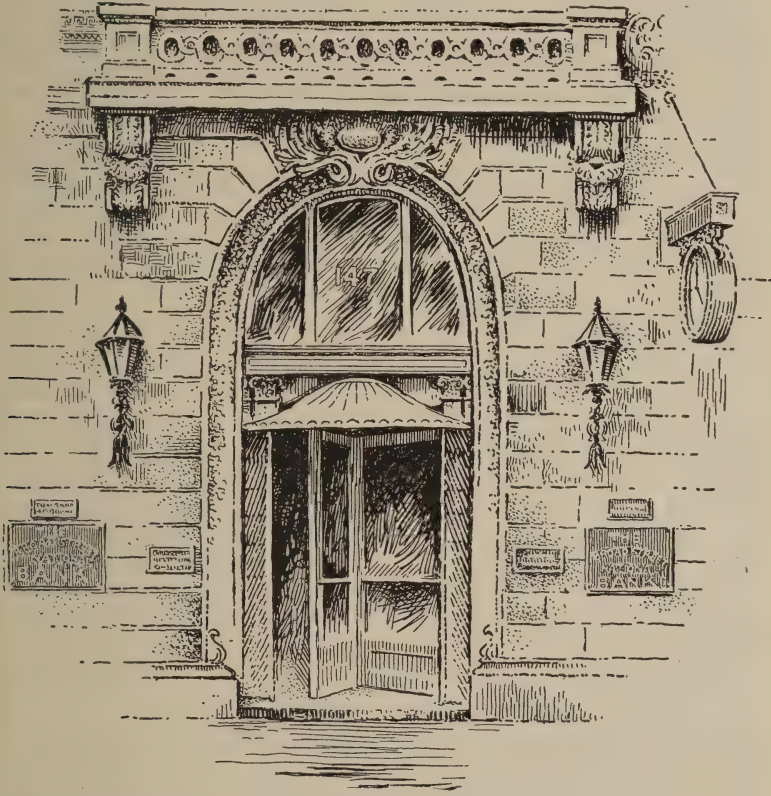
Growth was healthy and continuous under the management of such men as Israel Howell, Benjamin M. Phillips, Richard P. Wilson, Thomas S. Stevens, Joseph Y. Lanning, Oliver O. Bowman, William G. Howell and Francis C. Lowthrop, all of whom were directors for many years. Mr. Howell and Mr. Bowman were associates in this bank and other financial institutions of the city for nearly half a century.

In 1887 the bank purchased a plot of ground at 201-203 South Broad Street and erected there what it was then believed would be a permanent home. It was not long, however, before the aggressive management began looking for a more prominent location, and a site for an immense banking and office building was purchased at State and Montgomery Streets. Ultra conservatives wagged their heads at the move, venturing among other things that the changing of the location and the name of a bank was never helpful. This was readily discounted, however, and the Broad Street continued to grow. The fact that two large annexes have been added to the original building is ample proof that the move was a wise one. And there was no change in the name. It was eventually decided to continue as the

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"Broad Street," although the thoroughfare of that name no longer provided the setting for the institution.

George R. Whittaker was elected a director in 1888, Frederick Walter was added to the board two years later, and Frank O. Briggs, then assistant treasurer of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company and afterward United States Senator, was chosen in 1891. Still later there was added to the board an aggressive director in the person of General Wilbur F. Sadler, son of



MAIN ENTRANCE OF THE BROAD STREET BANK, ON THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF STATE AND MONTGOMERY STREETS.

Judge Wilbur F. Sadler of the Pennsylvania courts, who had come to Trenton as a promoter of suburban trolley lines and who rapidly identified himself with the business, fraternal and social activities of the city and also achieved a name for himself in the political and military affairs of the State. General Sadler was afterward elected president of the bank and it was largely through his energy and vision that the remarkable growth of the institution during his administration came about.

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Other presidents of the bank have included Lewis Parker, Joseph Y. Lanning, Oliver O. Bowman, Henry C. Moore and George A. Katzenbach. President Katzenbach, like many others holding similar positions, has risen from the ranks, having served in most of the clerical berths.

TRENTON TRUST COMPANY

As Trenton developed in a business way there came increasing demands for banking facilities and men of means began looking around for opportunities for investment in this connection. In 1888 the city's first trust and safe deposit company was organized. It was established under the name of The Real Estate, Safe Deposit, Trust and Investment Company of New Jersey. This was later changed to the Trenton Trust and Safe Deposit Company and became popularly known as the "Trenton Trust."

Business of the corporation grew from the start and it was soon occupying a leading place among the banking institutions of Trenton. Growth and development have continued. The early home of the institution at West State Street and Chancery Lane speedily became too small for it and enlargement was necessary. Even this did not suffice, and in later years a handsome office and banking building has been erected on the site, with all modern conveniences, equipment and safety devices.

Judge Edward T. Green was the first president. The late Hugh H. Hamill succeeded to the office and during recent years H. Arthur Smith has acceptably filled that position. It was under Mr. Smith's direction that the present home of the company was erected and its business greatly increased.

In the early years the company included such men as Colonel Washington A. Roebling, Henry S. Little, Barker Gummere, Levi B. Risdon and Owen H. Locke. More recent years have brought into the directorate Nelson L. Petty, Charles E. Gummere, Harvey M. Voorhees, James C. Tattersall, John M. Dickinson, Herbert Sinclair, John G. Conner, Charles E. Stokes, Christopher Cartlidge, Vincent P. Bradley and M. William Murphy. Howard F. Tomlinson graduated from the position of treasurer to that of president of another bank. Walter F. Volk has long served as secretary and David H. Lukens, prominent in Masonic circles, was for many years vault custodian.

In 1928 the company absorbed the Mercer and Colonial Trust Companies.

THE TRENTON CLEARING HOUSE

With the multiplying of banks⁴ and the increase in the number of those doing banking business came the necessity for some central agency to serve the various common needs of the several institutions. This resulted in the formation on December 5, 1907, of the Trenton Bankers' Association, or the Trenton Clearing House Association. Starting to function at once, this organization had for its primary purposes, first, a systematic

⁴ For a brief account of the many new banks which have been organized within recent years in Trenton and its suburban neighbors, see Chap. XIX, below, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century."

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exchange and distribution of checks, and, second, better control on duplicate or triplicate borrowings.

Originally the cashiers or treasurers of the various banking institutions had charge of meetings for the exchange of checks, but as business increased this became more and more unsatisfactory. September 23, 1911, General Thomas S. Chambers was elected secretary and treasurer (general manager) of the Clearing House and from that time until his death he gave personal attention to the work entailed.

November 19, 1919, Franklin Hendrickson was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of General Chambers and he has since continued in charge as the Clearing House general manager.

Each year a new president and vice-president are elected by the Clearing House, these officers rotating among the member banks. Usually the presidents of the banks are chosen as heads of the Clearing House.

LOAN SOCIETIES

In recent years, Trenton, in common with other cities, has witnessed the inauguration of an organized effort to provide bank-loan facilities for that large portion of the population formerly dependent upon pawnshops for such service and, as a rule, heavily mulcted for the accommodations received.

First in the field in this connection was the Trenton Citizens System Company. Opened March 26, 1927, at 115 East Hanover Street, this company has developed a remarkable business, filling, as its management claims, "the gap between the banks and the loan sharks." William B. Maddock was the first president of this concern. He was later succeeded in that office by M. William Murphy, but continued to serve as a director. Other officers and directors include J. Spencer Voorhees, John F. Smith, Frank Transue, Frank Epple, George E. Maguire, Frederick S. Donnelly, Owen W. Kite, Dr. W. J. Harman, Alfred C. Funk, Charles DeF. Besore, Colonel Stephen H. Barlow and Charles F. McCoy. Willard Roberts, long connected with banking in Trenton, was the first manager.

Another old corporation of this character is the Winsett

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Thrift Company, located at 3 South Montgomery Street. Henry C. Blackwell is the president of this concern, with Herbert P. Margerum vice-president, James R. Barber treasurer, Ellis L. Pierson secretary and Harry J. Fletcher manager.

TRENTON CHAPTER, AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF BANKING

Much of the credit for the degree of efficiency which has been attained by the banks of Trenton and vicinity is due to the fine work that has been done by the Trenton Chapter of the American Institute of Banking. This organization has a large voluntary membership recruited from the several banking institutions, girl clerks as well as male employees being interested and enthusiastic in its various activities. Its program embraces courses of study in all phases of the banking business, including commercial law. Its classes are largely attended and the result of earnest study has been to produce a large number of capable, well-trained bankers who are always in line for promotion in their own institutions, in other banks here, and even to positions of importance in other cities.

From the beginning of the chapter's work in Trenton, Carl K. Withers, trust officer of the Mechanics National Bank, has actively cooperated in the efforts of these young banker students to advance. Others especially prominent have included W. Harry Bloor, Ralph B. Lucas, Gilbert S. Pedrick, Alan W. Bowers, James C. Pierce, Percy A. Green, Miss Helen O'Connor, William M. Karch, Raymond W. Johnson, Harold E. Cranmer, Roscoe K. Cook, G. J. Murphy, C. E. Sommers, Miss Anna T. Callahan, Miss Maisie E. Kolb and Joseph Mullin.

Annual adding-machine contests, frequent forum sessions and social affairs in the form of dinner-dances have been included in the chapter's activities and have added much to the benefit gained by the members. Even in the social affairs the element of instruction is always present in the way of one or more addresses by banking experts, usually recruited from the larger banks of the metropolitan cities.

INSURANCE COMPANIES

Progressive in all other lines of business activity, it is natural that Trenton should have turned attention at a comparatively

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early date to the formation of an insurance company, devoted to the assuming of fire and other risks.

Insurance in Trenton previous to 1840 or thereabouts—and even to a later date—was apparently cared for by companies in the larger nearby cities or perhaps, in some cases, by some of the older mutuals in adjacent counties. It is not unreasonable to believe that in many instances property owners assumed their own risks and bore their losses as best they could in case of fire.

Then came a time when more serious consideration was given to such matters, with the result that several mutual companies were organized in Trenton and its immediate surroundings. Little in the way of information about these companies has been preserved, except that one of these companies wrote in its charter the privilege of making gas and laying pipes. This was doubtless an effort to outdo the other companies then seeking business.

STANDARD FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY

The Standard Fire Insurance Company of New Jersey was included in this early Trenton group and it is now the only one surviving. This company was incorporated by an Act of the Legislature on February 22, 1868. There was apparently some delay in the beginning of business—or at least in the advertising of it—for the original list of incorporators and directors, with their plan of doing business, was not published until November 1869. The newspapers of that time carried an announcement to the effect that the Standard had opened an office at 6 West State Street, then the home of a state bank operated by Jacob R. Freas. Mr. Freas was the president of the new insurance concern and the other officers were: John C. Cook, vice-president; Phillip P. Dunn, treasurer; B. O. Tyler, secretary; John O. Raum, assistant secretary; and William L. Dayton, counsellor. In addition to the officers the directors included: H. N. Congar, Isaac Wood, W. D. Holt, Crowell Marsh, W. F. Van Camp, Charles Bechtel, Samuel L. Prior, F. W. Roebing, William H. Potts, J. B. Dobbins, J. G. Brearley, Israel Howell, C. B. VanSyckle, William Dolton, P. C. Onderdonk, James Brook and J. C. Manning. The late Colonel Washington A. Roebling was for many years the company's largest stockholder, and for fifty-four years he was a director.

The company announced that "with paid-up capital sufficient to meet all probable losses upon buildings and personal property of the safer class" it was prepared to issue insurance at moderate rates, on the mutual plan. Assurance was given that "the management is open, candid, economical and prudent." The first policy was issued February 22, 1869, to John O. Raum, one of its officers, on his home at 56 Academy Street. The policy was for \$1,500. Mr. Raum paid \$9 in cash and gave his note for the balance, \$18. The first agent appointed, June 10, 1872, was John J. Edwards, of Newton,

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N.J. The first loss paid was on Policy 131, for \$59.62 on household goods belonging to Ann Scott of Keyport, N.J.

In May 1871, the mutual plan was abandoned and the organization became a stock company. From then on the business flourished and several changes of location were needed to gain additional room. Business, however, was continued on State Street until 1922 when the MacCrellich property at 39 North Clinton Avenue was purchased, and upon it was erected a modern and commodious building with ample provision for enlargement, including foundations strong enough to carry three or more added stories.

As late as 1883 the company paid salaries only to a president, a secretary and one clerk, while some twenty agents were able to look after the business, then all in New Jersey. At the time of this writing nearly a hundred persons are employed in the home office and there are a thousand agents scattered over many of the States of the Union. In passing it is interesting to note that in some sixty years the agency of the company in Squan Village (now Manasquan) has had only one change in management.

Present officers of the company are: Owen J. Prior, president; F. W. Roebing, Jr., first vice-president; F. W. Wright, second vice-president and treasurer; W. M. Crozer, secretary; R. J. Carey, assistant secretary. Directors other than President Prior and Vice-President Roebing are: O. D. Wilkinson, John W. Manning, Houston Dixon, Nelson L. Petty, R. V. Kuser, B. B. Dinsmore, W. T. White, H. B. Tobin, Scott Scammell, R. C. Roebing, Siegfried Roebing and William H. Brokaw, Jr.

OTHER INSURANCE COMPANIES

Trenton has two other insurance corporations. One of them is the New Jersey Manufacturers' Casualty Insurance Company and the other is the Liberty Surety Bond Insurance Company.

The New Jersey Manufacturers' Casualty Insurance Company is the outgrowth of a meeting held January 11, 1910, when eight men interested in the woollen business assembled in Trenton to form an association for mutual benefit. William Foster, of Trenton, was elected the first president, and modest offices were later secured in a downtown building. The association has since grown to a membership of some three thousand and is now housed in the fine old West State Street home long occupied by the late General A. C. Oliphant. More than a hundred paid employees are now needed to do the office work of the association, and the business transacted includes casualty insurance, hospitalization and fire insurance. Hospitals are maintained in Trenton, Newark, Clifton and Jersey City.

Present officers of the company are: J. Phillip Bird, Plainfield, president; Charles W. Crane, Elizabeth, vice-president; Harry D. Leavitt, Trenton, treasurer; W. C. Billman, Trenton, secretary and assistant treasurer.

The Liberty Surety Bond Insurance Company, issuing fidelity and surety bonds, was organized in October 1925, and began business January 1, 1926. Its first offices were located in the Trenton Trust Building but it soon purchased the property at State and Willow Streets and improved the premises. The concern now has a branch in Newark and does business in all parts of the State. Officers of the company are: Newton A. K. Bugbee, president; Robert M. Johnston, first vice-president and general manager; Emerson Richards, treasurer; Robert C. Carson, secretary and comptroller; Colonel Stephen H. Barlow, vice-president; Frank W. Stucky, vice-presi-

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dent; Meyer Krechmer, general counsel; and Hugh J. Connelly, assistant treasurer. Others in the directorate include: James W. West, Enoch L. Johnston, Elias Rosenbaum, John C. Slope, Joseph Lannigan, Thomas H. Thropp, David Baird, Jr., Joseph Burke and Joseph P. White.

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Always ready to appropriate any idea or scheme that would advance community interests, Trenton people have long profited by the organization and use of building and loan associations.

Dating back to two centuries before the present era, building and loan associations were apparently first known in China. The same cooperative principles were much later applied in Germany and finally in January 1809 building and loan association work was commenced in England. In this country the first building and loan association seems to have been started in Frankford, Pa. (now a part of Philadelphia), in January 1831.

The idea later came to Trenton and since then much has been accomplished through it, especially in the way of building homes for those of moderate incomes. No small part of the development of Trenton as a fine residential city has been due to the thrift and saving encouraged by building and loan association membership. This has been particularly true during the past twenty-five or thirty years.

There are at this time in Trenton and Mercer County a score or so of such associations, the largest of them with assets of more than two millions of dollars.

Organized originally for the purpose of building homes for their members, these associations have of late years been utilized in many other ways. In the first place they foster thrift by encouraging systematic saving; second, they aid members to acquire and build homes; third, they provide a medium through which savings may be invested to yield the largest return consistent with absolute safety of principal. Safety is assured by reason of the character of the men elected to managerial offices and also by the strict supervision exercised by state authority.

Some novel plans for the use of building and loan associations have been originated here in recent years. For instance, many parents take out shares at the birth of a child and when the series matures some ten or twelve years later use the money for

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educational expenses. Others make use of the shares to provide business enlargement or depreciation funds. Still others in this same way provide against the needs of old age.

Financiers everywhere acknowledge that it is to the credit of the banks of Trenton that they are so willing to cooperate with the building and loan associations. These associations specialize in long-term loans to house buyers or builders and do not in any way interfere with the lending business of the banks which cater more particularly to short-term transactions.

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FOR its early commerce, outside of local trading between man and man, including the white settlers and the Indians, Trenton was linked up with Burlington and Salem to the south and was largely dependent upon Philadelphia for egress to the great world beyond. Philadelphia then, as now, had direct outlet to the seven seas but was considered handicapped by reason of its distance from the coast. Thus it was that the Swedes of the lower Delaware Valley and the English to the north and west had to look on, with more or less envy no doubt, while the Hollanders of the east developed the port of Amboy into a shipping center even greater than New York.

New Jersey was then "the Jerseys"—East and West. Life in those days was less strenuous than now, especially along the banks of the Delaware River. In time, however, Trenton became the turning point in the trade routes between Salem and Burlington in the south and Elizabeth-town and Newark in the north. Lying at the head of the Delaware's tidewater, Trenton also held an unusually advantageous position between New York and New England in the north and Philadelphia and Virginia in the south. It was natural that the southern planter and the northern merchant should touch hands in trade and that commerce should develop.

Stage-coach routes were later established between the north and the south, particularly between New York and Philadelphia, and the carrying of passengers and mail was added to the trans-

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portation of commercial commodities. In this also was Trenton favored, because of the comparative ease with which the Delaware could be forded and also because of the general absence of heavy grades in the crude roads which had been laid out.

Moreover, early in the community's history there came Mahlon Stacy and William Trent, men of energy as well as vision, and with the establishment by them of saw- and grist-mill facilities at "ye Falles of ye De La Ware" agriculture, milling and river trade began to grow and Trenton's place in commerce was assured.

To the early milling of flour and meals and lumber there began to be added other manufactures and with this came enlarged commerce and trade. The Delaware was utilized for cheap and convenient means of transportation, being navigable to Trenton for smaller vessels, such as yachts, sloops and schooners,—some of them up to two hundred tons burden. Durham boats were largely used as common carriers and later rafting was resorted to for the transportation of lumber from the forests of the upper valley. Soon pack horses gave way to trains of covered wagons which became more and more numerous and consequently less and less a source of curiosity. Still later steamboats came into use and proved their convenience and worth on the Delaware.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES DEVELOPED

Finally there was inspired the building of a canal between the Delaware and the Raritan Rivers, to afford easy connection between important deep waterways of the Atlantic coast. The Camden and Amboy Railroad followed thereafter and the development of the nation's mighty railway system commenced.

Early mention of the Delaware and Raritan Canal is to be found in records of Governor Dickerson's message in 1816. Five years later a committee in the Legislature reported that its members "have considered the subject with all that attention which its great importance demands and are of the opinion that such a canal, if it could be effected at an expense not too great for the resources of the State, and without imposing a burdensome weight of taxation, ought to be carried into execution by

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the State itself." Cautious, indeed, were those early lawmakers, more given to thoughts of economy than some of their successors.

Moving slowly, after the manner of the day, the promoters of the enterprise waited until February 4, 1830, for the incorporation of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, with a capitalization of \$1,000,000. James Parker and James Neilson, of Middlesex, John Potter, of Somerset, William Halstead, of Hunterdon, and Garrett Dorsett Wall, of Burlington, were among the new company's backers. At the same time another million-dollar enterprise was launched in the Camden and Amboy Railroad Transportation Company, with Samuel G. Wright, of Monmouth, James Cook, of Middlesex, Abraham Brown, of Burlington, Jeremiah H. Sloan, of Gloucester, and Henry Freas, of Salem, as those most vitally interested. On February 15, 1831, the two companies were consolidated, their backers evidently believing that in union strength exists.

Six years later, or in 1837, the Legislature authorized the Camden and Amboy to construct a railroad from New Brunswick to Trenton and thence on to Bordentown. In the meantime the Legislature of Pennsylvania had given authority to the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad Company to construct a railroad from Kensington to Morrisville, and also to erect a bridge across the Delaware to Trenton. Among the early bridge commissioners were John Beatty and Peter Howell of New Jersey and Phillip Wagner, James C. Fisher and Charles Biddle of Pennsylvania.

Building of railroad lines from Trenton to Belvidere and later to Manunka Chunk and from New Brunswick to Jersey City came about with the passing of the years. All of these lines were eventually leased, June 30, 1871, to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, for a period of 999 years. Then the Delaware and Bound Brook Railroad Company was incorporated May 12, 1874, paving the way for Trenton to have easy access a little later to the cities of Philadelphia and New York, through connections made with the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, also on a lease for 999 years. Branch lines running from Trenton Junction into the heart of Trenton and freight

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lines extended to the manufacturing centers add markedly to transportation facilities, as do also connections with the Baltimore & Ohio, the New Jersey Central and other railroads.

Thus with these facilities and the improvements which later years have brought, Trenton's commerce has developed and increased until its products are now shipped to every civilized nation in all parts of the globe. There is truth as well as sentiment in the modern trade slogan: "Trenton makes—the World takes."

In later years with the invention of the gasoline motor and the building of vast numbers of passenger automobiles and freight trucks an added impetus was given to all sorts of transportation. With the improvement of vehicles came also the building of better roads, conducive to speed and comfort. New Jersey long led in this connection and in this, too, Trenton reaped marked advantage. On a direct line between Philadelphia and New York and with adequate bridging of the Delaware River, Trenton figured in vast motor vehicle traffic, especially after the construction of the famous Lincoln Highway, reaching from the Atlantic coast to the faraway Pacific. Agreement between New Jersey and Pennsylvania for the freeing of bridges across the Delaware served greatly to ease the flow of travel and afford a marked contrast to the days when fording or ferries were the only means of crossing the river.

TRENTON AS A TRADING CENTER

With increasing population and enlarging outside commerce, naturally came a greater volume of home trading for the growing town and city of Trenton. First, in the early days, there was the trading shop, successor of the unhappy fort and post established by the Dutch. Trading with friendly Indians and catering to the simple wants of the comparatively few white settlers paved the way for the general country stores of Revolutionary times and later.

Happily situated in the midst of a prosperous and developing territory, Trenton has become in these later years the trading center for many communities. This has brought to the fore a disposition to provide more and more for all the wants of traders

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and buyers under one roof. The general country store, with its stock of practically everything from hardware to groceries, from harness to dry goods—and wet goods, too—served for a time to answer community and suburban needs. Then came the later days with the development of the department-store idea. Department stores now carry immense and varied stocks, catering to the needs and desires of all types of buyers. There is, however, plenty of room for the business of high-class specialty shops, serving those who may prefer not to buy all lines in a single building.

Trenton progressed as trading gave way to shopping. Money grew more plentiful and became the common agency of exchange. Buying and selling replaced barter. Markets were established for the benefit of farmers wishing to dispose of their produce direct to consumers—first long, low buildings in the center of streets and now more modern selling places in convenient neighborhoods where are daily offered the splendid output of gardens, orchards, fields and dairies. Another development of the old-fashioned markets is the department food store. Sometimes such a store specializes solely in fruit and vegetables, while in other cases all lines of domestic and foreign edibles will be carried.

In the early days storekeepers generally combined their enterprises with other lines of business. Later it became advisable and profitable to devote one's attention solely to one's best commercial proposition. This undivided interest soon resulted in the upbuilding of great mercantile establishments in which men made for themselves enviable business reputations.

SOME PROMINENT MERCHANTS

Some of the pioneers in what, in the best sense of the term, is Trenton's "big business" were such men as Henderson G. Scudder, Sering P. Dunham, John H. Scudder, Joseph Allen Southwick, Colonel Eckford Moore, Thomas C. Hill, Captain Lawrence Farrell, John W. Manning, William J. Convery, William Dolton, John Taylor, Frank J. Wetzel, James C. Tattersall, John G. Conner, Richard Wilson, the Colemans, the Vannests, the Thomases, the Richardsons and others, all of whom have left their mark on the trade of the city. Some of them have been succeeded in business by their sons and their sons' sons, so that in these later days big mercantile interests are in the hands of such men as Edward W. Dunham, William V. Coleman, J. Ferd

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Convery, John W. Manning, Frederick W. Donnelly, Frederick S. Donnelly, Horace Mann, Nevius Brothers and others.

Trenton's value as a merchandising center early impressed itself upon keen minds in other places and has continued to do so. The result has been the constant opening of new enterprises and the introduction of new blood into those already established. These newcomers have included men from nearby towns and farming communities, as well as from the larger cities. Smith Lamson came here from South Jersey, after a bit of experience in Bordentown, and soon associated himself with the Dunham concern. H. M. and E. D. Voorhees came from Hightstown, first to clerk for others and soon to have a magnificent store of their own. The Dunhams came originally from Somerville, where the Nevius brothers were also located with one of their branch stores.

Then, too, came the Goldbergs, the Wirtschafers, the Hoenigs, the Swerns, the Lissners, the Hiedelmans, the Urkens, the Cohens, the Kuhns, the Fulds and scores of other Jewish merchants who have built up great business enterprises, often from such humble beginnings as to add romance to the always interesting story of buying and selling.

Two especially notable instances of Jewish success may be mentioned. *Isaac Goldberg* came to America as a poor Russian immigrant. He was imbued with the idea of making enough money to do for children what no one had done for him in the way of pleasure and recreation. His advent in Trenton was in the nature of a canvasser from door to door. In a few years he was the owner of a great department store, with a silk-manufacturing branch in Japan and connections with the great marts of the world. A few years more he was the president of a bank, established largely through his own enterprise and initiative. And as soon as he prospered he began doing something for the children of the poor, so that for years the Goldberg picnics for boys and girls in humble circumstances have been among the recognized and appreciated philanthropies of Trenton. Then there is the case of *Henry Wirschafter*. Beaten down in Philadelphia by circumstances over which he had no control, Mr. Wirschafter loaded a few belongings on a small cart and pushed it the thirty miles and more to Trenton. Here, with his clever wife for a clerk as well as a source of comfort and encouragement, he established a store so small that it was sometimes jeeringly referred to as a "hole in the wall." But that was not for long. The business grew amazingly and in a comparatively few years the little store gave place to a big one, one of the more prominent department stores of the city.

"TRENTON MAKES—THE WORLD TAKES"

Thus did Trenton come down into the twentieth century as an important center of buying and selling, a city of trade that gets full recognition and appreciation by national merchandisers and advertisers as the hub of a selling center that has no equal in population and buying power anywhere in the country, for within a radius of fifty to sixty miles are the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, Newark and others. So it is that there is

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truth not only in the saying that "Trenton makes—the World takes," but also in the assertion that Trenton takes and sells and buys much that the world of merchandising has to offer.

And it is not in big commercial enterprises alone that Trenton men of trade have made history. Many specialty merchants have made names for themselves from the city's very beginning. Among men who may be singled out in their various lines may be mentioned W. Scott Taylor, John S. Anistaki, Daniel L. Cook, George N. Thomas, Andrew W. Farley, Michael Moore, the Holcombe brothers, the Long brothers, George N. Thomas, John A. Schultz and Charles Stuckert in the drug business, some as dealers only and others as manufacturing chemists.

Other names closely associated with the growth of Trenton include Cook & Jacques, long in the jewelry business; Joseph M. Middleton who for years engaged in the making of harness and saddlery before the automobile so largely replaced horses; Edmund C. Hill, Harry C. Valentine, the Slack brothers, Samuel Hilton, Isaiah Birks, W. M. Dickinson, Vincent P. Bradley, William L. Waldron, Edward C. Craig, William A. Holcombe and others in the realty development business.

THE TRENTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

No small measure of the progress and development which have marked the romantic history of Trenton's manufacturing, commercial and other business enterprises has been due to the organized effort of two agencies, first the Board of Trade and later the Chamber of Commerce.

THE BOARD OF TRADE

The Trenton Board of Trade was founded January 25, 1868, when a public meeting of citizens was called for the purpose to the assembly room of what was then Taylor Hall. E. J. C. Atterbury was chosen a chairman and Charles Hewitt served as secretary. A committee of twenty was named to prepare a working program, including constitution and by-laws. This committee reported, February 6 following, and organization was then effected with these officers: President, John A. Roebling; first vice-president, John Taylor; second vice-president, Daniel B. Bodine; treasurer, Thomas J. Stryker; secretary, John P. Stevens; executive committee, Charles Hewitt, John S. Noble, Samuel K. Wilson, William Dolton, J. F. Houdayer, H. G. Scudder, Elias Cook, James P. Stevens, Imlay Moore, Charles Carr, Edward W. Scudder and George James.

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Mr. Roebling, the first president, served until his death in July 1869. Sixty years after his election to the presidency of the trade body the latter's successor, the Trenton Chamber of Commerce, honored the first president's grandson, Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., by amending its by-laws and electing him first honorary president. It is also interesting to note that in the earlier career of the board of trade it enjoyed the services of W. W. Stelle as secretary for about a quarter of a century.

The objects and purposes of the original board are well set forth in the preamble and resolution adopted at the organization meeting, as follows:

WHEREAS the city of Trenton, possessing peculiar advantages of location for trade and manufactories, is advancing rapidly in all the leading interests that combine in building up a first-class inland city, and, having united the representatives of capital, trade and manufactures in an association known as the Board of Trade of the City of Trenton, it is proper that the objects of this organization should be clearly understood and set forth: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the purposes of this Board are to secure a community of all interests vitally important to the growth and prosperity of the city; to further and protect our manufacturing interests; to secure and utilize local and natural advantages at our command; to attract and divert capital into the channels of industry; to urge public and private improvements; to collect and preserve valuable statistical information; to conduce to progress and success, to the end that foreign capital may see in the city of Trenton an inviting field.

During the years which have followed, these early objects have been furthered and advanced by the wise counsel, the energetic influence and the earnest efforts of many prominent men who have belonged to the two organizations. Through their work much has been gained not only in the way of material wealth but also along the line of cultural activities. Among other things may be mentioned the early erection of a new postoffice and federal court building and the establishment of the Stacy-Trent Hotel.

Yet there were times, naturally, when the old organization failed to function one hundred per cent. For instance, the *State Gazette* of November 29, 1906, has this to say: "The local Board of Trade which has been lying dormant, apparently, for the past three years . . ." This note of pessimism is coupled, however, with the statement that the body "has been given a new lease of life and an impetus that will boom Trenton as it has never been boomed before."

Going on, the *Gazette* in that issue said: "The meeting of the Board held last evening at its rooms, 14 West State Street, was a most enthusiastic one and more than seventy of Trenton's most prominent business and professional men were in attendance."

No doubt the enthusiasm manifested and the advancement following were due largely to the fact that President Adam Exton called the meeting to order. Mr. Exton was then as later a most energetic boomer and many fine things now possessed by Trenton have come about largely through his own personal endeavors and the powerful pressure which he has long known how to apply upon fellow workers. In connection with this meeting

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it is also interesting to note that Secretary Kendrick C. Hill made an "earnest and explicit address."

Detailed reports of the meeting show that there resulted from it a determined effort to make the organization count in a very emphatic and effective manner for the good of Trenton. Numerous addresses urging activity were made, among the speakers being Edmund C. Hill, Dr. William A. Wetzel, Dr. Ebenezer Mackey, Clayton L. Traver, Dr. Thomas H. Mackenzie, Edward S. Wood, Dr. Frank Forrest Frederick, A. K. Leuckel, Richard C. Oliphant and others.

The outcome was the appointment of a committee to put new life into the Board. This committee consisted of Edmund C. Hill, chairman, Rudolph V. Kuser, Jacob C. Bloom, Edward P. Cowell, Richard C. Oliphant, Dr. Thomas H. Mackenzie, Edward S. Wood, C. L. Traver, A. K. Leuckel, H. B. Reilly, Dr. William A. Wetzel, Martin C. Ribsam, Dr. Ebenezer Mackey, Eugene F. Coffield and Councilman J. Allen Southwick.

Commenting upon the renewed work of the Board the *Trenton True American* urged the broadening of its scope, calling attention to the fact that Dr. E. H. Ginnelley, in accepting the presidency of the Common Council, had "pointed out the wisdom of the city's securing sites for future school buildings and playgrounds." Development of home sections was also advocated, in view of the way Adam Exton, E. C. Hill and others were arguing for more factories, a deeper channel in the Delaware River, a comprehensive park system and other civic improvements.

Chairman Hill and his reorganization committee met the evening of December 18, 1906, and announced arrangements for the purchase of a permanent home for the board, a large brick and brownstone property owned by John Moses at 36 West State Street, in which might readily be placed club features, a commercial museum and other facilities and accommodations. It was declared that there would be no difficulty in raising the \$20,000 required to finance the proposition. A resolution was offered to change the name of the board to the "Commercial Club of the City of Trenton." It was not carried. Later, however, the name was changed to the "Trenton Chamber of Commerce."

SERVICES TO THE CITY OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Progress continued during the months which followed, with the opening of the new quarters, the employment of a full-time secretary and the beginning of concerted effort to gain new industries, to regulate freight shipments and transfers, to abolish grade-crossings, to secure a tunnelled entrance to Cadwalader Park, to protect shade trees, systematize house numbering and street marking and to secure better water and better fire protection.

Actual reorganization of the body was effected as of March 1, 1907. These officers were unanimously elected: President, General Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr.; first vice-president, Edmund C. Cook; second vice-president, Harry S. Maddock; third vice-president, Arthur D. Forst; treasurer, Edmund C. Hill; trustees, C. H. Oakley, H. M. Voorhees, H. G. Stoddard, Robert M. Messler, R. K. Bowman, John E. Gill, John T. Rider, Charles H. Baker, Edward W. Dunham and James Kerney. It was decided that a trained secretary should be secured at once.

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President Sadler, then famous as the promoter of trolley lines connecting Trenton with suburban communities and later noted for his efforts which had largely to do with giving Trenton the restored Masonic Temple and the beautiful Stacy Park along the river front, made an enthusiastic address to his associates, urging whole-hearted efforts for the general betterment of the city.

Announcement was made that a membership of 260 had then been secured and that the number would be speedily increased to at least 500. What a contrast to the membership of 2,000 of the present time!

In 1909 it was decided to dispose of the home building, an advantageous offer having been received from the Trenton Club. Quarters were then taken in the Broad Street Bank Building. These were later removed to the new Stacy-Trent Hotel, where the advantages of ground-floor rooms were available. One of the helpful practices adopted was the holding of annual booster dinners, with national notables for speakers. Monthly membership meetings also served to advance the interests of the organization and of the city. Annual picnics helped to promote good fellowship.

Interests of Trenton have also been advanced in many other ways by the chamber of commerce, among them the publication of booklets and circulars, outlining the advantages and accommodations of the city. In these later years the sanction and cooperation of the chamber has been given to Kenneth W. Moore, publisher of *Trenton*, a monthly magazine devoted to the advancement of the city. The chamber also interested itself in bringing conventions and other large meetings to Trenton and it had much to do with the erection and opening of the city's finest hotel, the Stacy-Trent. Another forward move was made by conducting a slogan contest. The winner was former Senator S. Roy Heath, with "Trenton makes—the World takes." Since then the slogan has been broadcast throughout the country and in foreign lands. Conspicuously displayed in letters of electric lights on the Lincoln Highway bridge across the Delaware River, "Trenton makes—the World takes" has been seen for a number of years by vast numbers of people travelling on the New York division of the Pennsylvania Railroad system.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CHAMBER

Much of the work accomplished by the chamber may be credited to the fine type of Trentonians elected to the presidency. A list of the presidents, prepared in 1928, is as follows:

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|---------|---|
| 1868 | John A. Roebling | 1880 | Adam Exton (uncle of our present Adam Exton) |
| 1869 | Charles Hewitt | | |
| 1870 | Alfred S. Livingston | 1881 | Dr. W. W. L. Phillips |
| 1871 | Jacob R. Freese | 1882-83 | Benjamin Gill |
| 1872 | Ogden W. Blackfan | 1884 | Charles Scott |
| 1873 | George S. Green | 1885 | John A. Campbell |
| 1874 | D. P. Forst | 1886-88 | A. J. Rider |
| 1875 | John Moses | 1889 | Dr. Cornelius Shepherd |
| 1876 | William Dolton | 1890 | William Burgess |
| 1877 | D. B. Coleman | 1891 | Lewis Parker |
| 1878 | John S. Noble | 1892 | B. B. Hutchinson |
| 1879 | James Buchanan | 1893-94 | Edmund C. Hill |

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| | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| 1895 | Dr. H. G. Norton | 1913 | H. Arthur Smith |
| 1896-97 | Henry C. Moore | 1914 | Alfred K. Leuckel |
| 1898 | Ira W. Wood | 1915 | Samuel Haverstick |
| 1899-1901 | Edward B. Dolton | 1916 | John E. Gill |
| 1902-06 | Adam Exton | 1917 | Jesse N. Barber |
| 1907 | Wilbur F. Sadler | 1918-19 | L. L. Woodward |
| 1908 | Robert A. Messler | 1920 | John A. Lambert |
| 1909 | Edmund D. Cook (died May 1909) | 1921 | S. E. Kaufman |
| 1909 | Wm. S. Hancock (elected May 1909) | 1922 | Frank J. Eppele |
| 1910 | Henry C. Moore | 1923 | Arthur H. Wood |
| 1911 | James C. Tattersall | 1924 | Robert C. Maxwell |
| 1912 | Newton A. K. Bugbee | 1925 | D. William Scammell |
| | | 1926-27 | Bruce Bedford |
| | | 1928- | Owen J. Prior |

An outstanding event in the history of the chamber of commerce was the "Faithful Service" dinner of 1924, during the administration of President R. C. Maxwell. It was held on June 7, of that year, in the Trenton Armory, with more than four thousand persons in attendance. More than half of those attending were banqueted. A feature of the program was an address by Herbert Hoover, at that time Secretary of Commerce for the United States. Other speakers included Dr. Charles Browne of Princeton, then representative in Congress from this district, Edward L. Katzenbach, attorney-general of New Jersey; Frederick W. Donnelly, mayor of Trenton; A. T. Dice, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway; General W. W. Atterbury, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; Dr. Charles A. Eaton, president of the American Educational Association and personnel manager of the General Electric Company, who later succeeded Dr. Browne in Congress; United States Senator Walter E. Edge, former governor of New Jersey, and the Rev. Peter K. Emmons, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, who presented on behalf of the chamber a silver loving cup to the late Colonel Washington A. Roebling, for having the longest service with any one concern. Colonel Roebling at that time counted more than seventy-five years of service with the Roebling corporation, of which on two occasions, of several years each, he was the president.

No history of the chamber of commerce would be complete without mention of the men who have served it as secretaries. Among the first full-time employees in this connection were C. Arthur Metzger and Woodward Clum. Early secretaries also included two Trenton men, Colonel Harry B. Salter, later connected with the State auditing service, and Harry D. Conover, a newspaper man, now deceased.

The secretary who gave the chamber its greatest publicity is the man filling the office at the time this History is written—Walter O. Lochner. Mr. Lochner has long been known far and wide as the "flying secretary" because of his enthusiasm as an aviator. In the air on many occasions, Mr. Lochner made a single trip of more than eleven thousand miles, covering many States and landing in many cities. This trip was with the Army's "goodwill flight" of the eastern, central and southern States, and extended into Canada, following a similar expedition to South and Central American countries, with Major Dargue in command.

Mr. Lochner also brought publicity and honor to Trenton by serving as president of the National Association of Commercial Organization Secretaries.

CHAPTER XII

The Courts, Judges and Lawyers; Medicine and Doctors

BY FREDERICK W. GNICHTEL

I. Early Courts and Lawyers

IN THE early records relating to Trenton there is no reference to courts established here or to any lawyers who were living and practising in these parts until after the passage of the Act of 1676 establishing courts.

The County Court of Hunterdon County was at times held alternately at Maidenhead (Lawrenceville) and at Hopewell, but as that was found to be inconvenient, in March 1719, the governor ordered that the courts be held in Trenton, and in 1724 it was enacted that the Supreme Court for Hunterdon County be held here.

The earliest sessions of the courts were held in the house of William Yard on Front Street, at Samuel Hunt's and at other places. The first Court House was built sometime between 1720 and 1730 (the exact date is uncertain), on South Warren Street, and served until 1792. In 1805 it was purchased by the Trenton Banking Company and used until recently as a banking house. The old Court House is described by Raum as a "two-story building erected of sandstone, with stuccoed front. The cells were in the lower story. The upper story was used as a court-room, the entrance to which was by a number of stone steps erected on the outside of the building and surrounded by an iron railing. The steps extended over the pavement, commencing from the gutter, and persons going into the Court House were compelled to ascend from the street. Persons going up and down the street passed directly under these steps."

Lawyers were not popular with the early settlers in the

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Colony. This is shown in the provision in the "Concessions and Agreements" of March 3, 1676, that no person should be compelled to fee any attorney or counsellor to plead his case. It went further and reasserted the common-law right of every person to plead his own case. The truth is that there was very little call for legal services in the early settlements along the Delaware. Settlers were few and land plentiful, but as the population increased, the lawyer appeared as an accepted and necessary part of the community.

THE FIRST LAWYER OF RECORD

The first lawyer located in Trenton of whom we find any record is James Gould, who was admitted as counsellor in 1725. As far as can be ascertained, he confined himself largely to the settlement of estates and to real property. We find an advertisement in 1729 for the sale of a house and ferry known as Heath's Ferry on the Delaware River above the Falls, application to be made to James Gould and Francis Bowes, attorneys-at-law.

Another sale of land in which he was mentioned occurred in 1731 near Yardley's Mill. We also find his signature, in connection with Chief Justice Thomas Farmer and the Grand Jury, upon an address to George II in 1728. He appears in many of the inventories of estates as a creditor. He died in 1743, without leaving a will, and an administrator was appointed on July 2 of that year. The Francis Bowes referred to in connection with him was admitted as a counsellor in 1731. His address is given variously as Trenton, Christiana Bridge and Philadelphia, where he evidently lived in 1743. He appears only in advertisements in connection with the sale of land. His daughter Esther married Colonel John Cox in 1760.

There were probably others who did legal work, some without license, but from that time on the number of duly licensed lawyers increased. Located at the head of navigation, and on the line of travel between two large and important cities, Trenton grew steadily in population and wealth and lawyers became more and more in demand. We have evidence that in the early days they were prosperous.

Joseph Reed who was admitted in 1763, in a letter written in

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1766, after practising three years, states: "There are sixteen courts which I am obliged to attend from home, oftentimes nearly a whole week at each, besides attending assizes, one a year, through the whole Province which contains thirteen counties."

Jasper Smith who was admitted in 1763, referring to the demands upon lawyers, observes that in a few months after his admission he was engaged in as much business as he could attend to, and might have had more if he could have attended more courts. And he, with some pride, states that through his practice he gathered an estate "beyond what my friends and even myself expected."

DEMAND FOR LEGAL SERVICES INCREASED

With Trenton as the county seat of Hunterdon, and with the establishment of the capital here in 1790, the demand for legal services at the sessions of the higher courts increased and attracted more lawyers. In addition to the business which naturally arose in a growing community, the members of the Bar located here represented lawyers in distant parts of the State and appeared for them before the higher courts.

In the early Colonial days, lawyers were admitted on motion, and an extensive knowledge of law was evidently not considered necessary. Laymen were allowed to practise in the courts and many of the judges and some of the attorneys-general during the Colonial days were selected from the laity.

As time passed the courts became more strict regarding practitioners. A five-year clerkship was required of students, which was shortened to four if the student had been admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts in any college in the United States. The student was required to pass an examination conducted by sergeants at law. Later the examination was held in open court or at the tavern in the presence of the justices. After practising three years, another examination was required to become a counsellor.

In addition, the court appointed by rule of court twelve sergeants "for such purposes as have been heretofore used and approved." These were selected from the counsellors, usually

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attending at the Bar. At common law, a counsellor had to be of sixteen years' standing before he could be called. The first sergeants at law were appointed in 1755, and the practice continued until 1839 when it was abandoned. During the entire period seventy-seven were called and they were considered the leaders of the Bar. The appointment was regarded as highly honorable and important as only sergeants could pass a common recovery in the Supreme Court. When the common recovery (which was a judgment recovered in a fictitious suit to get rid of estates tails and remainders) was abolished in 1799, the office became largely a matter of distinction and fell more and more into disuse until it was finally abolished.

It is not possible to give an accurate list of all the lawyers who lived in Trenton in the Colonial days or immediately after the Revolution, but the number is quite large in view of the population of the city and the number of houses erected here. Many of the lawyers practised not only here but elsewhere in the State. The record covering the entire State shows that two hundred and fifty-two attorneys were admitted prior to the year 1800, and of this number Trenton, no doubt, had its due proportion.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME EARLY LAWYERS

The most prominent of the early residents connected with the judiciary was *William Trent* for whom Trenton was named and who was appointed chief justice of the Province in 1724 filling the office with credit until his death. A sketch of his life has been given in detail earlier in this volume (Chapter I).

Trent was succeeded by *Colonel Robert Lettis Hooper* who was appointed chief justice in 1725, served one year and was again appointed in 1729, continuing in that office until his death in 1739. Hooper was a landowner in Trenton and first appears in public life as a member of the Assembly from 1721 to 1725, and was twice recommended for a seat in the Government Council.

Much confusion has resulted from the fact that three persons named Robert Lettis (Lettice) Hooper appear in the records between 1721 and 1797. They lived sometime in Pennsylvania and sometime in New Jersey. The chief justice was the son of Daniel Hooper who came here from the Barbadoes and was a member of Council in 1679. Robert Lettis Hooper, the first of that name, was married August 16, 1701, and had three children—Robert Lettis, James and Isabella. In 1768 an Isabella Hooper married John Johnston of Perth Amboy, and in 1797 an Isabella Johnston became the sole legatee of the third Robert Lettis Hooper who refers to her as his sister.

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General Stryker, in his *Trenton One Hundred Years Ago*, referring to the country seat known as "Belleville," located about one mile west of Trenton near the junction of State and Prospect Streets, says that "after the Revolution, it passed into the hands of Chief Justice Robert Lettis Hooper."

It is well established that Chief Justice Hooper died in March 1739, and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris. The Robert Lettis Hooper who after the Revolution became possessed of "Belleville" was his grandson, the third of that name, who returned to Trenton about that time from his farm near Easton where he resided during the Revolution. The second Robert Lettis Hooper, son of the Chief Justice, died in 1785 at the age of seventy-six and was buried in Episcopal burial ground in Trenton. He was born in 1709 and in 1735 appears in the *Archives* as a resident of Rocky Hill, N.J. He was interested in mills and lands. He removed from Rocky Hill to Bloomsbury, Trenton, in 1751 and had large land holdings in this vicinity. Shortly after his father's death, he was chosen one of the Council of New Jersey, and in 1740 was appointed to secure enlistments in Somerset County for the war between England and Spain. In June 1751, he was one of the managers of a lottery in Trenton for the purpose of erecting a grammar school. In 1759, he advertised certain properties in Nottingham Township, opposite Trenton, which he stated that he or his sons, Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr., and Jacob Roetter Hooper, living at his mill, would show to purchasers. There is a similar advertisement July 12, 1759. The lots located on the road leading to the grist-mill were to be "60 x 181 for a town in Nottingham Township," and the upper part was called Mill Hill, the lower portion Bloomsbury. He is referred to in Raum's *History* as "the man who first laid out Mill Hill and Bloomsbury for a town."¹

Then for a time the father and the sons are involved in some financial difficulties; there is a dissolution of partnership, and the second Robert Lettis Hooper, in 1759, offers to let and later sell his plantation, Bloomsbury Court, describing it "as a large brick house, which he then occupied, located on the Delaware River, south of the Creek near the Trenton Ferry, on a large handsome Avenue of English Cherry Trees." An orchard of three hundred apple trees with the best grafted fruit is referred to, and "peaches damsels, cherries of several sorts, quinces, English walnuts, grapes, raspberries and a large handsome garden." As an additional inducement, he refers to the splendid fishing and the ducks and other water-fowl.

The name of the third Robert Lettis Hooper, the judge of Hunterdon County, first appears in the advertisement published by his father in 1759. He subsequently settled in Northampton County, near Easton, and a letter from there dated July 3, 1759, states that he married a widow, Margaret Biles, granddaughter of Thomas Lambert of Nottingham. There is no record of her death, but on October 31, 1781, he took out a license to marry Mrs. Elizabeth Erskine. Her husband had been in charge of the American Ringwood Company of Bergen County, and on July 6, 1782, the New Jersey Legislature passed an Act:

¹ Mill Hill is the name formerly applied to that section of the city lying south of the Assunpink, including the Court House, and Bloomsbury was adjacent.

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To vest in Robert Lettis Hooper, the younger, and Elizabeth, his wife, and the survivor of them, with powers of agency to take charge of the Estate of the American Company for the purpose mentioned therein.

Mrs. Hooper died in 1795, and her husband died on July 30, 1797, in his sixty-seventh year at his residence called "Belleville," near Trenton. He left no children and the residue of his estate went to his sister, Isabella Johnston of Perth Amboy. He was a man of strong character and took an active part in the Revolutionary War as Deputy Quartermaster General, located at Easton and later in Trenton. He was one of the judges of Hunterdon County in 1782, and from 1785 to 1788 was a member of Council and vice-president of that body during the entire term, acting in the capacity of the governor in the absence of that official. He was an honorary member of the Society of the Cincinnati.

After the war and while living at Belleville, he was active in civic matters in Trenton. As an active member, he signed the first constitution of the Union Fire Company and contributed freely to the purchase of the necessary apparatus. He was also the first deputy grand master of the Grand Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons of New Jersey, and the first senior warden of Trenton Lodge No. 5, which was chartered in 1787, to which, in his will, he presented his silver-hilted sword. In an obituary published in Claypool's *Daily Advertiser* for August 11, 1797, appears this statement:

He had for a long time charge of important offices which he executed with fidelity, and was very much respected in his private relations of life.

Another man prominent in public life, who was not a lawyer by profession but who was selected for judicial honors, was *Daniel Coxe, II*, the son of Dr. Daniel Coxe, I, the physician to Charles II, one of the largest proprietors of West Jersey. He lived at Burlington until the later years of his life when he came to Trenton, and died here. He was appointed an associate justice on November 5, 1707, served for a few years and was again appointed in 1734 and held the position until his death in 1739. He was a public-spirited man and did much in his time and generation toward laying the foundations of our state government and state institutions. In 1730, he was commissioned provincial grand master of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the first Mason to hold that office in America. Other details of his life have been given in Chapter I.

John Coxe, a son of Daniel Coxe II, was a lawyer admitted at the March term in 1735. He practised in Burlington and frequently appeared in matters relating to Trenton. In 1739 he was executor of his father's estate, and in 1753, William Coxe and Robert Lettis Hooper, as executors of the estate of John Coxe, advertised certain lands in Trenton.

In 1750, he had a violent quarrel with Governor Belcher, and in affidavits laid before the Council he referred to the governor in very uncompromising terms. On another occasion, when acting as counsel for Richard Borden, being asked why a certain case pending before the Court of Chancery, over which court the governor presided as chancellor, had not been tried, replied that he could be of no further service to his client in

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that matter; that he was not a courtier and had no interests at court and that he did not expect any justice at the hands of the governor, and told his client to go tell the governor. He stated that he was determined never again to appear before the governor as chancellor.

Jasper Smith was admitted as an attorney in 1763 and practised for many years in Trenton and vicinity. Although there is no record to show what line of practice he pursued, in his will, in which he dwells at length upon his activities, we find that he did a large business and that he accumulated a very comfortable fortune, as he says, out of the practice of law. He died in August 1813 and left personal property amounting to nearly \$17,000 and a large amount of real estate.

His will is a splendid specimen of the old-fashioned will and the manner in which the people of that time approached the testamentary disposition of property. He gives many details of his life, his intense earnestness in dealing with the subject and the quaintness with which he expressed himself makes interesting reading. The first page or two of the will is practically a synopsis of his life and gives the reasons which actuated him in disposing of his property.

Notwithstanding the evident care he gave to the disposition of his estate, long after his death, in 1845, his will was brought into the Supreme Court in litigation. The trustees of the church at Lawrenceville had been enjoined by the will, under pain of forfeiture, from cutting or selling timber within thirty years after obtaining possession, and it was charged by the heirs at law that there had been a breach of this condition. The court decided against the claim, and referring to the motives that actuated him in making the will, says:

They may be clearly read in the history of his life, which, with beautiful simplicity and truthfulness, he has himself recorded; in his humble gratitude to God for His goodness to him; and in his fervent desire to promote and perpetuate the preaching of the gospel, in his native place.

The property has since been sold.

Richard Howell was born in Delaware and came to this State in 1774. He settled at Bridgeton, N.J., was admitted to the Bar at the April term, 1779, and after a distinguished career in the army removed to Trenton upon his appointment as clerk of the Supreme Court in 1788. After his election as governor in 1793 he lived for a time on State Street. During his term as governor, he became an active member of the Hand In Hand Fire Company. He took a prominent part in the reception tendered to George Washington upon his passing through Trenton on his journey to New York to be inaugurated as President. He was the only governor who ever appeared in the field as Commander-in-Chief of the army. This occurred during the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794, when troops were called for by President Washington. He died in Trenton, May 5, 1805. Mrs. Jefferson Davis was his granddaughter.

William Pidgeon was admitted to the Bar in 1750 and lived on King Street. He was married October 6, 1758, to Sarah Hoopes. At the time of the Battle of Trenton his home was occupied by the Hessians. There are no references as to his activities in his profession but he was evidently a

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man of standing and importance in the community. His name frequently appears in connection with the settlement of estates and with lotteries held for the benefit of churches. He was related to the Cottnam family, and Abraham Cottnam, also a lawyer, in his will desired and entreated his friend, William Pidgeon, to assist his executors by his advice.

In 1768 and again in 1776, he advertised his properties in Trenton for sale. His house is described as a two-story brick house with chambers for servants, stable, garden and a small piece of meadow land with a well of good water, situated on King Street, at a spot which corresponds to the second property south of East Hanover Street on the east side of the present Warren Street. The lot contained three-quarters of an acre and extended through to Queen (Broad) Street "on which are placed the stables." Later he removed to Stratford, Monmouth County, where he died on January 5, 1780. By his will he left fifty pounds to the Methodist Society of Trenton for the repair of their meeting house and put three thousand pounds at the discretionary disposal of his executors for charitable purposes and "for the relief of my Negroes as they may merit it." In signing his will he made his mark and a note appended said "the within named William Pidgeon was so burned by getting out of his house when on fire that he could not hold a pen to write his name, but made a mark as above, and escaped in his shirt." Two children, two men servants and a hired man were burned to death at the same time. He lived in Trenton for many years and was one of the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church. He was executor under the will of Daniel Cox and entrusted with many important public duties.

Ebenezer Cowell, the elder, was born December 7, 1716, and died May 4, 1799. He was a brother of David Cowell, the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Ebenezer Cowell, the son, was born in 1743, and having graduated from Princeton, studied law and was admitted to the Bar in 1769. He practised law in Trenton and lived with his brother Dr. David Cowell, a bachelor, and an eminent physician and surgeon, in the first house on the southerly side of Pennington Road. During the Revolution, he and his father, who was a gunsmith, rendered valuable services to the American army in seeing to the repair of guns, etc., and advancing considerable sums out of their private funds to help the cause.

On July 17, 1776, Ebenezer Cowell appeared before the Council of Safety and complained that Sheriff Barnes had refused to receive and execute two writs issued under the authority of the people pursuant to the ordinance of the convention. The sheriff was sent for and admitted that he declined to act as sheriff under the authority of the new government and was removed from office and a new sheriff was appointed. On September 7, 1776, Cowell became clerk of Hunterdon County. He died in 1817 and the notice of his death published in the *Trenton Federalist* of February 17, 1817, states:

That on the morning of the fifteenth of February, he was found dead in the house where he resided, and probably perished in consequence of the severity of the weather.

The winter of 1817 was unusually severe, the reports being that the thermometer was far below the "cypher." He had never married and, after his death, it was found that his entire estate amounted to seventy-nine

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dollars and twenty cents, of which seventy dollars was represented by the value of his books.

On the south side of Pennington Road, a short distance above Calhoun Street, lived *Abraham Cottnam*, one of the leading lawyers of Trenton before the Revolutionary War. In the latter part of his life, he removed to what is now the northwest corner of Warren and Bank Streets and, after his death, the property was turned into an inn by Rensselaer Williams. His sons remained in the old house until 1779 when it was sold to Chief Justice Brearley who had married their sister. Abraham Cottnam was admitted to the Bar as counsellor at the November term, 1746. There is, however, no record of his admission as an attorney. He was also a magistrate. He married a daughter of Joseph Warrell, the attorney-general. In April 1778 his executors (Robert Hoops, his son-in-law, and George Cottnam, his son) advertised for the recovery of his docket taken from the office of Ebenezer Cowell when the enemy was in Trenton. They also offered for sale his late residence, "Dowd's Dale," which was located at the corner of Bank and Warren Streets and consisted of about sixteen acres. Petty's Run ran through the property. It was afterwards turned into a tavern and called the Royal Oak. In his will, Cottnam made the Hon. Daniel Coxe his executor and desired and entreated his friend, William Pidgeon, Esq., to assist his executor with his advice. His son, George Cottnam, who lived with him, was admitted as an attorney at the May term 1780. To his son, Warrell Cottnam, he gave all his law books, including those which he claimed under the will of Joseph Warrell, the elder.

Joseph Warrell, I, was made attorney-general in 1733 and was twice recommended for the Council but apparently did not want the office. He is referred to as a "gentleman of the law," and the title "Notary and Tabellion Public" was appended to his name. There is no record that he was admitted to the Bar in New Jersey. In 1751 he resided on the estate known as "Belleville" near Trenton, and stated in a certificate which he signed for Samuel Tucker that he lived there many years and consequently "could give a good character of Samuel Tucker, *his neighbor*, having known him since Tucker was a boy." He asked leave to resign in 1754 "in order to make his declining years comfortable" and died in the summer of 1758. In 1751, Joseph Warrell, attorney-general, appointed Abraham Cottnam to prosecute an indictment found against Lewis Morris Ashfield, charged with profanity and assault.

His son, *Joseph Warrell, II*, was licensed as an attorney May 13, 1758. He appears in 1753 as the manager of a lottery for the Trenton English and Grammar School, and as the clerk of the circuits. There is no record that he was an active practitioner. He died in 1775. His tombstone in the First Presbyterian Churchyard is inscribed:

In memory of Joseph Warrell, Esq., who departed this life March 6, 1775, age 56 years. This stone is erected, not from pomp or pageantry, but from true affection.

For other thoughts employ the widowed wife,
The best of husbands, loved in private life
Bids her with tears to raise this humble stone,
That holds his ashes and expects her own.

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Lewis Morris Ashfield was a member of the Bar, admitted at the May term, 1746. He lived at the time in Middlesex but in 1759 gave his address as Shrewsbury or Trenton. He was related to Chief Justice Morris and was evidently a man of standing, as on April 30, 1751, he was appointed a member of Council of the Colony. On October 21, following, he was indicted at Perth Amboy, charged with swearing in a most profane manner and damning the King's laws and assaulting the constable with a whip.

It was evidently considered an important affair, and in a letter written by the governor we find that "Young Ashfield is greatly concerned about the affair and is endeavoring in all ways possible to get himself acquitted of this flagrant crime," anxious, no doubt, to assume his duties as member of the Council.

Attorney-General Warrell, who was not present when the indictment was found because of "indisposition," had deputized his son-in-law, Abraham Cottnam, a prominent Trenton lawyer, to represent him and now deputized him to prosecute the Pleas of the Crown for him "in his absence and indisposition." Notwithstanding the evident anxiety of the attorney-general and lawyer Cottnam to convict Ashfield, he was acquitted. The witnesses, even the constable himself, were vague in their recollection of the exact words spoken, and Cottnam, the deputized attorney-general, in order to bolster up his case, took the stand and contradicted his principal witness by testifying to the language as given to him by the constable at the time of the indictment. Governor Belcher was deeply disappointed at the verdict which cleared young Ashfield "by a nicety in law, although I believe everybody thought him guilty." He refused to admit him as a member of the Council. Chief Justice Robert H. Morris did not regard the matter seriously, and in a letter to the Lords of Trade, said,

that the mere accusation of a rash expression used (if at all) when provoked and probably when in drink, seems to be hardly sufficient to justify a disobedience of his Majesty's command.

The Lords of Trade, who had recommended Ashfield and submitted his name to the King, did not approve of the actions of the governor, and Ashfield was admitted. In 1761 he was named as one of the persons to be commissioned to try pirates.

Bowes Reed, a brother of Joseph Reed, was admitted as an attorney on April 3, 1770, but never became a counsellor. He entered public life at an earlier day and in 1776 he was appointed surrogate of Hunterdon. At the beginning of the Revolution, the Provincial Congress appointed him Lieutenant Colonel of a battalion to be raised in Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland and Burlington, and later he was commissioned Colonel of the First Regiment of Burlington. He also held at different times the office of clerk of the Supreme Court, clerk in chancery, deputy secretary of state and, upon the resignation of Charles Pettit (his brother-in-law), he succeeded him as secretary of state. He died in 1794, and was succeeded by Samuel Witham Stockton. He resided for a short time in Trenton but there is no record that he ever engaged in the active practice of the law.

Andrew S. Hunter was admitted as an attorney in 1802 and as counsellor three years later, and practised in Trenton. Very little can be ascertained concerning him, but it is stated that he probably had practised law in some

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other State before practising in Trenton. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Princeton in 1802 and was prominent in Masonic circles.

Samuel Leake was born in Cumberland County in 1747. He was admitted to the Bar in 1776 and his name heads the list as the first licensed attorney after the adoption of our Constitution. He frequently appeared in the Supreme Court, associated with or opposed by the leading lawyers of that day. He opened an office in Salem but in 1785 removed to Trenton where he rapidly acquired an extensive practice and quickly took a leading place at the Bar. He lived on the east side of Warren Street, opposite Hanover Street, and soon became active in local matters. He was a member of the Union Fire Company and a contributor to its upkeep.

Judge Elmer characterizes him as eccentric but regarded him as an honest lawyer, an earnest, sincere Christian, and a man highly respected by the community. He relates an instance which occurred when Governor Bloomfield first presided as chancellor. The question was raised as to retaining the English practice of addressing the chancellor as "Your Excellency." Governor Bloomfield said that he was a republican and did not desire to be addressed by that title. Mr. Samuel Leake, who was present, immediately arose, and with much earnestness and solemnity, addressing the chancellor, said:

"May it please your excellency, your excellency's predecessors were always addressed by the title, 'your excellency' and if your excellency please, the proper title of the Governor of the State was and is 'your excellency.' I humbly pray, therefore, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Bar generally, that we may be permitted by your excellency's leave to address your excellency when sitting in the high Court of Chancery, by the ancient title of 'your excellency.'"

Another prominent lawyer (a brother of Richard Stockton, the Signer) who made his home in Trenton, was *Samuel Witham Stockton* who was born in 1751. He was admitted to the Bar on September 3, 1772, and removed to Trenton in 1794. His home was on the north side of Front Street, just west of the Black Horse Tavern, and the village market was located between his home and the tavern. In 1774 he went to Europe as secretary of the American Commission to the Courts of Austria and Prussia, and while abroad negotiated a treaty with Holland. He was one of the signers of the constitution of the Union Fire Company in 1792, and contributed to the purchase of a new engine. He was senior grand warden of the Grand Lodge of Masons in 1791 and grand master in 1794, and was secretary of state in the latter year.

William C. Houston practised law in Trenton. He was born in Sumter County, S.C., and came north to attend the College of New Jersey (Princeton). After his graduation, he became Professor of Natural Philosophy in that institution.

His father was a Quaker and a prominent and wealthy planter, who refused to give his son a liberal education but consented to furnish him with a horse, clothes and fifty pounds of money to do with as he pleased. The young son gladly accepted and came to Princeton, entering the college as a freshman. To meet expenses, he took charge of a grammar school

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connected with the college, keeping up with his studies at the same time. In 1768 he graduated with distinguished honor and received a silver medal.

Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he was appointed Captain of the Militia of New Jersey and served until March 25, 1777, when he was appointed deputy secretary to the Continental Congress. In 1778 he became a member of the Assembly of New Jersey, and in 1779 a member of the Continental Congress. In 1781 Congress elected him comptroller of the treasury. He was admitted to the Bar of New Jersey in 1781, and the same year was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, which office he held until his death. After resigning his professorship in the College of New Jersey, he became one of the founders and a stockholder of the Trenton Academy. Mr. Houston was also a member of the convention which drafted the Constitution of the United States, and, according to the record, took a prominent part in forming it, although his name is not appended to the instrument.

He served with Chief Justice Brearley on the commission appointed by the Continental Congress which finally settled the dispute, between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, involving a large strip of Northern Pennsylvania. The commission met in Trenton in 1782.³

He died at the age of forty-two.

Isaac De Cow was admitted to the Bar on May 16, 1765. His name frequently appears in connection with advertisements for the sale of lands, and in 1774 he advertised a run-away servant. The advertisement states that:

the run-away had served two years with Isaac De Cow, Attorney at Law at Trenton, New Jersey, but was obliged to fly from the Province for counterfeiting Charles Ogden's name.

Mr. De Cow lived on King Street (now Warren) on the north side of De Cow Alley, now West Hanover Street, in the house that was used in 1799 by President Adams as his official residence. It was later known as the Phoenix Hotel. De Cow was appointed Major of the First Regiment of the Militia of Hunterdon County, and resigned on July 5, 1776. He was active in local matters and an active member of a fire company and of the Masonic fraternity.

Gershom Craft, who lived on Mill Hill on the site which in later years was occupied by Robert Dowling as a hotel, was admitted to the Bar in 1790. He was not active in the practice of law. On July 9, 1798, he joined with William Black in the purchase of the *State Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser*. They changed the name to the *Federalist and New Jersey Gazette* and in September 1800 Craft retired from the newspaper business. In 1803, on September 14, he and several other gentlemen purchased a spring at the head of town from Stephen Scales, and incorporated the Trenton Water Works. The company furnished water to the people of Trenton, at first through pipes constructed of wood which later were replaced by iron. In 1845, the water works were purchased by the city. Shortly after 1803, Craft moved to Falls Township, Bucks County, Pa., and died there in

³ See pp. 629-32, below.

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November 1808. He owned property in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and an inventory of his New Jersey estate was filed January 10, 1809.

James Linn was admitted to the Bar in 1772 while a resident of Somerset County. Sometime between the years 1801 when his congressional term ended and 1805 when he was appointed secretary of state, he removed to Trenton and practised law.

Mr. Linn was a graduate of the College of New Jersey and during the Revolutionary War held a commission as Major in the militia. In 1777 he was elected to the Legislative Council from Somerset County. In 1776 he was appointed "Attorney at Law for the Province of New Jersey" by Governor Franklin, and in the years between 1790 and 1798 he represented Somerset County in the Legislature and in 1796 was vice-president of the Council. In 1798 he was elected to Congress and served until 1801, being a member of that body during the famous election contest between Burr and Jefferson, and voted for Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Linn was afterwards appointed supervisor of revenue of New Jersey. He held the office of secretary of state from 1805 until the time of his death in December 1820. He was highly respected as a citizen but attained no high eminence in his profession, having turned his attention principally to other pursuits.

Maskell Ewing was born January 30, 1758, in Cumberland County and before he was twenty-one was elected clerk of the New Jersey Assembly. He removed to Trenton and held the office of clerk for twenty years. He read law in the office of William C. Houston, was admitted to the Bar in 1788 and practised here until 1803 when he removed to Pennsylvania. His nephew, Charles Ewing, was chief justice of the Supreme Court for many years. During his residence here he took an active part in local affairs and was one of the organizers of the Grand Lodge of Masons.

Aaron D. Woodruff was born September 12, 1762, was admitted to the Bar in 1784, was called as a sergeant in 1792, and during the same year was appointed attorney-general and held the office for over twenty years. He lived on Hanover Street and took an active part in religious and civic matters. He served in the Legislature and was influential in having Trenton selected as the State Capital. In 1787 he assisted in the organization of Trenton Lodge No. 5, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, and became its first master and later was elected grand master.

Richard Salter was commissioned associate judge of the Supreme Court on May 15, 1754. Chief Justice Robert Hunter Morris, on tendering his resignation in 1754, suggested Richard Salter as his successor, describing him as "a man of understanding and fortune, a firm friend of the Government, and one who will act in that station with honor to himself and justice to the public." The resignation of the chief justice was not accepted and Richard Salter was made associate judge. He was a member of the Council for the Western Division and resided here. His appointment was suggested to the chief justice by Judge Charles Reed, who said: "There cannot be a more proper person to supply your place than Mr. Salter. You are no stranger to his abilities."

Jonathan Rhea was born in Monmouth County in 1754, the son of Jonathan and Lydia (Forman) Rhea. Mr. Rhea served during the War of

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the Revolution in the New Jersey line of the Continental army. He was appointed Ensign, Second New Jersey Infantry, January 1, 1777, and Second Lieutenant, April 1, 1778; he resigned November 3, 1783, and was commissioned Captain by brevet. He was admitted to the Bar in 1784 and was twice elected, by the joint meeting, clerk of the Monmouth Common Pleas and in June 1793 was elected clerk of the Supreme Court, which office he held until November 1807. In 1793 he was a presidential elector, casting his vote for John Adams. He was Quartermaster General of the State from 1807 to 1813. He was grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge F. and A.M. from 1805 to 1813. Mr. Rhea was the second president of the Trenton Banking Company, serving as such from 1807 to 1815. He built the old mansion opposite the State House which was afterward sold to Charles Higbee, who in turn sold it to George Fox of Philadelphia, who settled it on Philemon Dickinson, nephew by marriage. Mr. Rhea's daughter Mary was the wife of Garret D. Wall. Mr. Rhea died in Trenton February 3, 1815. A great-grandson was Garret D. W. Vroom.

John Rutherford was born in New York City, September 20, 1760, and was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1776. He studied law, was admitted to the Bar in 1782, and practised in New York City, 1779-87, and later in Edgerston, N.J.; subsequently he came to Trenton, remaining until 1807. He was a prominent churchman and a presidential elector in 1798, 1813 and 1821. He was elected to the United States Senate and served from March 4, 1791 to December 5, 1798, when he resigned. He became a member of the New York and New Jersey boundary commission in 1826, and of the New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania boundary commission, 1829-33. He died in Rutherford, N.J., February 23, 1840.

Garret D. Wall studied law with General Jonathan Rhea, clerk of the Supreme Court, was admitted in 1804 and commenced the practice of law in Trenton. He resided here until 1828 when he removed to Burlington. In 1812 he was elected by joint meeting clerk of the Supreme Court and held the office for five years. In 1829 he was elected governor and chancellor but declined and in 1835 was elected to the United States Senate and was an active supporter of the administrations of Jackson and VanBuren. Later he became one of the judges of the Court of Errors and Appeals where his great legal learning was conspicuously displayed. He died in 1850.

John Moore White was admitted to the Bar in 1791 and called as a sergeant in 1812. He practised in Gloucester County and represented that county in the Assembly. In 1833 he was appointed attorney-general and served until 1838 when he was elected by the Joint Session as associate justice of the Supreme Court, which position he held until February 27, 1845. The *New Jersey Register* for 1837 gives his name in the list of twelve attorneys who lived in Trenton at that time, but after his retirement from the Bench he removed to Woodbury where he died in 1867 at the age of ninety-one.

Micajah How, although not a member of the Bar, for a time was one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Hunterdon County. He was also sheriff. His death was announced in the Trenton newspapers of January 14, 1799.

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For biographical sketches of *David Brearley*, *Joseph Reed*, and *Isaac Smith*, see Chap. II, above.

II. Courts and Lawyers in the Nineteenth Century and After

WITH the establishment of the state and the federal courts in Trenton, lawyers from other localities were naturally attracted and established homes here. A number of these lawyers quickly achieved prominence. This was especially true in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was the practice then, because of the lack of rapid travelling facilities, to employ local counsel to present cases on appeal to the higher courts. This is evident from the early reports, where we find the local lawyers appeared in many of the cases which originated elsewhere.

Notwithstanding these constant accessions, the number was not large. The *New Jersey Register* for 1837, published by Joseph C. Potts, gives the following lawyers resident of Trenton at that time:

John Moore White, admitted in 1791; Samuel L. Southard, 1811; Samuel R. Hamilton, 1812; William Halsted, 1816; Henry W. Green, 1825; James Ewing, 1826; Stacy G. Potts, 1827; Benjamin F. Vancleave, 1830; James Wilson, 1830; Joseph C. Potts, 1833; William P. Sherman, 1833; Isaac W. Laning, 1834.

The population in 1840 was 4,035.

In 1857, with an estimated population of 15,000, *Boyd's Directory* gives the lawyers in Trenton as follows: Henry W. Green, chief justice, Mercer Beasley, William L. Dayton, Andrew Dutcher, James Ewing, E. H. Grandin, Caleb S. Green, Barker Gummere, William Halsted, A. M. Johnson, Frederick Kingman, Isaac W. Lanning, Joseph F. Randolph, Augustus G. Richey, Edward W. Scudder, William I. Shreve, Robert F. Stockton, James Wilson and Stacy G. Potts, associate justice. In 1870, with a population of 22,874, the number of lawyers was forty and in 1900, with a population of 73,307, the number was ninety-six. At the present time (December 1928) there are one hundred and ninety-one lawyers in Trenton with an estimated population of 139,000.

During the period preceding the Civil War, the Bar of Trenton contained among its members many who became active in political life. Some of them achieved high places of honor and

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responsibility and their fame extended far beyond the borders of the State. Outstanding among the many distinguished names, we find Samuel L. Southard, Peter D. Vroom and William L. Dayton whose remarkable careers ran along parallel lines, both in the State and nation. On the following pages are presented brief sketches of these men and other members of the Bar who attained conspicuous success in their profession and in other fields.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Samuel L. Southard was admitted to the Bar in 1811, and after serving in the State Legislature was chosen an associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1815 and removed to Trenton. He remained on the Bench until 1821 when he was elected to the United States Senate. He immediately took a prominent part in national affairs and in 1823 he became Secretary of the Navy under President Monroe and continued in that office under John Quincy Adams until 1829, when he was elected attorney-general of New Jersey and resumed his practice in Trenton. In 1832 he was chosen governor and in 1833 returned to the United States Senate. In 1841 he was presiding officer of the Senate and acting Vice-President after Mr. Tyler succeeded General Harrison, and continued in that position until his death in 1842.

Mr. Southard was regarded as a very able and brilliant man, and was recognized as a leader, not only at the Bar, but in every position he held. His home was in Trenton until 1838 when he became president of the Morris Canal and Banking Company and removed to Jersey City.

Peter D. Vroom was admitted to the Bar in 1813 and after practising at various places settled, in 1820, at Somerville. He served in the Legislature and in 1829 was chosen governor and *ex-officio* chancellor. These offices he held continuously until 1835, except for the year 1832 when Southard was elected. Mr. Vroom's service as chancellor has always been recognized as of exceptional value to the Bar and to the State, and his opinions have done much to settle equitable principles and formulate the practice of the Court of Equity.

In 1838 Governor Vroom was elected to Congress and, notwithstanding the refusal of a certificate by Governor Pennington, he was admitted and seated after a contest in Congress.

At the end of his term he became a resident of Trenton and continued practising here until his appointment as Minister to Prussia. He was regarded as a very able and conscientious lawyer and stood at the head of the State Bar.

William L. Dayton was admitted in 1830. He opened an office at Middletown, Monmouth County, and later removed to Freehold where his ability and character were quickly recognized and he soon had a large practice, not only in the County, but the State courts. In 1837 he was elected to the Legislature and the following year chosen by the joint meeting as an associate justice of the Supreme Court. After serving three years, he resigned and returned to the practice of his profession in Trenton. The following

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year he was elected to the United States Senate to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Southard. During the nine years of Senator Dayton's incumbency he came in contact with the historical characters of that period and took a leading part in the struggles resulting from the Mexican War and the slavery agitation. In June 1856 he was nominated Vice-President on the Republican ticket, and in 1857 was appointed attorney-general and occupied that position until his appointment by President Lincoln as Minister Plenipotentiary to France, at that time one of the most responsible positions of the government. This position he filled with conspicuous ability and to the entire satisfaction of the President. He died suddenly in Paris on December 1, 1864.

Charles Ewing, admitted in 1802, soon ranked as one of the leaders in the State and was called as a sergeant in 1812. In 1824 he was appointed chief justice and held that position until his death in 1832.

Henry W. Green, born in Lawrenceville, studied in the office of Chief Justice Ewing, was admitted in 1825, practised in Trenton and resided here until his death. He served in the Legislature, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1844. Two years later he became chief justice and filled that position until 1861 when he was appointed chancellor. Henry W. Green's services to the State as a lawyer and judge were of the most exalted character and he has been called the idol of his day and generation. His opinions were clear and lucid and helped to mould the judicial jurisprudence of the State. Many of the cases decided by him have been accepted without appeal and are regarded as leading cases. He presided at the Circuit held in Trenton from 1846 to 1860, and added dignity to the Bar and greatly assisted the legal profession in seeking justice for their clients.

William Halsted, Jr., belonged to the family of Halsteds in Essex County and was a brother of Chancellor Oliver Spencer Halsted of Newark. He was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1812 and was admitted to the Bar in 1816. Industrious and indefatigable, he had a large practice, and was usually retained by those who had suits against the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company. He was prosecutor of the pleas in Hunterdon County from 1833 to 1837 and a member of Congress from 1837 to 1839 and from 1841 to 1843. He was appointed district attorney for the district of New Jersey in 1849, and as reporter of the Supreme Court of the State he published *Halsted's Reports* in seven volumes. He raised the First New Jersey Cavalry in the Civil War and went out as Colonel of the regiment, but was not long in the service. He died in 1873, at the age of eighty-four.

Stacy G. Potts, justice of the Supreme Court, studied in the office of Lucius H. Stockton, and later in the office of Garret D. Wall, and was licensed as an attorney in 1827. He was born in Harrisburg in 1799 and in 1808 came to Trenton to live with his grandfather, Stacy Potts, who was then mayor of Trenton. He learned the printing trade and for a time edited the *Emporium*. As a Jackson Democrat he was twice elected to the General Assembly, and in 1831 was appointed clerk of the Court of Chancery, which office he held for ten years. In 1852 he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court and served for seven years and was regarded as an able and conscientious judge, very popular with the Bar and with

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the public generally. He was deeply religious and took a prominent part in church work. He lived on West State Street, just east of the State House, and died in 1865.

Mercer Beasley, who presided at our Circuit for many years, was born in Philadelphia in 1815, attended the College of New Jersey but did not graduate. He studied law in Trenton and was admitted to the Bar in 1838 at about the time the County was formed. He opened a law office on West State Street, near Warren, and later built an office adjoining his home on East State Street, where he lived until a few years before he died. The site of his home is now occupied by the new portion of the Broad Street Bank building. His father was an Episcopal clergyman and at one time rector of St. Michael's Church. He had great familiarity with legal principles and practice and was particularly accomplished in the preparation of pleading and noted for his accuracy and discernment. He served as city solicitor and in 1851 he was the Whig candidate for mayor but failed of election. He served in the Common Council, and was active in civic matters. He was recognized as a good citizen and a learned, forceful and successful lawyer.

In 1864 he was appointed chief justice and held the office until his death in 1897—nearly thirty-three years. At the time of his appointment the College of New Jersey conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The record of his judicial opinions is contained in twenty-nine volumes of the Law Reports and thirty-seven of the Equity. He was of commanding ability and, in the words of Justice Collins, he "presided over our highest tribunal with courtly dignity and matchless skill and added lustre to the bright record of his distinguished predecessors." He had explored and knew all the sources of the law and was entirely familiar with its principles. He was not a narrow case-lawyer, so-called, as the following quotation from his opinion in the case of *Gregory vs. Wilson*, 7 Vroom, 315, 323, will clearly illustrate: "In these days, when legal knowledge is so dearly acquired, and legal learning is so cheaply displayed, a voluminous citation of authorities is apt to look like a petit larceny on the digests."

It is said that Chief Justice Beasley was seriously considered by President Cleveland for chief justice of the United States in 1888, when the late Melville W. Fuller was selected, and that the only reason that Chief Justice Beasley was not named was because of his age, being then seventy-three years old.

In presiding over trials at the Circuit and in the Oyer and Terminer the chief justice was dignified and courteous, and showed patience and kindness in his endeavor to do justice. His charges to the jury were simple and clear and were entirely free from the unusual words that are sometimes found in his opinions. His decisions at the Circuit were rarely overruled.

Upon his death the public press truly said that on his elevation to the Bench the advocates lost from their number one of the very ablest in the whole State, and the judiciary gained a member whose name was known in all courts of the land, and who was equalled in knowledge of law by few, if any, of the eminent jurists of America, and whose decisions were quoted constantly before foreign as well as home tribunals.

Chief Justice Beasley held the Mercer Circuit from the time of his

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appointment until 1890, when he exchanged with Justice Scudder, and until his death presided in Monmouth and Middlesex County.

The chief justice was highly regarded not only by the members of the Bar, but by a large circle of friends. He was a great reader and especially fond of Dickens, but any novel suited him, if it ended happily. He was fond of gunning and was an expert marksman on the wing. Many of his leisure hours at home were spent in wood-carving. In his early days he was celebrated as a billiard player, and had few equals.

Augustus G. Richey, who for many years was a leader of the Trenton Bar, was born in 1819 in Warren County and was a graduate of Lafayette College. Upon his admission to the Bar in 1844, he opened an office in Asbury, N.J., and practised there until 1856, when he removed to Trenton where his legal ability and business capacity were soon recognized and gained him a high class of practice. In 1865 he was elected to the New Jersey Senate and served one term. He was an enterprising and public-spirited citizen and was deeply interested in the welfare and progress of the community in which he lived. For many years he was actively identified with many of the financial, religious and benevolent institutions of the city. As a lawyer he devoted himself largely to commercial and business law and gained high reputation as a safe and conscientious lawyer. He died in 1894.

Bennet Van Syckel was born on April 17, 1830, at Bethlehem, N.J., and upon his appointment to the Supreme Court removed to Trenton where he resided until his death. Almost immediately upon his admittance to the Bar he attained a very high standing because of his legal ability and his knowledge of the law. He was a justice of the Supreme Court until in 1904 when, because of a temporary disability, he resigned. Curiously enough, Justice Van Syckel long outlived every one of his associates on the Supreme Court Bench and survived until 1923 when he died at the advanced age of ninety-three. He lived to be the oldest practising lawyer in the State.

The high personal character of Judge Van Syckel and the noted public service rendered by him during the long period of his active life mark him as one of the outstanding figures in the history of the city and of this State. Graduating from Princeton with high honors at the age of sixteen, he soon thereafter began the study of law and was admitted to the Bar of the Supreme Court in 1851. After practising law for sixteen years in his native county of Hunterdon, he was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court, which position he held by successive appointments for a period of thirty-five years. In 1880 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Princeton College.

Judge Van Syckel was especially noted as a trial judge. The accuracy of his rulings at Circuit and the quickness with which he dispatched business excited universal commendation.

On the Bench of the Supreme Court and the Court of Errors Judge Van Syckel did equally important work. His opinions written therein are marked by brevity of expression, clearness of thought and sound legal learning. They rank with those of the best judges at a time when those courts were famous for their personnel.

Judge Van Syckel's success on the Bench was due in no small measure to his lofty character. He had a conscience void of offense and he kept it so

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clear and so alert that with him the discovery of truth and the detection of error was almost an intuition.

The impress made by Judge Van Syckel on the jurisprudence of this State and the example he set to young and aspiring members of the Bar will keep his memory green for generations to come. He was noted for quickness of perception, alertness of decision and a prompt grasping of the salient features of a cause.

After leaving the Bench, Justice Van Syckel was constantly consulted in important matters and his opinions were highly regarded by the public and usually accepted as final. He was active in church and civic matters and rendered valuable services in connection with many of the public questions which arose during the later years of his life. Golf and horseback riding were his favorite outdoor diversions.

Edward W. Scudder, another justice who presided at the Mercer Circuit, was born at Scudder's Falls in 1822. He was educated at Lawrenceville and Princeton, studied law in the office of the Hon. William L. Dayton and was admitted in 1844. He was a man of affairs before his elevation to the Bench, and was, during a long and successful practice at the Bar, noted for the strictest integrity. He was a member of the State Senate from Mercer County for one term of three years, from 1863 to 1865 inclusive, and he was president of that body in the latter year. He practised extensively in all the courts of the State until 1869, when he was appointed by Governor Randolph one of the justices of the Supreme Court.

He was highly regarded in Trenton and his appointment, it was soon recognized, added strength and dignity to the Bench. He was not a man of impulses, was peculiarly free from prejudice and was always impartial. Of a kindly nature he was beloved by the Bar and it was regarded as a pleasure to appear before him. And with it all, his chief characteristics were a strong, keen sense of the right, and an unswerving desire to do justice between man and man. His judgments were sound and his opinions always clear and lucid and bear the marks of research and labor.

He died suddenly on February 3, 1893, beloved and mourned by the entire State. As was stated in the resolutions adopted by the Supreme Court at the time of his death, "Death came to him so quickly and so mercifully as to remind one of that of the Patriarch in the Scriptures who 'walked with God and was not, because God took him.'"

Alfred Reed was born in Reed's Manor, Ewing Township, in 1839 and had a long and successful career as judge and vice-chancellor. He was first admitted to the New York Bar and afterwards in 1864 to the New Jersey Bar. Establishing himself in this city he soon became prominent in political and social matters. Elected to the Common Council in 1865, he served two years and in recognition of his services he was elected mayor of the city in 1867. In 1869 he was appointed the first law judge of the Court of Common Pleas, serving five years, and in 1875 was appointed justice of the Supreme Court. In 1895 he resigned and was appointed vice-chancellor and served until 1904, when he returned to the Supreme Court and continued in that position until 1911.

He was a sound lawyer and a genial man, always courteous and considerate of others and was a most popular judge. His wide knowledge of

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the law and his experience, combined with ability to dispatch business rapidly, soon won for him a distinction among his learned associates. His retirement was considered a great loss to the Bench. He died December 6, 1919.

James Buchanan, who was appointed judge of the Common Pleas in 1874 and presided for five years, was born at Ringoes in 1839. He was admitted to the Bar in 1864 and immediately afterwards settled in Trenton. He took an active part in civic and church affairs and became one of Trenton's leading citizens.

He was a painstaking and kindly man and enjoyed the friendship and confidence of everyone. He had a long and honorable career in this community, and after leaving the Bench served in the Common Council of Trenton and for eight years represented the district in Congress. A fine portrait, procured to be painted by the members of the Bar who had been students in his office, is now hung upon the wall of the Mercer County Common Pleas Court room—a pleasant reminder of the judge and gentleman. He served but one term and was succeeded by Judge John H. Stewart.

John H. Stewart was born in Warren County and was admitted to the Bar in 1867. After practising in Belvidere a short time he opened an office in Trenton and soon became prominent because of the excellence of his work in preparing and publishing a *Digest of New Jersey Reports*. Later, in 1877, he and Judge Vroom published *The Revision of the Statutes of New Jersey*.

In 1879 he was appointed judge of the Mercer Common Pleas and served for eleven years, until his death in 1890. In Judge Stewart's time the business of the court, especially in its criminal branch, grew to be considerable and important, owing principally to the great increase in the population of the county. Judge Stewart, although he had not been an extensive practitioner at the Bar, displayed marked qualities as a jurist and was a most acceptable judge in every sense of the word. He was a great student and indefatigable worker. In social intercourse he was extremely jovial and told the best of stories in a charming and inimitable manner. He died March 1890.

Robert S. Woodruff was born in Newark in 1841. He came to Trenton with his family when he was nine years old and was admitted to the Bar in 1868. An able and careful lawyer, he soon gained the confidence of the community and served in the Common Council, as member of the school board and in the Legislature. In 1890 he succeeded Judge Stewart and presided upon our Common Pleas Bench for a period of ten years. He had judicial experience for eleven years upon the City District Court Bench before his elevation to the Common Pleas. It was he who discovered and caused the arrest of the murderer Lewis, at Millstone, in 1863, while teaching school at that place.⁴ Judge Woodruff was very popular both as a judge and as a man, and had a host of friends who were delighted to be associated with him. His death, in 1906, some years after his retirement from judicial labors, was exceedingly regretted.

A fine portrait of him presented by the Bar of the County of Mercer,

⁴ See pp. 636-7, below.

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adorns the wall of the Common Pleas Court room, and, as Judge Reed said in his feeling remarks when accepting the portrait, which was presented by Chancellor Walker on behalf of the Bar: "It is a speaking likeness of a kind-hearted and courteous gentleman."

Benjamin F. Chambers was graduated from Princeton College and admitted to the Bar at the November term, 1875. In 1884 he was elected to the House of Assembly, served through the session of 1885, and died during the summer of that year. He was prominent in military affairs, and was assistant adjutant general on the staff of Major General Mott, commanding the Division of National Guard of New Jersey, with the rank of Colonel. Mr. Chambers was able and popular, and gave great promise of a successful career when his untimely death removed him from our midst.

S. Meredith Dickinson was a member of the Bar for many years, but did not practise extensively. He was chief clerk of the Chancery office and distinguished himself by publishing an edition of Chancery precedents in 1879, a revised and enlarged edition of which he published in 1894. These works are the *vade-mecum* of Chancery practice in this State. He was also Chancery reporter, and edited twenty-one volumes of the opinions of chancellors and vice-chancellors. He died January 29, 1905.

Elmer Ewing Green was the son of Caleb S. Green, grandson of Chief Justice Charles Ewing and nephew of Henry W. Green, chief justice and chancellor. He received his early education in the Trenton Academy and was graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1870. He studied law in his father's office and was admitted to the Bar in 1873. He was a member of the Common Council of Trenton from 1882 to 1885, and a trustee of the Theological Seminary at Princeton. He was one of the judges of the Court of Errors and Appeals, as was his father before him. He for many years was a director of the Trenton Banking Company and also acted as its counsel for a time. He was painstaking and able, as his opinions delivered in the court of which he was a judge clearly demonstrate, notably in the case of Mackenzie against Trustees of Presbytery,⁵ in which he showed that what is known as the doctrine of cy pres obtains in this State, that is, that a fund for charity impossible of application according to the intention of the giver shall be applied by the court as nearly as may be according to his intention.

Barker Gummere won laurels at the Bar of this County and more particularly at the Bar of the State, for it was in the state courts—Chancery, Supreme Court and Court of Errors and Appeals—that he was most famous. In 1861 he was appointed clerk in Chancery by Governor Olden and was reappointed in 1866 by Governor Ward, serving for two terms, or ten years in all. During that time he practised but little, and not at all in the Court of Chancery, where, by reason of his clerkship, he was of course excluded from practice. He was not idle, however, but studied deeply in every branch and department of jurisprudence, so that when he returned to the activities of professional life in 1871, he was, perhaps, the most splendidly equipped lawyer in the State. All but the younger members of the Trenton Bar have had the pleasure of hearing this great man argue most weighty causes in the courts, and everyone who has heard

⁵ 67 *N.J. Equity Reports* 652.

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him has been impressed with his profundity, logic, incisive reasoning and ability in marshalling and presenting the facts and the law of the controversy as they presented themselves to him. During later years he practised more after the fashion of an English barrister than an American attorney, that is, he did not meet clients or draw bills or answers in Chancery or declarations or pleas at law for them directly, but held consultations only with lawyers who associated him in their causes and he presented those causes to the courts upon instructions from solicitors and independent researches and investigations made by himself, a way of presenting causes to the higher courts most satisfactory to counsel.

No account of the Bench and Bar of Trenton would be complete without a mention of the life and character of *John P. Stockton*. A Jerseyman through and through, of a distinguished New Jersey family, he was not content to rest upon their laurels, but won distinction for himself. In 1857, when but thirty-one years old, he was appointed by President Buchanan to be Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Rome. He held that position until 1861, when he returned to New Jersey and resumed the practice of law in Trenton. His father and grandfather before him had been United States Senators and he was elected to that exalted position by the Legislature in 1865, but was unseated after serving one year, because, while he had received a majority of the votes cast in the joint meeting of the Legislature, he had not received a majority of the votes of all the members elected to both Houses. He was, however, re-elected to the Senate in 1869, and served a full term of six years, when he returned to Trenton and again resumed the practice of law. In 1877 he was appointed attorney-general and served in that capacity for twenty years. It was in this office, doubtless, that his greatest service to the State was rendered. During his term, grave questions of state policy, including the Act for the taxation of railroad companies, came under review in the courts and were ably advocated and successfully upheld by Attorney-General Stockton. He was a man of simplicity of character, as most great men are, and of extraordinary eloquence, which most great men are not. He had a fine, almost picturesque presence and a most mellifluous voice, which, combined with his eloquence, made him one of the famous public speakers of his day and generation. After relinquishing the office of attorney-general, he practised law for a few years in Jersey City and died quite unexpectedly, revered and regretted by the people of New Jersey.

John T. Bird was born in Bethlehem, Hunterdon County, and studied law in the office of A. G. Richey in Trenton, but practised in Flemington where he became one of the leaders of the Bar. Upon his appointment as vice-chancellor in 1882 Mr. Bird moved to Trenton and resided here until his death in 1911.

In 1882 there were but two vice-chancellors, Van Fleet and Bird, and there was no increase in the number until 1889. During the interim the business increased rapidly and it has been said that Vice-Chancellor Bird heard more cases and wrote a greater number of opinions than any other judge during the same number of years. He was an indefatigable worker, holding court, sometimes, every working day of the week and it was marvellous that he found time to write the numerous opinions he filed.

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He was greatly respected by the entire community and esteemed as a conscientious judge, whose only aim was to do justice in the cases that came before him. Before his elevation to the Bench he took deep interest in political matters and was a member of Congress, taking a prominent part in the stirring congressional controversies of 1868 to 1872. After his retirement from the Bench in 1903 he resumed practice in Trenton. He died May 6, 1911.

Garret D. W. Vroom was born in Trenton on December 17, 1843. He read law with his father, Governor Peter D. Vroom, and was admitted to practice in 1868. His ability as a lawyer soon gave him a commanding position at the Bar of the County and of the State. In 1869 he was made city solicitor, and in 1870 was appointed prosecutor of the County of Mercer. In 1873 he resigned to accept the position of reporter for the Supreme Court, a position which his father had occupied before him, and between them they published fifty-six volumes of the *Supreme Court Reports*. He also, in conjunction with Judge Stewart, prepared for publication the *Revision of the Statutes of New Jersey* in 1877, and ten years later assisted in the preparation of a supplement. In 1894 he and Judge Lanning published *The General Statutes of New Jersey*.

In 1881 Judge Vroom was elected mayor of Trenton and later, when the board of public works was created, he was made its president. An appointment to the Supreme Court was declined in 1900, but in 1906 he accepted an appointment to the Court of Errors and Appeals, which office he resigned in 1913 because of failing health. He was one of the organizers of the General Society of the Sons of the Revolution and was active in the Trenton Battle Monument Association. He had many and varied interests and was prominent in historical and patriotic associations, among them the Society of the Cincinnati.

He was an accomplished lawyer and a cultured gentleman, and was deeply interested in literature. His private library, one of the largest in the State, was filled with choice books and first editions. His work at the office done for the day, his recreation was in his home library. He not only loved books, but was a constant reader and had an intimate knowledge of their contents. He was especially fond of history and biography, and so extensive was his reading and his association with books of this sort that the great leaders and workers of the world became to him "living persons" and "brought him face to face with their subjects."

He was also a great lover of flowers, and his outdoor delight was found principally in the growing of roses. He had one of the finest collection of roses in the State, some of which were of old stock and planted by his father. Judge Vroom was famous as a collector of rare books and autographed letters, and an industrious extra illustrator of interesting books. He died March 4, 1914.

James Buchanan was born in 1849 in Bucks County, Pa., and was no relation to the James Buchanan mentioned above. At the age of thirteen he removed to Trenton with his parents. He began working in a bakery and spent his nights in preparing himself for college, entering Princeton in 1872 and being graduated two years later. He studied law with Augustus G. Richey, was admitted to the Bar in 1877, and quickly gained recognition as a well-prepared and careful lawyer.

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In 1882 Mr. Buchanan represented Henry H. Yard in the suit against the Ocean Beach Association in a claim to the ownership of valuable beach-front land in what is now Belmar. It was some ten years before a final decision in the case was reached by the Court of Errors.

In 1902 Mr. Buchanan was elected to the Common Council and served very efficiently. At the end of two years he was nominated for the office of mayor to oppose Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., and was defeated.

In 1906 Chancellor Magee appointed him equity reporter and advisory master, which positions he filled with conspicuous ability and to the satisfaction of the entire Bar. Mr. Buchanan was always regarded as a thoroughly honest, capable lawyer who honored his profession, and his death was a distinct loss to the city and State. He died October 15, 1916.

John T. Nixon was first admitted to the Bar of West Virginia, and afterwards was admitted in New Jersey and practised at Bridgeton. He was a member of the Legislature in 1849-50 and speaker of the House the latter year; was elected to Congress in 1858 and in 1860 was an elector who supported Abraham Lincoln for President. In 1870 he was appointed judge of the United States District Court for the district of New Jersey and filled the position to the entire satisfaction of the Bar and the public generally until his death in 1889. He removed to Trenton upon his appointment and became prominent here in religious and educational matters. He was trustee of the College of New Jersey and was one of the founders and president of the Board of Trustees of the Lawrenceville School.

Edward T. Green, a nephew of Chancellor Green, was a lawyer of very high order of ability and became judge of the United States District Court in 1889. He was admitted in 1858 and for many years was general counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in New Jersey, a position in which he acquitted himself with great ability and success. He was a genial man, very social in his nature, and proved a very able and painstaking judge, but owing to his untimely death his career upon the Bench was brief and did not give him an opportunity to earn the distinguished reputation as a judge for which he seemed destined.

William M. Lanning was born in Ewing Township in 1849 and after graduating from the Lawrenceville High School in 1866 was a teacher in the public schools of Trenton and Mercer County until 1880, when he was admitted to the Bar as an attorney. A year after he was admitted he was chosen city solicitor and after serving three years was appointed judge of the District Court. He collaborated with Judge Vroom in the publication of the *Supplement to the Revision of the General Statutes of New Jersey*, and later compiled and published a revised edition of the general statutes. He was a public-spirited man, active in the church, a director of the Princeton Theological Seminary and a trustee of the Lawrenceville School, a member of the constitutional commission of 1894 and connected with and active in the conduct of several financial institutions of Trenton.

In 1902 Judge Lanning was elected to Congress and resigned after the first session in order to qualify as judge of the United States District Court of New Jersey. In 1909 he was promoted to circuit judge for the Third Judicial Circuit.

He was noted for the conscientious, painstaking way in which he

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performed every duty that devolved upon him, and to the important litigations in which he figured he devoted his entire time and energy. He died February 16, 1912.

Samuel Duncan Oliphant was born in Pennsylvania in 1824 and was graduated at Jefferson College in 1844 and the Harvard Law School in 1847. He was admitted to the Bar of Fayette County September 1847. With the exception of a few years' practice in Pittsburgh he practised at Uniontown until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion. He commanded the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment and later the 14th of the Veteran Reserve Corps, participating in numerous engagements of the war, including all of the Seven Days' battles. In 1865 he was assigned to the command of the 2nd Brigade of the Garrison at Washington. He moved to Princeton in 1867 and resumed the practice of law in New Jersey. In 1870 he removed to Trenton and was appointed clerk of the United States Circuit Court for the District of New Jersey, which office he held until his decease in October 1904.

George M. Robeson, a distinguished Jerseyman, became a member of the Trenton Bar late in life. He came to Trenton in 1888 and died here nine years later. He was born at Oxford Furnace, Warren County, in 1827, was graduated from Princeton in 1847, studied law in the office of Chief Justice Hornblower at Newark and practised in Jersey City. At the age of twenty-six, while still a resident of Jersey City, he was appointed by Governor Newell prosecutor of the Pleas of Camden County. This occasioned considerable criticism, not on the score of Mr. Robeson's ability, but because the appointment was given to a non-resident of Camden. However, Mr. Robeson removed there and distinguished himself as a prosecutor. During the Civil War he was appointed Brigadier General by Governor Olden and took an active part in the organization of the state troops. In 1867 he was appointed attorney-general by Governor Ward. During his term as attorney-general he assisted the prosecutor in the various Counties in the trial of homicide cases and at one time there were seven persons in this State under sentence of death, whom he had prosecuted, including a woman who was later executed at New Brunswick. In 1869 he was appointed Secretary of the Navy by President Grant and held the office during both terms of that President. He was severely criticized during this period but his claim has always been that his policy as Secretary of the Navy laid the foundation of our modern navy. He was a very large man, which in connection with other striking personal traits made him a favorite with cartoonists. *Puck* had a cartoon with General Robeson almost every week and it is said that he was the most caricatured man of his day.

At the close of his term in the Cabinet he returned and practised law in Camden until his removal to Trenton eleven years later.

General Robeson was concerned in many important cases. He was a man of marked ability as a lawyer and as a statesman and was a most impressive public speaker. He took part in the litigation in the early '80's, following the attempted combinations on the part of some railroads, and appeared for the railroads when the constitutionality of the Railroad Tax Act of 1884 was raised in the Supreme Court and later the Court of Errors. He also appeared for the defendants in a number of murder trials,

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among them the Hunter case in Camden, one of the famous cases which attracted great attention because of its sensational features and the prominence of the people involved.

General Robeson served two terms in Congress and was practically leader during the entire time. Upon his defeat in 1883 he retired permanently from politics and devoted himself to the practice of law, at first in Camden and later in Trenton. He died in Trenton September 28, 1897.

RECENT LOSSES

Among the more prominent members of the Mercer County Bar who have recently passed away and who deserve at least a brief mention here are Linton Satterthwaite, who had a mind of keen analytical order and whose arguments before the Supreme Court on constitutional questions were always listened to with great respect; Francis B. Lee, a popular Trentonian better known as a local historian and publicist than as a lawyer; Francis C. Lowthorp, a man of culture, of a genial spirit and popular among his fellows; William J. Crossley, for several terms prosecutor of the pleas, an effective political orator and a criminal lawyer of recognized ability; John A. Montgomery, judge of the City District Court, witty, courteous and a quick dispatcher of business; James S. Aitkin, a forceful and progressive lawyer, highly esteemed by his co-workers and clients; Bayard Stockton, many years ago prosecutor of the pleas and at the time of his death chancery reporter, an able and painstaking lawyer, trustee for many estates with a large clientèle in Princeton, than whom none was more highly esteemed and trusted; Barton B. Hutchinson, an active, highly respected, hard-working lawyer, member of the Assembly and of the Senate with a large and lucrative practice; and Carroll Robbins, advisory master and chancery reporter, a genial lawyer of great industry with a love for mathematics and intricate problems, who died suddenly, beloved by the Bar and the public generally. For many years he served on the School Board, and one of our largest schools is named in his honor.

THE BENCH AND BAR TODAY

The Bench and Bar of Mercer County continue today as in the past to uphold the fine traditions inherited from their predecessors. The time has not yet come to pass final judgment

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upon the leaders of the Bar now active in this community, but perhaps it is not too much to say that as a body the judges and lawyers of today are no less worthy of esteem than were those who flourished here in the past. Certainly there was never a time in the history of Trenton when a larger proportion of high official positions were filled by men who live in Trenton and who for the most part are closely identified with the life and interest of their home town.

Two associate-justices of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., and Thomas W. Trenchard, are citizens of Trenton, and Edward L. Katzenbach, the present attorney-general, is also a Trenton man. United States district judges living here are John Rellstab and Joseph L. Bodine, and J. Warren Davis lives in close proximity to the city on the Lawrenceville Road. The chancellor of New Jersey, Edwin Robert Walker, now serving his third term in that high office, has lived in Trenton for most of his life, though he was born elsewhere. Vice-Chancellors John H. Backes and Malcolm G. Buchanan come of old Trenton families. All of these are public-spirited citizens and men of distinction in the community as well as legal lights of state-wide eminence. Most of them have made their professional careers in Trenton and have won their way to the positions which they now hold through ability and character displayed while practising at the local Bar.

To mention the names of Trenton lawyers active at the present time would be to call a roll of over one hundred and fifty practitioners, many of whom are on the way to success if they have not already attained it.

THE DISTRICT COURT

The District Court of the City of Trenton was established under the Act of 1877 to take the place of the Court for the Trial of Small Causes. The jurisdiction at that time was limited to two hundred dollars and was later increased to five hundred dollars; efforts have since been made to increase the limit to one thousand dollars.

Robert S. Woodruff was the first judge appointed and retained that position for about eleven years, until his promotion

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to the County Bench. He was followed by William M. Lanning who occupied the Bench until 1891. He was appointed by the joint session but in 1891 the law was changed placing in the hands of the governor the appointing power and Chauncey H. Beasley was appointed. He was succeeded in 1896 by John Rellstab who occupied the position until 1900, when he was promoted to the Court of Common Pleas and was succeeded by George W. Macpherson. Since that time Huston Dixon, John A. Montgomery, Charles H. English and J. Conner French, in the order named, have occupied the position of judge of that court.

The Court is noted for its expeditious way of disposing of business and has always been very popular with litigants.

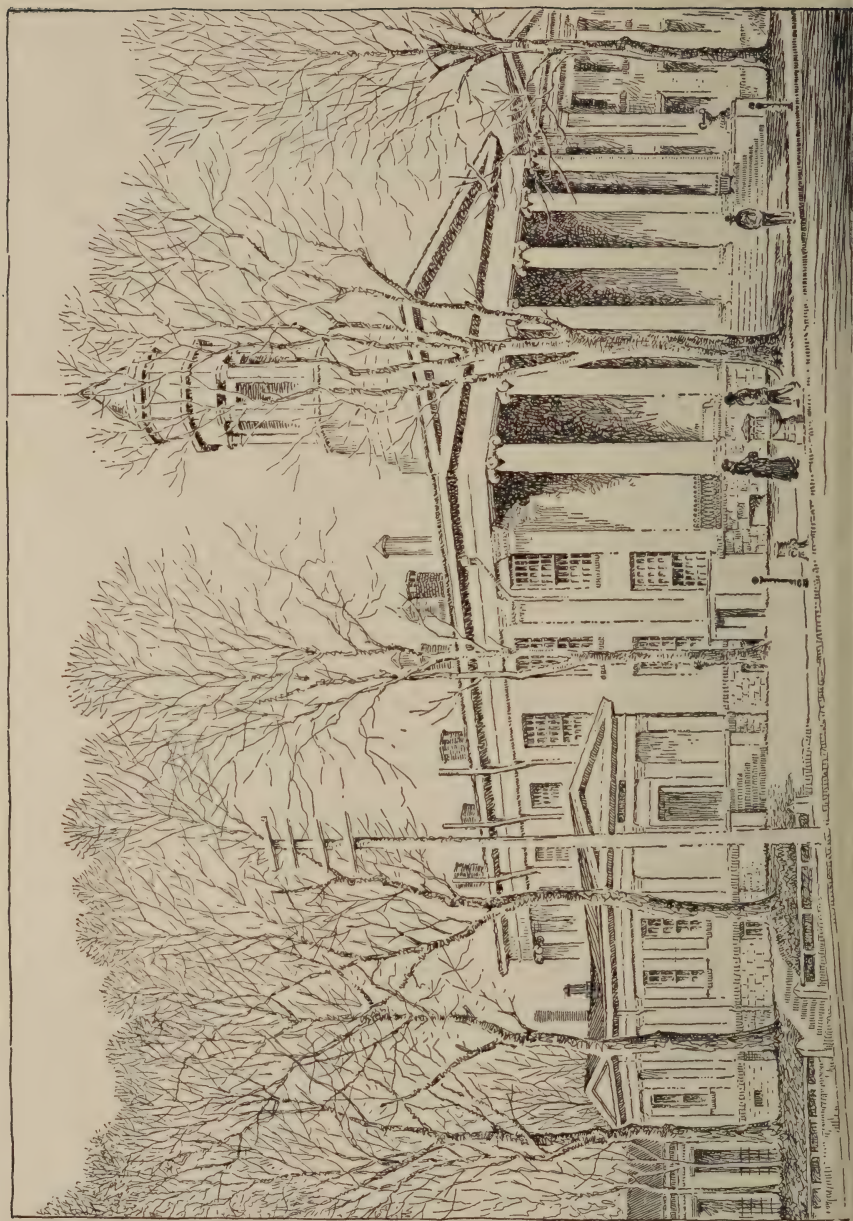
THE FEDERAL COURTS

Sessions of the United States District Court were held in Trenton at an early date. The first judge was David Brearley, a resident of Trenton. He resigned the chief justiceship of the State of New Jersey to accept the office and died in 1790, after having occupied the place for less than a year.

No other resident of Trenton occupied the office until 1870 when Judge John T. Nixon, a member of the Cumberland County Bar, was appointed and removed to Trenton. Later, Trenton was represented in the Federal Court by Edward T. Green and William M. Lanning, and at present John Rellstab and Joseph L. Bodine, both members of the Trenton Bar, occupy the Federal Bench.

THE COURT HOUSE

Soon after the formation of the County of Mercer in 1838, steps were taken for the erection of a new Court House. There was some rivalry as to where it should be located. Lawrenceville, Hamilton Square, White Horse and the present location, then known as "Mill Hill" were suggested, and only after a spirited contest was it finally located at Broad and Market Streets. The old building with its large Corinthian columns was of pleasing architecture, and with the surrogate's office on one side and the clerk's office on the other, surrounded by large



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shade trees, made a very attractive and impressive picture. In 1863 a new jail was built and later the clerk's office was enlarged, but the old Court House, with its large courtroom, ventilated by ten large windows, continued to serve the public down to 1904, when it was torn down and the present building put in its place.

The first term of the courts of the new County was held in June 1838, and was presided over by Justice Dayton. The court was attended by Sheriff Richard Jacques, County Clerk Richard H. Shreve, and Surrogate William P. Sherman. The Pleas were prosecuted by Richard S. Fields, the attorney-general, which was then the custom, although James Wilson had been appointed prosecutor of the new County.

No law judge was appointed to preside in this County until 1869 when Alfred Reed was named; he held the office for five years and was followed by James Buchanan who served one term and was succeeded by John H. Stewart who occupied the Bench until his death in 1890. Robert S. Woodruff followed him, presiding until 1900 when he was succeeded by John Rellstab, who, in 1909, was promoted to the United States District Court and was succeeded by Frederick W. Gnichtel who held the position until 1916 when the present occupant, Erwin E. Marshall, was appointed.

THE MERCER COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION

The Mercer County Bar Association was established March 26, 1901. There had been associations in existence prior to that time but the need for organization was not felt and the meetings were irregular. Some years before the establishment of the present organization, the law students of the city formed an association known as the Kent Association which had regular meetings to aid the students in the study of law, and had an annual dinner to which the members of the Bar were invited and which was largely attended by them.

On March 26, 1901, the Kent Association met for the last time and celebrated its last annual banquet at the Trenton House, and was then merged into and thereafter became known as the Mercer County Bar Association. The first officers elected

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were: President, John T. Bird; vice-president, Robert S. Woodruff; secretary, Frederick W. Gnichtel; and treasurer, Frederic L. Hulme. The following constituted the board of trustees: Bayard Stockton, Frank W. Katzenbach, Jr., John H. Backes, Edwin Robert Walker and James Buchanan.

III. Some Notable Cases Tried in Trenton

AS THE capital of the State and, in later years, as an increasingly active industrial, commercial and financial center, it is only natural that Trenton should have been the scene of many an important or intensely interesting bit of litigation. The old records of trials and decisions offer, indeed, countless examples of cases which are of more than passing interest particularly to a lawyer. There remain, on the other hand, many cases of historical and general interest, but the exigencies of space permit the recording of only a few and the brief summaries which are given below by no means exhaust the record of notable trials which have taken place in Trenton and which might well be referred to here.

THE TENNENT CASE, 1741

The trial of William Tennent for indictment in 1741 probably aroused more lasting interest than any other case tried in New Jersey. For more than half a century after the occurrence and long after the death of the active participants, the oral version was current among the people and constantly repeated, with emphasis on the appealing features, until it finally saw print as a distorted account of what was originally quite an ordinary trial, interesting at the time because it involved two well-known and prominent ministers of the day. It grew out of what was evidently a case of mistaken identity, the witnesses for the original defendant being themselves tried on the charge of perjury.

One Tom Bell, a well-known character, notable in New Jersey and the neighboring Colonies for all sorts of lawless escapades, was mistaken one evening in Princeton by John Stockton for the Rev. John Rowland, a prominent Presbyterian minister. He disclaimed the honor, but immediately realized the possibilities that the resemblance offered for profitable adventures.

Almost without delay, he repaired to a parish in Hunterdon County, where Mr. Rowland was only slightly known, and introduced himself to a prosperous farmer as the famous itinerant evangelist. He was cordially received, and was invited to supply the vacant pulpit of the parish on the following Sabbath. When the day came and the family and the supposed

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preacher were on the way to church, the latter announced that he had forgotten his sermon. The head of the family thereupon placed the speedy horse upon which he was riding at Bell's disposal. Bell returned to the empty house, rifled it, and with horse and booty sped away to parts unknown.

Complaint against Mr. Rowland was presented to the Hunterdon County grand jury. Twice the jury came in with no indictment, but the judge sent them back for a third deliberation, when a true bill was returned. The utmost efforts were put forth to secure witnesses for the prosecution. Those to whom Bell (with the horse in his possession) had introduced himself as Rowland, were subpoenaed.

The case came to trial in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, Trenton, June 15, 1741. The defense was an alibi. The Rev. John Rowland, the defendant, testified that at the time the horse was stolen, he, the Rev. William Tennent, Jr., and two laymen were on an evangelistic tour in a neighboring Colony. Mr. Tennent, Benjamin Stevens and Joshua Anderson, the two laymen in question, all testified to this fact, and there was nothing for the jury to do but to bring in a verdict of acquittal.

THE FIRST VERDICT FAILS TO SETTLE THE MATTER

But this did not settle the matter. The owner of the horse was sure that it was Rowland who robbed him, and there were many people who were just as positive. The chief justice and his friends claimed that the ends of justice had been defeated by perjury, and that, too, on the part of the pastor of the largest church in the Presbytery, and they determined to take further legal action in the matter.

The Presbytery was arrayed in two hostile camps during the summer and great excitement prevailed. The indictments against Tennent and Stevens were found in the Court of Quarter Sessions for Hunterdon County, August 6, 1741.

The story of the trial appeared in print for the first time in "The Life of Rev. William Tennent," published in *The Assembly Magazine*, March 1806, of which Dr. Elias Boudinot was editor, and was incorporated in Alexander's *Log College*, published in 1845, where it was given wide publicity. The memoir was largely the work of Dr. Thomas Henderson, a ruling elder of Old Tennent Church, a son of John Henderson, who was ruling elder of the same church for a greater part of the pastorate of the Rev. William Tennent. Dr. Henderson gathered the facts of the trials and the incidents connected therewith from his parents, who in their turn had been intimately associated with Mr. Tennent all through the trying ordeals. It is surmised that Dr. Boudinot also received data from his father-in-law, John Stockton.

At the time of the publication all the participants had passed away, and Dr. Thomas Henderson, who was born in 1743, had no personal knowledge of the facts.

Under these conditions, it will readily appear that there was abundant opportunity for the traditional element to have full sway. The story had been handed down from one to another, each, no doubt, adding to the original account until the facts were lost sight of, and supernatural features brought into prominence.

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SUPERNATURALLY SUMMONED WITNESSES

The most interesting portion of the Henderson-Boudinot account is that relating to the happenings on the morning of the Tennent trial, when his legal advisers met, apparently to begin preparations for the defense of their client. What took place at that time, as related in the *Log College*, which is taken from the original publication of the story in 1806, follows:

Upon inquiry as to what witnesses he had, Mr. Tennent answered that he did not know of any witnesses but God and his own conscience. Mr. Coxé replied: "If you have no witnesses, sir, the trial must be put off; otherwise you most certainly will be convicted. You well know the strong testimony that will be brought against you, and the exertions they are making to accomplish your ruin." Mr. Tennent replied: "I am sensible of all this, yet it never shall be said that I have delayed the trial, or been afraid to meet the justice of my country. I know my innocence, and that God whose I am, and whom I serve, will never suffer me to fall by these snares of the devil, or by the wicked machinations of his agents or servants. Therefore, gentlemen, go on to the trial."

Mr. Tennent left the conference and then, according to the original narrative, through witnesses apparently produced by supernatural means, the minister was acquitted. The statement which follows is apparently as it passed current for more than half a century and as it first appeared in print in 1806:

"Mr. Tennent had not walked far in the street, before he met a man and his wife, who stopped him and asked if his name was not Tennent. He answered in the affirmative and begged to know if they had any business with him. The man replied, 'you know best.' He told his name, and said that he was from a certain place in Pennsylvania or Maryland; that Messrs. Rowland, Tennent, Anderson and Stevens had lodged either at his house, or in a house where he and his wife had been servants (it is not now certain which) at a particular time, which he named; that on the following day they heard Messrs. Tennent and Rowland preach; that some nights before they left home, he and his wife waked out of a sound sleep, and each told the other a dream which had just occurred, and which proved to be the same in substance, to wit, that he, Mr. Tennent, at Trenton, was in the greatest possible distress, and that it was in their power and theirs only, to relieve him. Considering it as a remarkable dream only, they again went to sleep, and it was twice repeated, precisely in the same manner, to both of them. This made so deep an impression on their minds, that they set off, and here they were, and would know of him what they were to do. Mr. Tennent immediately went with them to the Court House, and his counsel, on examining the man and his wife and finding their testimony to be full to the purpose, were, as they well might be, in perfect astonishment. Before the trial began, another person, of a low character, called on Mr. Tennent, and told him that he was so harassed in conscience, for the part he had been acting in this prosecution, that he could get no rest till he had determined to come and make a full confession. He sent this man to his counsel also. Soon after, Mr. Stockton from Princeton appeared, and added his testimony. In

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short, they went to trial and satisfied the jury so perfectly on the subject, that they did not hesitate honorably to acquit Mr. Tennent, by their unanimous verdict of not guilty, to the great confusion and mortification of his numerous opposers."

MANY IMPORTANT DETAILS LACKING

The whole affair makes a good story with dramatic possibilities. At the same time it ignores many details, which would have added to the interest. The parish in Hunterdon County where Mr. Rowland, the travelling preacher, was only slightly known—the name of the prosperous farmer who was deceived and robbed by Tom Bell—the place where Tennent and Rowland were preaching—the names of the witnesses who were summoned by the remarkable dream—all these matters must have been well known at the time of the trial but are evidently regarded as not worthy of mention. Yet, notwithstanding these omissions of important details, there is ample basis for the story as shown by the records of the Supreme Court.

An examination of the facts by Richard S. Fields, Esq., of Princeton, afterwards judge of the United States District Court, and a further exhaustive study of the records by Chancellor Henry W. Green, lead to the conclusion that Tennent was represented by eminent and able counsel, men of the highest standing in the community. The case was regarded as an attempt to persecute an eminent minister, and his lawyers, actuated by their religious zeal and their regard for the honored pastor of the oldest church in the Presbytery, took all the steps necessary to bring out the truth in the case before the court. This is amply supported by the records of the court.

The conclusion reached by Richard S. Fields, Esq., is:

"On the whole, I am strongly inclined to believe, notwithstanding the affair from the beginning to end was not a little extraordinary, yet that there was nothing in it which may not readily be accounted for upon natural principles."

In 1868, Chancellor Green examined the old records still on file with the Supreme Court and rejects the idea that counsel went to trial without a thorough preparation and asserted "with perfect confidence" that the acquittal of William Tennent "was not effected by supernatural means, and that the attendance of the witnesses was not procured by a dream."

Whatever it was that actually happened, the fact remains that the Presbytery had been kept in turmoil for over a year and the verdict was hailed as a signal triumph over "the sons of Belial."

THE TRENTON DECREE, 1782, IN THE PENNSYLVANIA-CONNECTICUT DISPUTE

In 1782 Trenton was selected as the meeting place of a Court of Commissioners appointed by the Continental Congress to hear and determine the controversy which involved a claim on the part of Connecticut to the jurisdiction and ownership of a considerable portion of northern Pennsylvania. The case was one of the most important ever tried in this city; the parties were two sovereign States and thousands of square miles of fertile land, now part of the State of Pennsylvania, were under dispute.

The decision in the case is known as "The Trenton Decree" and terminated

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a controversy which had been pending since 1757 and which caused intense ill-feeling between the two Colonies, with actual war for a considerable portion of that period.

In order to make the matter clear, it is necessary to go back more than a century previous, when the lands in the eastern part of this continent were parcelled out by the British Crown. The grants were usually in generous terms, but vague in description and with frequent overlaps, due to ignorance of the geography of America.

Under a charter issued in 1662 Connecticut received the land now embraced within the northern and southern boundaries of Connecticut and extending from Narragansett Bay on the east to the "South Sea" on the west. The charter excepted any land then under the dominion of any other Christian Prince or State, and assuming the South Sea to be the present Pacific Ocean, the charter gave the State of Connecticut a well-founded claim to a strip of land extending westward to the Pacific excepting only a strip of New York State. Connecticut also claimed priority by reason of a deed from the Indians in 1754, and by actual settlement in 1762. In 1681 the same King who issued the Connecticut charter granted a charter to William Penn for a tract of land which had for its northern boundary the 42nd degree of latitude, thus overlapping by one degree the grant made nineteen years before to Connecticut. For nearly a century Connecticut made no active claim to the land and it was only after all the territory within her undisturbed boundary had been preempted that she turned her eyes to the west.

The proprietors of Pennsylvania maintained that when their charter was granted, the eastern boundary of New York State had been decided by the attorney-general of England to be the western boundary of Connecticut, and that this decision restored the lands westward to the Crown and laid them open to a new grant. Although Pennsylvania did not purchase from the Indians until 1768, and did not effect any settlements until a year later, she claimed that Connecticut obtained its deed by fraud, that undue influence was resorted to and that rum played an important part in inducing the Indians to execute the instrument.

Pennsylvania never admitted the claim of her sister Colony and ignored the grants made by Connecticut by making grants of the same lands to her own citizens. This led to conflicts between the settlers, at first confined to the land-owners themselves, but later some bloody clashes took place between the official representatives of the two States. In some cases settlements were completely destroyed. The settlers from Connecticut were called "Yankees" and those who claimed under grants of Pennsylvania were "Pennamites," and thus is derived what is known in history as the "Pennamite War."

Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation warning the trespassers off and enjoined all state officials to prosecute and bring to justice the intruders. He communicated with the governor of Connecticut who was firm in his position and refused to vacate. The Indians became threatening and in 1763 they fell upon all settlers alike and massacred them indiscriminately.

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A STATE OF ACTUAL WARFARE

Actual warfare existed for about three years and the Connecticut men were assisted by some citizens of Pennsylvania who sympathized with them, claiming they were the victims of land speculators and that whatever Pennsylvania did they should recognize the titles as legitimate.

In 1773 commissioners were appointed by Connecticut to treat with the commissioners of Pennsylvania but nothing was accomplished and Connecticut boldly extended her authority by establishing local governments and assuming active control. During the Revolution there was a lull in the strife between the two States and both turned their attention to meet the common foe, but as the Revolutionary War drew to a close, preparations were made to continue the controversy. Instead of resorting to force, Pennsylvania took advantage of a section of the Articles of Confederation, which provided that the "United States in Congress assembled shall be the last resort of appeal in disputes and differences now subsisting or that may hereafter arise between two or more States, concerning boundaries, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever."

The petition was presented to the Continental Congress, which at once took cognizance and sent notice to Connecticut. After some delay an agreement was reached under which William Whipple of New Hampshire, Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island, David Brearley and William Churchill Houston of New Jersey, Cyrus Griffin and Joseph Jones of Virginia, and John Rutledge of South Carolina were appointed commissioners to try the matter. Later it was learned that General Greene and John Rutledge could not attend and Thomas Nelson of Virginia and Welcome Arnold of Rhode Island were substituted. Congress approved the selection and constituted a Court of Commissioners. The two members from New Jersey, David Brearley and William Churchill Houston, were both members of the Bar and residents of Trenton.

THE COMMISSION'S DECISION

The commission met in Trenton on November 12, 1782, and continued in session until December 30 following, and the case was presented by able counsel from Connecticut and Pennsylvania. The court declined to order notice to be given to the settlers who claimed the land, holding that the right of the soil did not come before them; that the question they were empowered to decide was solely that of jurisdiction. With this preliminary ruling and after hearing the arguments of counsel, the Court on Monday, December 20, 1782, gave its decision in these words:

"We are unanimously of opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and preemption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, does of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania."

The "Yankee" settlers accepted the result as determining only the question of jurisdiction and not the title or right of the soil. They acquiesced in the verdict since their understanding was that they were not to be disturbed in their holdings. In this Pennsylvania did not agree, and when

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they learned that the troops sent to the Wyoming Valley to guard them against Indians were also present to protect the settlers under Pennsylvania titles as against those derived from Connecticut, the conflict was reopened. But it was the beginning of the end. The Connecticut settlers were compelled to go. Entire families were turned out of their homes and reduced to destitution and compelled to leave the Wyoming Valley. They suffered great hardships as they were driven by the troops some eighty miles from the Wyoming to the Delaware Valley. Their harsh treatment produced a reaction in Philadelphia and throughout Pennsylvania. Later it was learned that the commissioners in rendering "The Trenton Decree" also wrote a letter suggesting to Pennsylvania that the settlers from Connecticut be permitted to remain undisturbed in their possession until proper steps could be taken to decide the controversy respecting the private right of soil. Public opinion was aroused and checked the further eviction of the settlers. Pennsylvania was criticized because of the treatment of the settlers and Connecticut because she retired from the controversy, leaving her settlers to fight for the land which they had purchased from their State.

In 1787 the matter was compromised by granting to the settlers seventeen townships in which settlements had been made before the decision was rendered, they to relinquish their claims to the other lands. This and the passage of a number of Acts by the Pennsylvania Legislature, and the appointment of a commission, finally adjusted the matter.

Although this commission was established by the Continental Congress, under authority of the Articles of Confederation to arbitrate and settle a controversy between what were then independent sovereign States, and despite the importance of the issue, very little mention of the matter is made in history. It evidently made very little stir in Trenton, because no mention of it is found in the early histories.

HENDRICKSON *v.* DE COW, 1832

It is not often that a court of justice is called upon to inquire into the doctrines and opinions of a religious society for the purpose of deciding whether they are right or wrong. A court is without power to make such inquiry for the purpose of enforcing any particular belief, but may inquire into it when substantial rights are involved. This was first decided in 1832 in a famous case known as *Hendrickson v. De Cow* which grew out of a difference of religious views in the Society of Friends. The basis of the action was as follows:

BASIS OF THE ACTION

It appears that in 1827 there was a division in the Society of Friends; one party became known as the Hicksites, and the other as the Orthodox. The latter were connected with what was known as the Arch Street Yearly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia; and the Hicksites, by whom De Cow was appointed, were connected with the Greene Street Meeting. At some date prior to the division, the Society of Friends of Chesterfield had made a loan to Thomas L. Shotwell who in turn had made a mortgage to Joseph Hendrickson, the treasurer of the School Fund of the Meeting. When the time came for the foreclosure of the mortgage, Shotwell admitted the debt but asserted that he had been warned that Hendrickson was no longer

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treasurer of the fund and that Stacy De Cow, as his successor, claimed the money represented by the bond and mortgage.

The matter came into the Court of Chancery, both parties claiming to represent the ancient Society of Friends and as such entitled to the fund, and it was submitted to the chancellor to decide the true ownership. The chancellor had been counsel for one of the parties and declined to hear the case. He called to his aid Chief Justice Ewing and Associate Justice George K. Drake who sat as advisory masters. It was argued by most distinguished counsel and in the most elaborate manner. George Wood and I. K. Williamson appeared for the Orthodox, and G. D. Wall and S. L. Southard represented the Hicksites.

A hour was consumed in the argument and in the reading of the testimony, which filled two large volumes. The case involved questions of law, of fact, and of theology. The argument took place in Trenton and the courtroom was crowded by the interested parties. Chief Justice Ewing, after a thorough and careful examination of the testimony and the arguments, and an investigation into the beliefs and differences of the parties, decided that the Arch Street Meeting was the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, and that the Greene Street Meeting was not, thus upholding the Orthodox Friends. He declined to pass on the religious difference, if any, between the two parties, but, as a matter of law, decided in favor of the Orthodox party.

Judge Drake also wrote a long opinion in which he said that the division was based on a difference of religious views, which he examined at great length, and finally came to the conclusion that the large fund was established by the Orthodox Society by members who had no thought of diverting it into the hands of men who entertained views differing from those entertained by the contributors. He declined to express any opinion with regard to the doctrines entertained by the Hicksites, but held that, under the law, the fund should be awarded to the Meeting which had shown that they agreed in doctrine with the Society of Friends as it existed at the origin of the trust.

DECISION OF THE COURT OF APPEALS

The case was finally taken to the Court of Appeals presided over by Chancellor Seeley, who was the governor, and argued in July 1833. The decree of the Court of Chancery was affirmed, and in announcing the result Governor Seeley read a carefully prepared recommendation suggesting that the litigants should make an amicable compromise in regard to the property in dispute and the other property held by the Society. This was later carried out by a special Act passed February 11, 1836, which provided that the rights, estates and property of the incorporated Society of Friends should not be hurt, "endamaged" or affected by the division, secession or separation, which had occurred in the Society; that the personal and real estate should be divided equitably and ratably in proportion to the number of members who had joined or attached themselves to either of the said parties; and in case they could not agree upon such division, application might be made to the Court of Chancery for a proper division, and that such property should be held upon the same trusts, upon which the property was theretofore held. That the burial grounds were to be held forever in common for the burial of members of either side, and their descendants.

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In pursuance of the provisions of the Act, the matter was compromised by the Society of Friends, some of the meeting houses, notably those in Trenton, Mansfield and Crosswicks were transferred to the possession of the Hicksites, but the funds were retained by the Orthodox.

THE GOODYEAR RUBBER CASE AND THE VISIT OF DANIEL WEBSTER, 1852

In March 1852 the case of the Goodyear Rubber Company v. Day was argued in the United States Circuit Court, and it brought to the city two very eminent men,—Daniel Webster, who was then filling the office of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Fillmore, and Joseph Choate, one of the greatest of American lawyers.

While the appearance of cabinet officers before the federal courts in private litigation would hardly be tolerated now, it was not uncommon in the early days. Webster at the time was heavily in debt, and as he stated in a letter to his son, he welcomed the ten thousand dollar fee he received to help him pay his creditors.

His appearance in Trenton aroused great interest. The Federal courtroom, at the State House, was too small to accommodate the great numbers wishing to hear him, and Judge Grier adjourned the trial to the County Court House. The streets surrounding the Court House were thronged with eager admirers and a reporter of the local paper complains that when he arrived there at eleven o'clock the crowd was so great that he was unable to gain admittance.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES IGNORED

Although Mr. Webster at that time held the office of Secretary of State under a Whig administration, and expected the nomination for the presidency at the convention of the Whig Party which was to be held the following June, the citizens of Trenton, including the Democratic governor and the Democratic Legislature, ignored political considerations and gave him a hearty welcome as a great American. A committee, consisting of members of the Legislature and of the Judiciary, members of the Bar and citizens generally, was formed to tender him a dinner, and the invitation with the signers and reply of Webster makes interesting reading at this time:

"To the Hon. Daniel Webster:

"Sir: The subscribers, members of the Legislature and the Bar of New Jersey, and citizens of Trenton, learning that professional engagements would detain Mr. Webster a few days in this city, embrace the occasion without political distinction, to manifest to him their high sense of his character, abilities and services, by inviting him to partake of a public dinner, at such time during his sojourn amongst us, as will best suit his convenience.

"We have the honor to be,

"With great respect,

"Your most obedient servants:

G. A. Perdicaris, James Ewing, Phil. Dickinson, Jos. C. Potts,
Sam'l R. Hamilton, Charles L. Pearson, Mercer Beasley, Wm. L.

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Dayton, William Brown, John Huyler, E. S. Doughty, John A. Boyle, John C. Beardsley, Wm. H. Conover, W. C. Alexander, Abr'm Hopper, Silas D. Canfield, John Manners, Jos. F. Randolph, A. O. Zabriskie, G. S. Cannon, James Applegate, Josephus Shann, James S. Bell, E. T. Carpenter, Stephen Congar, Alex M. Johnston, Josiah N. Bird, John J. Jackson, Wm. Halsted, William Pennington, John Hopper, A. S. Pennington, Beach Vanderpool, R. S. Field, Samuel Mairs, Charles Sitgraves."

Mr. Webster replied:

"Trenton, N.J., Mar. 24, 1852.

"Gentlemen: I cannot well say how much honored I feel myself to be, in receiving an invitation from members of the Legislature, the Bar of New Jersey, and citizens of Trenton, without political distinction to accept from them a public dinner as a token of their respect.

"In the list of names attached to this invitation, I find those highly distinguished in public life, on the Bench and at the Bar, and as well known and as highly respected out of the State as within it.

"With many of them, it has been my good fortune to be associated in the counsels of the country, in the course of a public life not now a short one; and this renders the expression of their regard the more highly acceptable and grateful.

"But I am obliged to say, gentlemen, that my engagements do not allow me to avail myself of your kindness.

"I am here only for the purpose of fulfilling a professional obligation of long standing and as soon as the duty can be performed, I shall feel bound to return to Washington.

"Allow me, gentlemen, to thank you cordially for your kind invitation, and to assure you that it does now and will always give me sincere pleasure to renew and strengthen my friendly intercourse with those of you whom I have heretofore known and to cultivate the acquaintance of others, to whom I am as yet personally a stranger.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

"Your very obedient servant,

"Daniel Webster."

Webster's declination, however, did not prevent another form of public honor tendered him. for on the same day at noon he was given a reception by Governor George F. Fort and the Legislature. The committee appointed waited upon him at his hotel and escorted him to the House of Assembly where he was presented to the Speaker and the members of the House. Mr. Zabriskie, the spokesman, welcomed him in a brief, formal address to the legislative halls of the State of New Jersey, and Webster, after the applause of greeting had subsided, replied in kind.

GOODYEAR PATENT UPHOLD

The case of Goodyear v. Day which was the reason for Webster's presence in Trenton was brought to test the validity of Goodyear's rubber patent.

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Charles Goodyear had been experimenting with rubber for over a decade, and during his experimental period he had spent not only his own money, but the money of others, and for sometime was confined to a debtors' prison which, in a letter written therefrom, he referred to as "this hotel, which, after all, is perhaps as good a resting place as any this side of the grave." At last, however, he discovered the real secret and in 1844 obtained a patent covering the process for vulcanizing India rubber, which soon became a useful and important product. The principal elements in Goodyear's discoveries were the application of certain chemicals and of a greater amount of heat than had formerly been employed.

Goodyear claimed that his patent had been infringed by Day, and to this a defense was made that Goodyear was not the first inventor, and that the patent was void. The case was brought to trial in Trenton during the month of March, 1852. Webster, in the course of his argument, had occasion to make personal allusion to Goodyear as follows:

"I believe that the man who sits at this table, Charles Goodyear, is to go down to posterity in the history of the arts in this country, in that great class of inventors, at the head of which stands Robert Fulton; in which class stand the names of Whitney, and of Morse, and in which class will stand 'non post longo intervallo,' the humble name of Charles Goodyear."

The years since then have proved that Webster was a good prophet. He himself proved at the time that he was a good lawyer, for though his opponent was the distinguished and brilliant Joseph Choate, Webster was successful and the Goodyear patent was upheld.

THE LEWIS MURDER CASE, 1863

Charles Lewis, a large man, powerfully built, and a mysterious character, had murdered a man named Rowand, a jeweller in Princeton, and had robbed his store. He was captured in Millstone upon being identified by Robert S. Woodruff, later judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Mercer County, who happened to be there at the time and had read of the murder. From the description given of the murderer, he recognized him in the hotel at that place and gave the alarm; Lewis was taken into custody by a couple of constables and a search of his room discovered evidence which materially helped in securing his conviction.

In the trial of Lewis the State was represented by the then prosecutor, John F. Hageman, and the illustrious Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, the attorney-general, who was later United States Senator and Secretary of State. Lewis, on the other hand, was not wanting in friends who had the means to procure for him able defenders. He was represented by a New York lawyer named Dunphy, who bore a formidable reputation, and associated with him was an English barrister named Edwin James, who practised in New York for a few years and then returned to England. Attorney-General Frelinghuysen's conduct of this case was characterized by Mr. James as one of the ablest forensic endeavors that he had ever witnessed.

The evidence against the defendant was wholly circumstantial, but quite convincing, and the jury promptly returned a verdict of guilty and the man was executed in April 1863, the first criminal executed in Mercer County. So mysterious was Lewis, and so obviously able to procure the best of

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talent for his defense, which gave evidence of his having powerful friends, that the belief was widespread that a rescue might be attempted at the time of his execution. To prevent this, Company A of the New Jersey National Guard was placed on guard at the Court House. The execution, however, took place without a hitch and the culprit was afterwards photographed in his coffin, some of the photographs being extant and in the possession of Trentonians at the present time.

Although in those days murder trials were not "played up" by the newspapers to such a degree as is the custom of the present era, in its day and generation the Lewis case aroused an exceptionally active general interest and long held its place in the public eye.

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BY LOUIS LEVIN, M.D.

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF F.W.G.

IN THE early years of its history Trenton, in common with the rest of New Jersey, had only a limited number of men who had received medical training in Europe. The profession here as elsewhere was composed chiefly of men who, without liberal education, lived a year or two with a practitioner of any sort, read the few books within their reach, and then assuming the title "doctor" set themselves out as competent to cure disease.

Well up to the middle of the eighteenth century "doctoring" in the sparsely settled districts was considered a trade and not a profession. It was only in the larger towns and cities that some of the physicians were intelligent in their practice.

During the French and Indian War association with British medical officers who accompanied the troops and established military hospitals in the Colonies served to raise the standard of local American physicians, who prompted by the evident superiority of the British surgeons took occasion to read their books, to inspect their military hospitals, to observe their practice and to learn from their experience.

THE STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

After the organization of the New Jersey Medical Society in 1766, a change for the better in medical education took place. One of its first acts was to ordain that no student be

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taken as an apprentice unless he had a competent knowledge of Latin and Greek. No member of the society was permitted to take an apprentice for less than four years, three of which had to be spent with the master and the fourth, if desired, in some school of physic in Europe or America.

It is interesting to note that in 1795, and again in 1825, Princeton College entertained plans for the establishment of a medical school. In both instances the project failed of accomplishment.

In 1771 the New Jersey Medical Society petitioned the Colonial Legislature to enact a bill, "regulating the practice of medicine." This bill was passed in 1772 and provided for the licensing of physicians by judges of the Supreme Court following an examination before a board of medical men. The standards of attainment were raised, students were stimulated to greater study, and quackery met with a serious setback.

In 1818, under an amended charter received from the Legislature, the society's parliamentary proceedings were carried on by delegates chosen from each County. It was not, however, until 1848 that the District Society of Mercer County was formed. Under the direction of the Medical Society of the State of New Jersey, Drs. John H. Phillips, Henry P. Welling, James B. Coleman, John McKelway and Francis A. Ewing, all residents of Mercer County, formed themselves into a society called the District Medical Society of the County of Mercer.

Dr. McKelway was chosen its first president, Francis A. Ewing, vice-president, John H. Phillips, secretary, and George R. Robbins, treasurer. Dr. James B. Coleman was appointed to deliver the first essay before the society.

MERCER COUNTY SOCIETY ESTABLISHES CENSOR

In January 1849 a board of censors was organized with James B. Coleman as senior censor. To each member of the board a specific subject was assigned for the examination of candidates for membership: George R. Robbins, anatomy and physiology; John McKelway, surgery and practice of medicine; James B. Coleman, chemistry and pharmacy; and John H. Phillips, materia medica, midwifery, diseases of women and

children. That the censors were capable of censuring as well as licensing is indicated by their recommendation to the district society and the Medical Society of New Jersey, advising the revocation of the license of Dr. James B. McClintock of Trenton because of his connection with a firm manufacturing medicines from secret formulae.

THE SOCIETY GROWS IN MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE

In October 1855 the society recommended to the city that a city hospital be established.

The succeeding years found the society growing in membership and influence. It maintained a strict code of ethics, expelling those of its members who strayed from its principles. Several members of the society served with the Union forces during the Civil War. Their dues to the society were remitted because of that service.

Dr. David Warman was an active member and read several papers of interest. One of these, called "Female Physicians," regarded women as particularly unfitted for the profession. Dr. Warman, in November 1870, read a paper on the need of a hospital in Trenton and offered a motion, which was carried, approving the efforts of the German Catholics of the city who were then fostering a movement to build a hospital, which later became St. Francis' Hospital. A city dispensary was recommended and a charter was obtained by Dr. Warman in May 1871.

The Mercer County Medical Society has continued actively under the same principles bequeathed to it by its founders. It has a present membership of about one hundred twenty-five out of a total number of physicians practising in Trenton of about one hundred sixty.

The officers are: Dr. R. B. Seely, president; Dr. Joseph S. Vanneman, vice-president; Dr. Dunbar Hutchinson, secretary; and Dr. Harry North, treasurer.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SOME EARLY PHYSICIANS

Following are short biographical sketches of some of the more eminent physicians who have practised in Trenton. It

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would be manifestly impossible to include all even of the prominent doctors in the limited space allotted to this subject.

Thomas Cadwalader, the first burgess of Trenton and a physician of eminence in his day, was born in 1707, son of John Cadwalader, a Welshman who came to America in 1699 with William Penn. His medical education consisted of two years study with his uncle, Dr. Evan Jones, after which he studied at the Royal College of Surgeons at London, graduating in 1730. For another year he studied anatomy under Cheselden.

Dr. Cadwalader was a believer in inoculation for smallpox and did much to popularize the practice in Trenton and Philadelphia. In 1745 he wrote a paper entitled, "An Essay on the West India Dry Gripes," which was published by Benjamin Franklin.

Dr. Cadwalader was elected the first burgess of the Borough of Trenton, in 1746. That he was interested in educating the masses is shown by his donation of £500 for the founding of a public library in Trenton.

He was a teacher as well as a practitioner of medicine, delivering what were probably the first lectures in America on anatomy in 1752. In 1769 upon the founding of the present American Philosophical Society he was chosen one of its vice-chancellors, an office he filled until his death which occurred on November 14, 1779. He is buried in the Friends' Meeting burying ground on East Hanover Street.

William Bryant was a son of William Bryant, a commander in the merchant service between New York and London. Dr. Bryant was a successful practitioner in Trenton. At the time of the Revolutionary War he was well advanced in years. In 1778 he made the acquaintance of Dr. Nicholas de Belleville, becoming greatly attached to this brilliant young Frenchman. He persuaded the physician to seek his release from the military service and settle in Trenton. Thereafter Dr. de Belleville and Dr. Bryant were associated together in the practice of medicine. For further particulars, see the sketch in Chap. II, "Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era."

Dr. Bryant died in 1783. His will provided generously for all of his relatives, indicating that for his times he was a rich man.

Isaac Smith was born in 1740. He graduated from Princeton in 1755 and tutored there in 1757. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he was commissioned Colonel, First Regiment, Hunterdon County Militia. He resigned to accept the appointment as justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, February 15, 1777, which office he held for eighteen years. He was then elected to Congress. These public duties forced him to withdraw from the practice of medicine though he retained interest in his profession as shown by his regular attendance at the meetings of the medical society. He had joined the Medical Society of New Jersey in 1767. For further particulars, see his sketch in Chap. II, "Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era." He died August 29, 1807.

John Beatty was born December 19, 1749, in Hartsville, Pa., the son of a clergyman, and the grandson (on his mother's side) of John Reading, Colonial governor of New Jersey, 1746-47 and 1757-58. He was graduated from Princeton in 1769, and studied medicine under Dr. Benjamin Rush, of

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Philadelphia. He practised first in Princeton. In 1774 he married Mary Longstreet of Princeton, who died in 1815. Dr. Beatty's second wife was Catherine Lator, widow of Jeremiah Lator and daughter of Barnt De Klyn. She died in 1861, at the age of eighty-eight years.

Dr. Beatty enlisted in the Revolutionary army in 1775. He rose quickly from Captain and then Colonel in 1776, to Commissary General of prisoners, 1778 to 1780, at which time, with peace assured, he resigned. He returned to his practice in Princeton. At the close of the war Dr. Beatty was elected the first president of the Medical Society of New Jersey upon the resumption of its meetings. In 1795 he was elected secretary of State (serving for ten years) and removed to Trenton, occupying a residence at what is now 205 West State Street.

Dr. Beatty held many public offices. He was New Jersey delegate to the Continental Congress 1783-85; representative of Middlesex County at the State convention ratifying the Federal Constitution, 1787; speaker of the Assembly, 1789, delivering at that time in behalf of the New Jersey Legislature a congratulatory address to General Washington upon his election as President; member of Congress, 1793; and secretary of State of New Jersey, 1795-1805.

He was superintendent of the construction of the bridge between Bloomsbury (later South Trenton) and Morrisville, Pa. In 1815 he was elected to the presidency of the Trenton Banking Company, continuing in that capacity until his sudden death of apoplexy in 1826. He is buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church.

Nicholas de Belleville was born in 1753 at Metz, France. He studied medicine under his father's tuition and then entered the medical schools and hospitals of Paris. After seven years study he received his diploma. He was held in high esteem and respect by his teachers.

Shortly after his graduation he met Count Casimir Pulaski, who was then about to embark for America to recruit a legion for the army of the Colonies. Dr. de Belleville was induced to join with him in his undertaking. His duties as a military surgeon led him to Trenton, where he met Dr. William Bryant, then an old physician, who persuaded Belleville to settle in Trenton as a practitioner. Thus, after about fifteen months of military life, he left the service and settled in Trenton in 1778. He married Ann Brittain.

Dr. de Belleville was well liked for his social qualities and general intelligence as well as his medical ability. He attained great prominence as a physician and was well known by the eminent medical men of Philadelphia. He had a large and lucrative practice. He was the family attendant of Joseph Bonaparte who was then living in Bordentown.

Dr. de Belleville's reputation drew many students to him and of these he was a devoted teacher. Several years before his death, on December 17, 1831, he withdrew from active practice, but always maintained close contact with his profession.

Plunkett Fleson Glentworth was the son of George Glentworth, M.D., and Margaret, daughter of John Linton. He was secretary of the University of Pennsylvania, 1791; a fellow of the College of Physicians; a founder of the Academy of Fine Arts; and trustee of the Society of the P.E. Church for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. During the residence

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of George Washington in Philadelphia, he was attended by Dr. Glentworth, who is thus mentioned by Washington in a letter under date of April 20, 1797: "Thanks to the kind attention of my esteemed friend Dr. Glentworth . . . than whom no nobler man nor skilful physician ever lived, I am now restored to my usual state of health." Dr. Glentworth was a warden of St. Michael's Church, 1820-24.

He was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, Philadelphia, January 19, 1833.

John McKelway was born in Glasgow, Scotland, January 7, 1788, the son of Alexander McKelway. He graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1813 or 1814 and came to America in 1817, locating in Trenton after one year spent in Lancaster, Pa. He was married in Scotland before he emigrated and his wife joined him after he had settled in Trenton.

Dr. McKelway was a prominent physician in Trenton and was noted for his rigid observance of the ethics of the profession.

He was postmaster of Trenton, 1842-43, having been appointed by President Tyler. In May 1848 Dr. McKelway and four other physicians were appointed by the New Jersey State Medical Society to organize the Mercer County Medical Society.

A few years before his death, Dr. McKelway slipped on an icy pavement, fracturing his hip. This necessitated his retirement from active practice. He died in Trenton, April 23, 1877, at the age of ninety, and lies buried in Mercer Cemetery.

Patrick McCaffrey was one of South Trenton's most familiar figures from 1851 to the early '70's. Born in Carlow County, Ireland, in the early years of the nineteenth century, he came to this country about 1843, settling first in Hollidaysburg, Pa., but removing to Trenton about 1851, following the establishment of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Works and the John A. Roebling plant, where many of his fellow Irishmen had found employment.

The late Lewis Parker, another well-known citizen of South Trenton, wrote some years ago of Dr. McCaffrey as a familiar acquaintance "neat in his attire, with a mild, benevolent face and an eye that fairly sparkled with humor." He invariably wore a high hat and carried a cane. Throughout his professional career, he always travelled afoot. Dr. McCaffrey was a graduate of the Dublin School of Medicine. His residence was on South Warren Street, opposite historic Bloomsbury Court, and he appears to have accumulated considerable means in his local practice, retiring in 1872 to spend his later years near Pittsburgh, Pa., adjoining a convent of the Sisters of Mercy, where three of his daughters had become nuns. He died September 9, 1890, at the patriarchal age of eighty-eight.

Before leaving Trenton the Mercer County Medical Society, of which Dr. McCaffrey had been an active member, presented him with a gold-headed cane, passed resolutions at the loss of an associate "much endeared by long residence in Trenton and by eminently gentlemanly deportment," and closed by electing him to honorary membership.

Dr. McCaffrey has the distinction of being the first Irish Catholic physician to practise in Trenton. He was prominent in the affairs of old St. John's Church and his youngest daughter, Anna, was an early organist of the parish choir, as well as the first teacher in the parochial school, opened in 1854.

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James Beakes Coleman was born in Trenton, October 6, 1805. He was the son of James and Sarah B. Coleman (Quakers), and the brother of Isaac P. Coleman, a well known physician of Pemberton, N.J. Dr. James B. Coleman received his early education in Trenton. For a time he worked in a drug store. Later he studied medicine under Dr. Nicholas de Belleville. He received a degree in medicine from Yale in 1829. He practised two years in Philadelphia, six years in Burlington County, N.J., and then in 1837 moved to Trenton where he remained until his death.

Dr. Coleman's preference was for surgery and he was one of the best surgeons of his locality. He was well versed in many fields of science and contributed to various periodicals and newspapers. He frequently gave public lectures, chiefly on natural philosophy, chemistry, vegetable physiology and phrenology.

Dr. Coleman was a creditable painter, doing many portraits of his friends. He also did caricature work for the newspapers. He was a frequent reader of papers before medical associations, among them a paper on "Drainage of City of Trenton" being highly commended.

Dr. Coleman was at one time president of the board of health, a manager of the New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum, a pension examiner, and three times president of the New Jersey State Medical Society.

His wife was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Frederick Beasley, rector of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, 1830-36, and sister of Chief Justice Mercer Beasley of the New Jersey Supreme Court. A son, H. Waldborg Coleman, also became a prominent physician.

Edward Ingleton Grant, the son of William and Martha Roe Grant, was born in Trenton, November 11, 1812. He graduated from Princeton College in 1833 and received his early medical education under the tutelage of Dr. James T. Clarke, taking his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1837. He located at once in Trenton. He married in 1839 May Westcott Roe, of Woodbury, N.J.

As a physician, Dr. Grant was successful and popular. This was due to his earnest endeavor to arrive at the correct diagnosis which he was the better enabled to do by his constant perusal of current medical literature.

Dr. Grant was a vestryman (1860-70) in St. Michael's Church.

He died March 13, 1871, at the age of fifty-nine years.

Charles L. Pearson was born in Philadelphia, about 1822, the son of a retired merchant, Isaac L. Pearson, who moved to Trenton in 1850. Dr. Pearson never practised his profession but devoted his time to matters that were of special personal interest to him. He received his education from the Moravian School near Bethlehem, Pa., the schools of Philadelphia, and from Yale where he attended the medical lectures. In 1844 he received a license from the Medical Society of New Jersey.

In association with his father he developed a fine garden on their estate on the southwest corner of West State and Calhoun Streets. Because of the presence in the rear of the grounds of a glen through which a spring flowed the estate was named "Glen Cairn." Dr. Pearson's chief hobby was time-pieces. He never permitted one to vary the fraction of a second from another.

He was a director in the Trenton Banking Company, and one of the managers of the Trenton Savings Fund Company.

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His wife, Mary, was the daughter of the Hon. George Woodruff, attorney-general of Georgia, who owned Oaklands, the present site of the Trenton Country Club.

Dr. Pearson died suddenly on the street in Philadelphia in 1883.

John Woolverton was born in Delaware Township, Hunterdon County, N.J. He received his early education in the township schools. In 1847 he entered the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his M.D. in 1849. In later years Lafayette awarded him the degree of A.M.

After his graduation, Dr. Woolverton moved to Trenton, practising here for almost forty years. He became one of Trenton's most popular and successful physicians and was always the friend of the young practitioner.

Dr. Woolverton found time to serve his community in various capacities: State senator, 1868; member of Council, 1886; mayor of Trenton; for several years member of the board of freeholders; president of the board of school trustees. He was surgeon-in-chief to St. Francis' Hospital from the day of its opening to the day of his death. He was president of the State Medical Society in 1862 and was active in free masonry, attaining to the 33rd degree.

He continued in active practice until his death, September 14, 1888.

Cornelius Shepherd, of Quaker parentage, was born January 20, 1827, in Buckingham Township, Pa. His preliminary education was received at the Doylestown Academy and the private school at New Britain. He taught school for two years. Ambitious for advancement, he entered the office of Dr. G. R. McCoy of Doylestown and "read" medicine for one year. He then entered the University of Pennsylvania, graduating in 1861.

Dr. Shepherd located in Trenton, in the Mill Hill district of South Broad Street. He was especially interested in public education, serving fourteen years as member of the board of education and superintendent of public instruction. He was for eight years member of the State board of education.

He was president of the board of trade, member of the local board of health and in 1894 member of the State board of health. Dr. Shepherd was president and member of the staff of St. Francis' Hospital, member of the New Jersey Historical Society, and member of the State Charities Aid Society. He was physician to the New Jersey State Prison and pension examiner during the first Cleveland administration.

He died October 7, 1903. His son Ireneus was also a physician.

William W. L. Phillips was born in Lawrence Township, Mercer County, N.J., February 19, 1829. He was descended from a long line of Jersey men, his great-great-grandfather having been a resident of Maidenhead (now Lawrence Township) in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Dr. Phillips entered the Sophomore class of Princeton in 1845 and was graduated in 1848. He subsequently studied in the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, graduating in 1851. He at once located in Trenton and the latter part of that year married Margaret Sarah, daughter of Dr. John and Isabella McKelway of Trenton.

Dr. Phillips' wife died six years after their marriage. He married for his second wife Meta McAlpin.

Dr. Phillips became a member of the Mercer County Medical Society July 22, 1851. At the outbreak of the Civil War he assisted in the organiza-

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tion of the First New Jersey Cavalry, Volunteers, and proceeded to the front as surgeon to that regiment. He was promoted Surgeon-in-chief to the Second Division, Cavalry Corps, Army of the Potomac. He participated in a number of engagements, the most prominent one being the Battle of Gettysburg. The Roll of Honor, on the stone porch of the old church at Gettysburg, contains his name inscribed among those whose services were particularly outstanding.

After his return to Trenton he again resumed active practice and also became interested in civic matters. He was one of the organizers of the board of health, was interested in the formation of a public park and was one of those responsible for the present sewer system. He was the leader in the movement towards the establishment of Mercer Hospital. He was for some years surgeon to the New Jersey State Prison.

Toward the close of his life, impairment of health compelled him to give up the strenuous life of a successful physician. He became medical director to the National Soldiers' Home at Fortress Monroe, where he died April 17, 1896. He is buried in Riverview Cemetery.

Charles H. Dunham was born at Piscataway, Middlesex County, N.J., March 24, 1839. He is descended from the Rev. Edmund Dunham, who came from England in 1681. His ancestor was the founder of the Seventh Day Baptist Church. On his maternal side he was descended from Pontius Stelle of France, whose son, born in New York in 1683, later became pastor of the Piscataway Baptist Church.

At the age of sixteen Dr. Dunham entered the service of Dr. David C. English of New Brunswick. Subsequently he was associated in Elizabeth with Dr. Thomas L. Hough, and in 1858 he came to Trenton and was a clerk in the drug store of Isaac D. James. In 1861 he began to "read" medicine with Dr. Thomas J. Corson, afterwards entering the University of Pennsylvania from which he was graduated in 1864. He passed his examinations for Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army, and served aboard the hospital steamer *State of Maine*.

After the Civil War Dr. Dunham returned to Trenton and formed a partnership in the drug business with Isaac D. James. This continued until 1874. Subsequently he practised medicine at his office and residence, 129 South Warren Street.

Dr. Dunham was on the staff of St. Francis' Hospital for seventeen years. He was county physician and superintendent of public schools. He was married in 1867 to Anna L., daughter of ex-sheriff Amos Sickel.

He died in 1893.

Joseph L. Bodine, son of Daniel B. and Elizabeth (Lamb) Bodine, was born at Pemberton, Burlington County, N.J., June 26, 1839. He was of Huguenot descent. Dr. Bodine's father was twice mayor of Trenton. His grandfather was a prominent landowner in Burlington County and his great-grandfather, John Bodine, was an officer in the Continental Army, serving throughout the Revolutionary War.

Dr. Bodine received his early education in the schools of Pemberton and later attended the Trenton Academy. He and his brother, afterwards the Rev. William B. Bodine, a prominent clergyman of Philadelphia, attended Princeton College and were graduated in the class of 1860, both being among the first five of this class. Dr. Bodine then took up the study of

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medicine with his uncle, former Governor George Franklin Fort, and also attended the University of Pennsylvania, graduating in the class of 1865. After a year's internship at the Episcopal Hospital of Philadelphia he began the active practice of his profession in Trenton. He was successful from the outset and gained considerable reputation in the treatment of mental diseases. He was much in demand as a consultant and was for many years chief-of-staff at St. Francis' Hospital and consulting physician to the New Jersey State Prison. He was a frequent orator before the American Social Service Association. He was also a prolific contributor to medical journals, particularly on the subject of insanity and mental disease. He was appointed by Governor Ludlow as a member of the State sinking fund commission, rendering valuable services in that capacity. He was for many years a vestryman of St. Michael's Church.

Dr. Bodine married Frances P. Davis, October 7, 1874. He died while in the prime of life, January 2, 1889. Two children survive him, Joseph L. Bodine, well-known judge of the United States District Court, and a daughter, Elizabeth.

William Elmer was born in Bridgeton, N.J., December 14, 1840, of a family that counted several generations of physicians.

Elmer attended Princeton College, graduating in the class of 1861. He received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, 1864. He practised for four years in Bridgeton and then moved to Trenton where he continued his practice until his death.

Dr. Elmer soon had an extensive practice among the leading families of Trenton. He was a member and an elder of the First Presbyterian Church. He was one of the organizers of the State board of health, was president and treasurer of the Mercer County Medical Society, and was also for twenty years corresponding secretary of the New Jersey State Medical Society and later president of that organization. He was a member of the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Medicine.

Dr. Elmer in 1869 married Alice Gray of Columbia, Pa., who died in 1888 leaving four children. The three sons all graduated from Princeton and fill high positions in the professional and commercial worlds. Walter Elmer, the second son, is a well-known orthopaedist of Philadelphia. Dr. Elmer lived at 44 West State Street. He died July 18, 1908, and lies buried beside his wife in Riverview Cemetery.

Charles Potts Britton was born in Trenton 1845. His preliminary education was obtained in the local schools. He was graduated from the School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, in 1873. He practised in Trenton and was a member of the staff of the St. Francis' Hospital. He was appointed to the staff of the New Jersey State Hospital for the Insane, which position he occupied for six years. In 1882 he purchased the drug business established by Isaac James, fifty years before, on Warren Street, just south of State. In 1894 he removed this business to the new pharmacy in the Masonic Temple building, corner State and Warren Streets. In 1882 he married Katherine G. Kirby, daughter of Dr. Kirby, for many years a resident physician of the State Hospital.

Dr. Britton was a member of the New Jersey State Medical Society and the New Jersey State Pharmaceutical Association. He was also a member

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of the Trenton board of health. He lived at 126 West State Street until his death March 29, 1912.

Thomas H. MacKenzie was born in Nova Scotia in 1847. He received a classical education at Dalhousie College, Halifax, and completed his medical studies at Harvard Medical School in 1871. He soon came to Trenton, living first on Centre Street and later removing to East State Street.

He was surgeon-in-chief on the staff of the St. Francis' Hospital for over twenty years. He was city physician for three years; physician to the New Jersey State Prison; president of the Mercer County Medical Society; superintendent of public schools.

In 1878 Dr. Mackenzie married Miss Helen H. Buchanan of Trenton. A son, Egbert, also became a physician.

He died October 20, 1920.

William Smith Lalor was born in Hamilton Township, Mercer County, April 16, 1848, on the Lalor Homestead, known as "Bow Hill," originally built and occupied by Barnt DeKlyn, whose daughter Catherine married as her first husband Jeremiah Lalor, an ancestor of the above.

Dr. Lalor was educated at the Lawrenceville School and was graduated from Princeton in 1869. He then studied medicine under Dr. John Woolverton, later attending the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his M.D. degree in 1872. He then opened his office in Trenton, continuing in active practice until his death. He was a man of striking personality and unbounded energy and quickly gathered about him a large practice. He was a member of the State and Mercer County Medical societies, having been president of the latter body in 1882. He was city physician for four years; member board of school trustees for three years; superintendent of public instruction 1876-77; member of the board of health for seven years; appointed examining pension surgeon during President Cleveland's administration; County physician for four years; and physician to Deaf Mute School for several years.

Dr. Lalor died suddenly January 18, 1919. He is buried in Riverview Cemetery.

Frank V. Cantwell was born in Trenton, February 27, 1862, son of Peter P. Cantwell. In 1881 he began his medical course in the University of Pennsylvania, was graduated in 1884, and in May 1885 began the practice of medicine in Trenton. He became surgeon at the St. Francis' Hospital in 1887 and thereafter continued as a brilliant and resourceful operator, whose ability was the result of constant research and reading. He was county physician for a period.

Dr. Cantwell wrote considerably for the medical journals and his writings were highly valued by the medical profession at home and abroad.

In 1898 his health failed and he went to El Paso, Tex., where he remained for two years. He returned to Trenton in 1900 and resumed his practice. In 1908 he discontinued operating but received patients in his home office.

Dr. Cantwell served as pension examiner during President Cleveland's term; served on the city board of health; and was a member of Common Council. He was consulting physician to the State Prison in 1894-96.

Dr. Cantwell died March 11, 1910, aged forty-eight years, and was survived by his wife Alice (Burns) Cantwell and two children, Frank and Alice. He is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery.

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There are many other Trenton practitioners, some perhaps equally as prominent as those whose sketches have been given, who deserve to be mentioned here—though only a line can be allowed to each for lack of space. Among those who have passed away in recent times were *Dr. R. R. Rogers, Sr.*, and his son by the same name; *Dr. Horace G. Norton*, at one time president of the board of trade; *Dr. John W. Ward*, for many years superintendent of the State Hospital; *Dr. H. M. Weeks*, who after years of practice in this city became superintendent of the State Epileptic Village at Skillman, succeeded in turn by his son, *Dr. David F. Weeks*, the present superintendent; *Dr. Ezra M. Hunt*, who practised little if any locally but was secretary of the State board of health for several years; *Dr. A. H. Worthington*, a prominent homeopathic practitioner; *Dr. James D. Tantum*, noted for his generous benefactions to Mercer Hospital; *Dr. J. K. Young*, who subsequently attained a high place as an orthopaedic surgeon in Philadelphia; *Dr. C. H. McIlwaine*, Trenton's first resident oculist; *Drs. Lyman and Charles B. Leavitt*, father and son; *Dr. Horace G. Wetherill*, who practised here successfully for years before settling in Denver, where he became a prominent physician, now retired; and *Drs. Sarah E. Smith and E. F. Hollinshead*, who were among the earliest women physicians in Trenton. Of the older physicians still living in Trenton and who have had a long and successful career are *Dr. William A. Clark*, now retired, who began his practice here in 1879, and *Dr. Nelson B. Oliphant*, still on the active list after forty-seven years spent in the work of his profession in this community.

Acknowledgment is made to the many physicians whose valuable information concerning the lives of the above deceased physicians has made possible these sketches. Particularly to *Dr. William A. Clark* am I indebted for his services in gathering much of the biographical data. Most of the early medical history is taken from *Stephen Wickes' History of Medicine in New Jersey*.

CHAPTER XIII

Trenton in the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars

BY SAMUEL S. ARMSTRONG

I. Introduction

THAT part of the history of Trenton, which comes under the above general heading, has been assigned to the writer. As to the Civil War in particular, it is his purpose to give only a simple narrative of events and incidents pertaining to our city during the war period of 1861-65, as taken from state and national records, and gleaned largely from that prolific source for research, the local press of the day, and from personal recollection; written so as to avoid as much as possible the dryness of statistics. Outside events during the war period will be referred to, or used, only when they bear some relation to local history.

Except to a small group of our townsmen who were contemporary in youth with the main period covered by this narrative, it will not be read or relished with the zest which would have been the case had it been written twenty-five years ago. Time has obscured the scenes and local events of those war-time days, as we can well realize when we consider that Trentonians of three score and ten still living, were but five years of age at the beginning of the war and cannot recall from memory any of the opening, and but faintly the closing incidents of the conflict. It meant something to have been living in historic Trenton eighty years ago. At that time there were still resident here a few people of advanced age who remembered some of the closing scenes of the Revolutionary War which happened in our town; and others who in their earlier years listened to the tales of older people, of incidents in Trenton

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during that period in which they participated or were spectators.

Edward D. Fox, of this city, was a drummer boy in the Fifth Regiment, New Jersey Volunteers, at Williamsburg in 1862, and when he was a youngster of six years was taken by an older brother to a reception in Jackson's Woods, the site of old Camp Washington, tendered to the New Jersey Volunteers who had returned from Mexico. At that time a man of eighty years who had passed his life in Trenton might have told Fox how *he*, as a boy of eight years, had seen the captive Hessians marched under guard through our streets on their way to Pennsylvania; and later as a boy of thirteen had turned out with the crowd on our streets, shouting their joy over the glorious news from Yorktown; and finally as a man of twenty-one had participated in the reception to General Washington on the occasion of his passage through Trenton on his way to New York to be inaugurated first President of the United States. So Edward D. Fox, still living, is a link in the lengthening chain of years connecting celebrities and events of the past with the present.

II. Conditions in Trenton in 1846, and an Account of the City's Part in the Mexican War

IN A town or small city where one knows practically everybody, the inhabitants naturally come in closer and more intimate relations during the excitement attending events of local, state or national importance, than in larger communities where the population is more cosmopolitan and where changes in neighborhoods are made more frequent by the arrival of newcomers and the removal of older families from one section of the city to another—changes which tend to sever those friendly relations existing in smaller communities where such changes are rarer, and where members of neighboring families become comrades or associates in times of war, or political or social movements.

These were the conditions in Trenton in 1846, and before taking up Trenton's part in the Civil War, it may not be considered amiss to begin with this brief account of the War with

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Mexico in which conflict some of our citizens participated, who took part later in the long and bloody struggle of 1861-65.

In 1846 Trenton had a population of but ten thousand. Charles Burroughs was mayor, and was succeeded in 1847 by Samuel R. Hamilton. There was plenty of excitement in Trenton in those days; the Oregon boundary-line controversy was still unsettled and war with England seemed imminent; the troubles with Mexico were rapidly approaching a climax and Congress was the scene of heated debates on these momentous questions, reflected in discussions and disputes in general stores and barber shops, but principally in the barrooms of our inns and taverns, of which Trenton boasted a goodly supply in those days when prohibition and padlocks were not. Kay's United States Hotel, formerly the Indian Queen, on the site now occupied by the Trent Theatre, and the Trenton House, then under the management of Colonel William Snowden, were the favorite resorts for discussion. Here on any inclement afternoon—there was plenty of leisure in those days—would be gathered about the “social fire” our village statesmen of Democratic or Whig proclivities to argue pro and con the probabilities of a war with England over the Oregon question or with our sister republic of Mexico; some of those who frequented the precincts of Host Kay's bar, or the other resorts on these occasions, if mentioned by name, might be remembered by some older Trentonians of today. All danger, however, of war with England was averted by compromise, and the attention of our townsmen was fixed on the operations of General Taylor on the Rio Grande.

HOSTILITIES BREAK OUT

Hostilities began April 25, 1846, and on May 8 the battle of Palo Alto was fought, followed by the battle of Resaca de la Palma on May 9, where Captain May of the Second U. S. Dragoons made his famous charge. On May 18, 1846, General Zachary Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and occupied Matamoros.

The war was now on in earnest and on May 19, 1846, Secretary of War Marcy inclosed to Governor Stratton of New



"THE COTTAGES" AND COMMONS IN THE '40'S.

From a rare engraving in possession of Judge Erwin E. Marshall of Trenton. The picture shows also the old railroad station-sheds from which a train is coming. The Commons are now occupied by the Pennsylvania freight station and by many homes lining Carroll, Ewing and North Clinton Streets; these improvements are about to be razed to afford a site for Trenton's new postoffice.

The following, from Barber & Howe's Historical Collections (1844), is worthy of being transcribed: "Near the railroad depot, in the environs of Trenton, is the neat and beautiful row of private dwellings designated as 'the cottages.' They were built a few years since, under the superintendence of Messrs. Hotchkiss and Thompson; and while they reflect credit upon the skill of the architects, form a pleasing exhibition of an improved taste in the construction of private residences." These cottages are still standing but are transformed entirely from their original lines.

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Jersey a copy of the Act of Congress, authorizing the President to accept the services of volunteers. On May 22, 1846, Governor Stratton issued his proclamation calling upon the uniformed organized militia companies and other citizens to enroll and report to the Adjutant General of the State as speedily as possible, in order that they might be held in readiness for muster, and the War Department advised thereof without delay. Under this call several of the uniformed militia organizations of the city offered their services but were not accepted at the time. The battle of Monterey was fought September 20, 21, 22, and 23, 1846; Buena Vista February 23, 1847, and the siege of Vera Cruz was ended by the fall of that city, March 29, 1847.

Salutes were fired in Trenton April 1, 1847, in honor of General Taylor's victories, on the "Commons" then in front of the "Cottages" on East State Street, between the Canal and Clinton Street; and on the streets, as in later years, "extras" were sold by newsboys announcing the various battles and victories gained by the United States army and volunteers in Mexico. There was keen rivalry between the *Gazette* and *Daily News* to be first on the streets with "news of battle."

On January 1, 1847, Lieutenant Robert P. Maclay of the Eighth Infantry, U. S. Army, opened a recruiting station at old Fort Rawnsley at the junction of Warren and Lamberton Streets. Lieutenant Maclay succeeded in enlisting some twenty-five or thirty recruits who were paraded in the streets from time to time and forwarded in squads to Governor's Island for muster into federal service.

Reporter Franklin S. Mills, sauntering one day in the neighborhood of this old recruiting station, gave vent to his patriotism in "City Gleanings" in the *Gazette* in the following strain:



"FORT RAWNSLEY" HOTEL, RECRUITING STATION FOR THE MEXICAN WAR, STILL STANDING AT THE JUNCTION OF WARREN AND LAMBERTON STREETS.

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The ample folds of the Stars and Stripes floating in the breeze at Fort Rawnsley, struck up in our hearts a sort of "Hail-Columbia" sensation. Here we found a recruiting sergeant fresh from the chapparals of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, who was running over with that kind of patriotism which boasts of "Guns and Drums" of "Battles fought and victories won." He had a wound, too, to attest his bravery, one which had carried away about one-third of his wrist.

CAPTAIN YARD'S COMPANY

This recruiting station was closed March 15, 1847, and removed to Newark. Captain Yard's company, to be mustered as Company G, Tenth U.S. Infantry, having been accepted and ordered to report at Fort Hamilton, prepared for leaving the city. On April 5, 1847, the company made a preliminary march through the streets and on halting at the Indian Queen was treated by Host Kay to refreshments. "The Alleghanians," a troupe of singers then performing in Trenton, came out on the front porch of the hotel and sang "The Soldier's Bride" and also a popular war song of the day dedicated to General Taylor, set to the air of "Dandy Jim of Caroline," entitled "Old Rough and Ready," beginning:

Your country calls once more to arms,
So leave your workshops and your farms,
Old Rough and Ready makes the call,
The invitation's to you all.

On the next day the company, consisting of Joseph A. Yard, Captain, George W. Taylor, First Lieutenant, Benjamin Yard and John S. Nevins, Second Lieutenants, and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates, left the drill hall on Mill Hill and marched to the City Hall where a collation was prepared for them by the citizens of Trenton. As they came up Greene Street, the City Hall bell began ringing and hundreds of anxious eyes were fixed upon the advancing troops. After partaking of the collation they returned to the street and were received by the Mercer Rifle Corps. The companies being drawn up in front of the City Hall on Greene Street, Samuel G. Arnold stepped to the front of the companies and on behalf of a number of citizens of Trenton, in a short speech, presented Captain Yard with a sword. Captain Yard in acknowledgment made a fitting re-

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spouse. The Mercer Rifle Corps under Captain Southard then took their position on the right of the line, and the march to Princeton, en route to Fort Hamilton, began. The troops passed through Second (State) Street to Warren and thence to the Princeton Pike. As the troops marched by the Indian Queen, the Trenton House and the Rising Sun Hotel (now the American House), they were repeatedly cheered by groups of citizens standing in crowds in front of the hotels and along the streets. The Rifle Corps, after escorting Captain Yard's command as far as the point where the Battle Monument now stands, took leave of the departing troops and they proceeded alone on their march. About a mile out of the town, the weather being inclement, they took off their knapsacks and putting them in the baggage wagons donned their great-coats and took a fair start for Princeton and from thence to their destination at Fort Hamilton in New York harbor, reaching there about 8:00 p.m. on April 8, and according to a letter from Private Alfred Murray published in Frank Mills' chatty "City Gleanings" were obliged to go to their bunks without any supper. In the morning they were treated to a breakfast of sea biscuit and raw pork. Dinner consisted of pork about half done and bean soup with beans so few they "had to dive to find 'em." For supper they were allotted a half pint of coffee each, with more fat pork. They remained cheerful, however, under these conditions in the commissary and placed no blame therefor on Captain Yard, who retained the respect and affection of his officers and enlisted men throughout their entire period of service. Captain Yard's company, designated as "G," Tenth U.S. Infantry, together with "H," the Camden company, also of the Tenth, which organization included in its number some Trenton recruits and was commanded by Captain Joshua W. Collett of Camden, left Fort Hamilton, April 11, 1847, on the brig *G. B. Lamar*, arriving at Matamoros, Mexico, May 5 of that year. Several interesting letters were published in the Trenton papers from Lieutenant Benjamin Yard, and other Trenton members of Company G telling of the experiences and privations of camp life in Mexico.

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CAPTAIN DICKINSON'S COMPANY

After the departure of Captain Yard's company, recruiting for Captain Samuel Dickinson's company, "E," Tenth U.S. Infantry, was hurried to completion. Captain Dickinson was presented with a sword by the "National Guards" at their Armory, Isaac W. Lanning, Esq., making the presentation speech. Lieutenant Gershom Mott of Captain Dickinson's command was also the recipient of a sword from a number of friends of the young officer, who afterwards, for distinguished service in the Civil War, rose to the grade of Major General of Volunteers. This presentation took place at the Trenton House.

Before Captain Dickinson and his command left for Mexico the battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco had been fought and the army under General Winfield Scott, like General Taylor's gallant troops, continued victorious in their encounters with the brave soldiers of Mexico.

On Wednesday, May 12, 1847, a large crowd assembled at the railroad station on East State Street and the Canal to take final leave of Captain Dickinson and his officers and men. The company marched to the station at about half past 10 o'clock a.m., followed by many of their friends. Extra cars on the "Pilot Line" were provided for their transportation. The troops were hurried aboard and the train moved slowly from the station amid farewells of relatives and the cheers of friends and assembled citizens. This organization left Fort Hamilton May 4, 1847, arriving at Matamoros June 4, 1847. Company E consisted of Samuel Dickinson, Captain, William M. Lewis, First Lieutenant, Gershom Mott, Second Lieutenant, and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates.

OTHER NEW JERSEY TROOPS

On April 19, 1847, by direction of President Polk, the Secretary of War called on Governor Stratton for five companies of infantry to serve during the War with Mexico, unless sooner discharged. The Secretary of War designated Trenton as the point of mobilization of these companies and a camp for that purpose was established accordingly. This camp was pitched opposite the Nathan Beakes house near the Princeton Pike;

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Beatty Street, Morgan Avenue and Southard Street, south of Beakes Street, now run through the site of this old camp ground.

The main body of the volunteers of the New Jersey Battalion under command of Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson Woodruff of this city—his home was the building and grounds now occupied by the Trenton Country Club—left September 3, 1847, for Governors Island, New York harbor, where the five organizations were consolidated into four companies, to the great disappointment of Captain William Napton, whose company containing most of the Trenton recruits in the battalion was broken up and his men distributed to complete other companies. This battalion was officered as follows: Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson Woodruff, commanding; Company A, Captain Henry A. Naglee; Company B, Captain James Reynolds; Company C, Captain David McDowell; Company D, Captain David Pierson.

The battalion was mustered into federal service at Fort Hamilton by Captain Minor Knowlton, First U.S. Artillery, September 4, 1847, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month left Governors Island on the ship *Senator* for Vera Cruz, where it arrived after a very stormy passage of six weeks.

But little notice appears to have been taken in Trenton of the departure of the New Jersey Battalion as most of the young men of Trenton enlisting for the war, with the exception of those recruited by Captain Napton and transferred to the four companies of the New Jersey Battalion, had gone with the Trenton companies then serving under Captains Dickinson and Yard in Mexico.

The New Jersey organizations were never in action or called to the front, and after remaining in Mexico for nearly a year in a condition of comparative inactivity, with the exception of garrison and convoy duty, were ordered home by the War Department for discharge from the service. The New Jersey Battalion left Vera Cruz on the ship *Indiana* and arrived at Fort Hamilton July 22, 1848, and on the third, fourth and fifth days of August was mustered out.

The two Trenton companies, E and G of the Tenth U.S. Infantry, together with Company H of Camden, left Matamoros July 10, 1848, on the ship *Pharsalia* and the barque

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General Taylor, and arrived at Fort Hamilton August 4, 1848, being mustered out August 21, 22 and 24, 1848.

As the Trenton organizations did not return to Trenton in a body, but came singly or in small detachments, they were not given a public reception on our streets, but later were tendered a reception at Camp Washington, Jackson's Woods.

CASUALTIES

The Trenton Companies of the Tenth U.S. Infantry and the organizations of the New Jersey Battalion during the Mexican Campaign did not escape without a number of casualties, as follows:

TENTH U. S. INFANTRY

Company E: There were eleven deaths in this organization, including Lieutenant O. M. Lewis of Trenton by yellow fever; one corporal and one private were drowned; one private was shot and killed by a sentry at Matamoros; one murdered, and six others, privates, died from yellow fever, dysentery, etc.

Company G: There were nine deaths in this company from yellow fever and dysentery, including Second Lieutenant Benjamin Yard, a brother of Captain Joseph A. Yard, and Private William Downie, both of Trenton.

Company H: This company, principally raised in Camden, contained some recruits from Trenton. It was commanded by Captain Joshua W. Collett of Camden. This officer was killed in a duel with Captain Alexander Wilkin of the Tenth U.S. Infantry, a regular army officer, January 21, 1848, at Carmargo, Mexico.

New Jersey Battalion: There was a total of twenty-seven deaths in this organization from fever, dysentery, etc., including two drowned; one murdered by Mexicans and one accidentally shot, making an aggregate of forty-seven deaths from all causes in the New Jersey organizations.

TRENTON'S REPRESENTATION IN THE REGULAR ARMY AND NAVY DURING THE MEXICAN WAR

For a city with a population of but ten thousand Trenton was well represented in the Regular Army and Navy during the period of the War with Mexico; and among those who served in the regular establishments and received recognition for gallant and meritorious conduct appear the following:

Nathan Beakes Rossell was the oldest son of General Zachariah Rossell, who himself served as Major in the Twenty-fifth and Fifteenth U.S. Infantry during the War of 1812 and was afterwards appointed Adjutant General of New Jersey. Lieutenant Rossell was appointed Second Lieutenant Fifth U.S. Infantry, August 1, 1838. He was wounded in the shoulder at the

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storming of the bishop's palace at Monterey, September 21, 1846, and for gallant conduct at the battle of Molino del Ray was brevetted Major. He subsequently participated in all the engagements between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. This officer, still with the Fifth U.S. Infantry, was killed in action at Gaines Mills, Va., June 27, 1862.

Samuel Gibbs French was a native of Trenton and graduated from West Point in 1843 with the brevet rank of Second Lieutenant and assigned to the Third U.S. Artillery, July 1, 1843. He was twice brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista. At the Fourth of July celebration in Trenton in 1847 Captain French was presented with a handsome sword by a group of his fellow citizens. This officer attained the rank of Major General in the service of the Confederate Army, and served with distinction throughout the Civil War.

George Clinton Westcott was appointed Second Lieutenant, Second U. S. Infantry, in 1838, promoted First Lieutenant November 15, 1846, and brevetted Captain September 13, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepec. He was the son of James D. Westcott of this city, formerly Secretary of State. Captain Westcott died of yellow fever January 8, 1853, on the steamer *Tennessee*, and his remains received an ocean burial.

In the U.S. Navy the following named officers served with distinction:

William E. Hunt was a Captain in the Navy and served throughout the Mexican War in command of the brig *Porpoise*, ten guns. His second in command was Lieutenant Raphael Semmes, famous during the Civil War as the Commander of the Confederate ship *Alabama* which played such havoc with our merchant marine. Captain Hunt, while in command of the sloop of war *Levant*, twenty guns, was lost at sea with his officers and entire crew. He was last heard from September 18, 1860, and regarded and noted by the Navy Department as lost June 30, 1861.

Charles G. Hunter was born and passed his boyhood in Trenton. He entered the Navy as Midshipman in 1824 and served as Lieutenant in the Mexican War. During that period he achieved considerable notoriety in an affair which created some controversy in naval circles and considerable excitement in Trenton. The facts in brief are as follows:

Hunter was ordered by Commodore Matthew C. Perry to proceed with his vessel, the *Scourge*, three guns, to the port of the city of Alvarado, for purpose of blockade, pending the arrival of Commodore Perry with fifteen war ships, which were to act in concert with General Quitman, who with two thousand five hundred troops was to attack the city by land. When Perry, Commander-in-Chief, with his squadron, arrived at the port of Alvarado he was astounded to see the United States flag streaming from the forts and soon learned that Hunter acting on his own responsibility had opened fire on the forts immediately upon his arrival off the city and forced its surrender. The next day he proceeded up the river and captured the town of Fla-Co-Talpam with considerable stores and shipping. This was accomplished without loss of life or bloodshed on either side. His action caused much chagrin and disappointment in the squadron and Hunter was immediately placed under arrest. A court-martial was convened at once

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on board the flagship *Mississippi* and Hunter was found guilty of insubordination and disobedience of orders and sentenced to be dismissed from the squadron after a reprimand by Commodore Perry, who directed the reprimand to be read from the quarter-deck of every vessel in the squadron. This sentence seems to have been imposed for the purpose of humiliating Hunter and to dim the glory of the bloodless victory gained by him; but it rather had the effect of lowering Commodore Perry in public estimation. In his defense Lieutenant Hunter claimed that he, being on detached duty, was vested with discretionary power and was justified in assuming full responsibility, and did, with a single vessel and without bloodshed, that which Commodore Perry thought a large force by land and water was necessary to accomplish.

At the Fourth of July celebration in Trenton in 1847, Hunter was presented with a silver pitcher, on which an inscription was engraved, commemorating the victories at Alvarado and Fla-Co-Talpam. The presentation speech was made by Mercer Beasley, Esq., on behalf of Lieutenant Hunter's friends.

Lieutenant Hunter was subsequently assigned to the command of the revenue cutter *Alleghany* and ordered to the Mediterranean. Beyond the fact that he was dismissed from the Navy January 29, 1855, we find no trace of Hunter's subsequent career.

Philip F. Voorhees entered the Navy in 1809 as Midshipman and remained in active service until 1855 when he was placed on the retired list. He died at Annapolis, Md., February 26, 1862.

Edward M. Yard entered the service as Midshipman, November 1, 1827; passed Midshipman June 10, 1833; Lieutenant February 28, 1838; served throughout the Mexican War; promoted Commander September 14, 1855; served in the Civil War until he was placed on the retired list; and served on special duty from time to time until he resigned May 3, 1866. He died in Trenton, May 27, 1889.

Bayse N. Westcott entered the Navy as Midshipman December 5, 1837, and passed the various grades until his final retirement as Commander, April 4, 1867. He served in the Mexican and Civil Wars, and died in Philadelphia December 6, 1891. He was a close friend of Captain Edward M. Yard and in their later years in Trenton the two old sea-dogs passed much of their time in each other's company, going over their varied experiences in the stirring days of the Mexican and Civil Wars.

Earl English graduated from Annapolis February 25, 1840, as Midshipman and passed through the several grades, reaching that of Rear Admiral, and remained in active service until his retirement in 1886. His residence at the time of his retirement was Culpepper, Va., where he died July 5, 1893. This officer served with distinction throughout the Mexican and Civil Wars.

Louis C. Sartori entered the Navy as Midshipman February 2, 1829; passed Midshipman June 15, 1837; became Lieutenant September 8, 1841; promoted Commander April 27, 1861; Captain, September 26, 1861; and became Commodore December 12, 1873. He went on the retired list June 3, 1874, and died January 11, 1899.

Watson Smith graduated from Annapolis, October 19, 1841; passed the several grades, reaching that of Lieutenant Commander July 16, 1862. He

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served in the Mexican War on the brig *Porpoise* under Captain William E. Hunt. In 1855 he accompanied Captain H. J. Hartstene on the polar expedition fitted out by the Navy Department to search for Dr. E. K. Kane of the *Advance*, a vessel sent out in 1853 to discover, if possible, some traces of the fate of Sir John Franklin. No tidings had been received of Dr. Kane for over two years. The Hartstene expedition consisted of two vessels, the *Release* and the *Arctic*. Smith was acting master on the latter vessel. Commander Smith served in the Civil War until his death, December 19, 1864, of an illness contracted in the Red River expedition. In January 1861 he married Mary, a daughter of the late Counsellor Frederick Kingman of Trenton.

III. Political Feeling in the Civil War, Memorable Events in Trenton, and Civil War Songs

DURING the eventful closing days of 1860, and in 1861 prior to the inauguration of President Lincoln, while there was a unanimity of feeling in favor of the preservation of the Union, it was but natural for some of our citizens of the same political faith as the leaders of the secession movement in the South, and who like them had voted for the candidates of one or the other of the two factions of the Democratic party, or the candidates of the Union party led by Bell and Everett, to express in their utterances a measure of sympathy for the South and object to coercion in treating with the seceding States, and to approve of any efforts looking to compromise, or arbitration, to check the secession movement, and so avoid a resort to arms. Such advocates of conciliation would be classed today as pacifists but were then branded by Republicans as "Copperheads," a designation given them because many Democrats, advocates of state rights, wore on the lapel of their coats the old copper cent with the head of Liberty thereon, as an emblem of their faith in the Constitution. However, when courage was put to the test hundreds of "Copperheads" marched gamely to the front, while many of their defamers remained safely at home.¹

"COPPERHEADS,"—BUT PATRIOTS

With the exception of editorials, more or less bitter at times, characteristic of the partisan press of the period, and taking

¹ Taylor, *Philadelphia in the Civil War*, p. 13.

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advantage of every flaw in the policy of the administration for criticism, there was never at any time during the war any organized or concrete opposition to the conduct of the war by any group of so-called "Copperheads." The press in Trenton—the *True American*, advocating the principles of the Democratic party, and the *Gazette and Republican* those of the Republican party—vied with each other in their editorial columns and in non-partisan public meetings to arouse the people to a realization of the gravity of the coming struggle, the result of which was to determine the preservation or disruption of our great Union. With the actual outbreak of hostilities by the fall of Fort Sumter, all opposition for the time was changed by a suppression of partisan feeling and Democrats, fully as patriotic as their Republican opponents, sprang eagerly to the call to arms for the defense and preservation of a united country. The first complete brigade of infantry, fully uniformed, armed and equipped, to reach Washington from any State after the call of the President for 75,000 men, was the First Brigade, New Jersey Militia, three-months men, under command of Brigadier General Theodore Runyon, a Democrat of unimpeachable patriotism, with a large majority of his officers and enlisted men of the same political faith, who boldly and cheerfully hastened to a conflict which they had earnestly, but vainly, sought to avert. They realized, however, that the first duty of a citizen under the Constitution was to obey the laws of the constituted authorities of the state and national governments. Many of the great Southern leaders, notably Alexander H. Stephens, the statesman, and Robert E. Lee, the soldier, and many others prominent in the political and social life of the South, stood out in public speeches against secession until all opposition to that movement failed, and then, but not until then, from natural feelings of loyalty to their respective States, reluctantly, but with determination, threw their lives and fortunes into a cause which they doubtless realized would be finally lost as the South would not be able to overcome the vast resources of the opposing States, which indeed, notwithstanding the loss of much blood and treasure, emerged from the conflict unscathed by devastation of homes and property, such as was suffered by the South.

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THE "TRUE AMERICAN" SUSPENDS PUBLICATION

Commenting on the disaster at Bull Run and the existing political situation the *True American* gave voice to sentiments to which Administration supporters took exception. On August 24 of the same year, Judge Naar decided to suspend publication, declaring that while willing to give the support every loyal citizen owes to the government, "we cannot so compromise our self-respect as to continue publication under the positive or implied requirement that we are to yield a hearty support to all the measures of the Administration." The step was announced as follows:

It is with profound regret that we find ourselves under the necessity of announcing the intention from this day to suspend the publication of the *True American* until such time (should it ever occur) when we can under the guarantee of the *Constitution* and laws, publish it without fear of mob law or of governmental dictation We take pride in saying in defiance of all contradiction that nothing has ever appeared in its columns indicating disloyalty to the Government either of the Nation or the State, or in any way abusing the high privilege of *perfect freedom* accorded by the *Constitution* to the press. Further than this we must leave others to say. Nevertheless, it is admitted we have expressed our thoughts freely and in accordance with our honest convictions, but in language tempered by those social and conventionable restrictions intended to guard the intercourse of the members of a civilized community. . . .

On September 25, 1861, the United States Grand Jury for the District of New Jersey sitting at Trenton with Ephraim Marsh as chairman brought in a presentment against the *Newark Journal*, the *Warren Journal*, the *Hunterdon Democrat*, the *New Brunswick Times*, the *Plainfield Gazette* and the *Hackettstown Gazette*, for alleged treasonable utterances. Several other New Jersey newspapers including the *True American* were generally charged with secession proclivities but were not named in the presentment.²

The *True American* resumed its issue October 7, 1861, retracting nothing of what it had said.

President Lincoln during his entire administration was subjected to far more trouble and annoyance from interference in his war policy, first from the abolitionists and later from the radical wing of his own party led by Thaddeus Stevens, than

² Knapp, *New Jersey Politics during the Period of the Civil War*.

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from any action or criticism of the "Copperheads." Looking back over a period of more than three-score years, political conditions of that period can be dispassionately discussed and commented on. While it is conceded that after the outbreak of hostilities any plan of adjustment with the South which included the perpetuation of slavery was unthinkable, yet it cannot be denied that many of the evils predicted by Democratic statesmen that would result from continued disregard of the Constitution were but too fully realized after the death of President Lincoln and the coming into power of the radical element of his own party, and the unhappy and scandalous period of "Reconstruction Days" which subjected the South, a vanquished but brave people, to insult, persecution and degradation. This condition culminated in 1876 with the decision of a partisan electoral commission, based on a report of an investigation submitted by a group of "visiting statesmen." By the decision of this commission the electoral vote giving him a majority of one vote in the electoral college was awarded to the Republican candidate.

Probably the remarks of Professor Seelye, at that time a Republican member of Congress from Massachusetts, in a speech in Congress, picture the whole miserable business in a nutshell. He said:

It seems to me perfectly clear that the charges made by each side against the other are in the main true. No facts were ever proved more conclusively than the fraud and corruption charged on the one side and the intimidation and cruelty charged on the other. The corruption of the one side seems as heinous as the cruelty of the other side is horrible.

And so it was that "fraud and corruption" won out, and "first became triumphant in American history."

This reference to the election of 1876 seems pertinent to this narrative because of the fact that Dr. Simon B. Conover, a native of Cranbury, Middlesex County, well known in Trenton where he was at one time a resident and conducted a drug store at Broad and Market Streets, was a United States Senator from Florida during the "Carpet-bag" régime, serving from 1873 to 1879 and figured in the machinations resulting in the delivery of the electoral vote of Florida to the Republican presidential candidate.

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STATE AND CITY OFFICIALS IN THE CIVIL WAR

Because in the stirring times of war the character of the men whose hands are at the helm of government is of even greater importance than in "the piping times of peace," it is of interest to know who occupied the positions of trust in the city and state during the Civil War. The following list is therefore given :

Governors of New Jersey

CHARLES S. OLDEN
1860-1863

JOEL PARKER
1863-1866

Adjutant General of New Jersey

ROBERT F. STOCKTON
1858-1867

Quartermaster General of New Jersey

LEWIS PERRINE
1855-1889

Mayors of Trenton

FRANKLIN S. MILLS
1859-1861

WILLIAM R. MCKEAN
1861-1863

FRANKLIN S. MILLS
1863-1867

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN TRENTON

An event of historic interest was the reception to President-elect Lincoln in this city, February 21, 1861, while en route to Washington for his inauguration. The party accompanying Mr. Lincoln was met at Jersey City by Governor Olden and a joint committee of the Legislature as the State's Escort to Trenton. The train containing Mr. Lincoln and suite arrived at the railroad station, then located at State Street and the Canal, at 12 o'clock noon of February 21 and was greeted by a large crowd that had assembled at that point. When the train came to a stop Mr. Lincoln and his suite stepped to the platform and proceeded to the Tremont House, kept by Major Joseph Cunningham, where His Honor, Mayor Franklin S. Mills, was waiting to receive them, and to whom Mr. Lincoln was presented by the Hon. William L. Dayton. The mayor welcomed the distinguished visitor in a brief speech to which Mr. Lincoln responded with a few remarks on the pride and pleasure he felt in accepting the hospitality of our historic town. The crowd about the Tremont

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House and from there to Montgomery Street made the thoroughfare almost impassable. At the conclusion of Mr. Lincoln's brief response to the mayor, the cavalcade formed under Captain Robert C. Belleville, chief marshal, and his aides in the following order:

Horsemen; Paterson Blues; Trenton Rifles; Barouche with the President-elect and State Committee; Suite of President-elect; Mayor and Common Council; Citizens.

Arriving at the State House Mr. Lincoln was first taken to the Senate Chamber where he was introduced to President Perry and the other senators. After a short address of welcome by the president of the Senate, to which Mr. Lincoln made a brief response, he was taken to the Assembly Chamber and introduced by Speaker Teese to the members. Here also brief speeches of welcome and response were made. After these ceremonies the party was escorted to the Trenton House where a collation had been prepared.

In response to repeated calls and continuous cheering by the people assembled on Warren Street, Mr. Lincoln stepped from a window on the second story to a staging which had been erected and spoke to the crowd below in his characteristic manner as follows:

I was kindly invited by your representatives in the Legislature to visit the Capital of your honored State and in acknowledging their kind invitation I was compelled to respond to the welcome of the presiding officer of each body and I suppose they intended I should speak to you through them as they are the representatives of all of you; and if I should speak here, I should only have to repeat in a great measure much that I then said which would be uninteresting to my friends who greet me here. I have no speech to make but merely appear to you and let the ladies look at me. And as to the latter, I think I have decidedly the best of the bargain. My friends, allow me to bid you farewell.

During Mr. Lincoln's stay at the Trenton House a great crowd remained in and about the hotel, all anxious to get a look at him; a number of citizens called on him and a general and cordial handshaking took place. About two o'clock the escort was re-formed in the original order and moved to the railroad station, where Mr. Lincoln and suite took the train for Phil-

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adelphia³ and thence on to Washington where for more than four long and weary years of internal strife and bloodshed, such as no other civilized nation has ever undergone, he was confronted with the most difficult problems which, up to that period, had ever been turned over to a President of the United States by his predecessor. In the solution of those problems he had to overcome or withstand the continuous opposition and criticism of political friend and foe alike, in his efforts to save to posterity an unbroken Union of the sovereign States of our country.

MEMORABLE DAYS IN TRENTON

All through the four weary years of the War the interest of our citizens was centered largely on the movements of the Army of the Potomac. News from armies in the far South and Southwest attracted but perfunctory attention. Newsboys with "extras" on the hot summer afternoons of those eventful years, lazily droning out "a-n-o-t-h-e-r b-a-t-t-l-e i-n M-i-z-o-u-r-e-e," found few purchasers; but all intelligence from the Army of the Potomac—almost all the boys from Trenton were in that army,—was eagerly and anxiously looked for, and extra editions of local or Philadelphia papers containing tidings of a battle in Virginia found ready purchasers. So, at different periods during the progress of the war there were days of much excitement

³ In Philadelphia in the late afternoon of February 21, 1861, following his reception in Trenton, I saw Abraham Lincoln as he, with his suite, alighted from carriages at the Ninth Street entrance to the Continental Hotel. I saw him again in the latter part of December 1864, in Grover's Theatre, Washington, at a play entitled "Gamea; or the Hebrew Fortune Teller." It was a rather swashbuckling affair featuring a female actress "Vestvali," as a cavalier in the leading part. There was a good bit of sword play in the piece.

When Lincoln came in, entirely unattended, leading a little boy by the hand, he passed around to the right, back of what used to be called the "dress circle," and entered the lower box. The theatre was about half filled, and with the exception of some hand-clapping, to which he made no acknowledgment, no other notice was taken of his presence. On both of these occasions I noticed that apparent languor in his movements and that expression of weariness in his face which many writers have attributed to the foreshadowing in his mind of coming events, or the cares of his great office, but which I think are characteristics common to the long-limbed, loose-jointed and slow-moving western men of his physical type.—S.S.A.

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in Trenton; days in the first year of the war when the streets of Trenton in front of the *True American* office at the southwest corner of Warren and Front Streets and the *State Gazette and Republican* office at the northeast corner of State and Warren Streets were the gathering points for crowds desirous of hearing the latest news from Washington and Virginia as announced on bulletin boards at those places. Few, very few, now living can recall to memory those early years of the '60's.

The first of those exciting days was that on which news of the attack on Fort Sumter, followed by its reduction and surrender, was received. This news was of special interest to our citizens as Major Robert Anderson, commanding officer of Fort Sumter, was well known and had many warm friends in Trenton, he having been stationed here as inspector of iron-work turned out by the Trenton Iron Works Company, under contracts with the United States government for public buildings constructed under the Treasury Department from July 20, 1855, to November 15, 1859. The fall of Fort Sumter provoked much feeling in Trenton, and newspaper offices, and even private homes, were besieged by crowds demanding the display of the national colors by those looked upon as being lukewarm in expressions of patriotism. The call of the President for seventy-five thousand militia; the firing on troops passing through Baltimore en route to Washington; the crossing of the Union troops over the Long Bridge to Virginia; the tragic death in Alexandria of Colonel Ellsworth of the New York Fire Zouaves at the hands of James W. Jackson, the proprietor of the Marshall House, who shot him as he was descending the stairway of the hotel carrying over his arm a Confederate flag which he had just taken from the roof, followed by the killing of Jackson by Sergeant Brownell of the Zouaves, served to keep alive the excitement on our streets during those early days of the war.

THE NEWS FROM BULL RUN AND FROM WILLIAMSBURG

The height of popular agitation was reached, however, on that memorable Sunday, July 21, 1861, when rumors of the defeat of the Union Army under command of Major General Irwin McDowell at Bull Run were received,—rumors verified on the

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days immediately following with particulars of the disaster, and of the panic of our troops as they fled in dismay, pursued, as they imagined, by the dreaded Black Horse Cavalry and the "Louisiana Tigers."

The retreat from Bull Run was not without a humorous side. Many civilians (including some from Trenton) and newspaper correspondents had gone down to Washington, and from thence, in hacks or other conveyances, over into Virginia to witness what was to be an easy victory for the Union Army; but when they realized that our army was badly beaten and retreating in confusion they were to be found in the van of the fleeing and disordered troops on their mad stampede to Washington. A few days afterwards "Charlie" Jay, writing to the *True American*, said: "Things are looking better; the retreat has slowed down to a walk."

Early in the spring of 1862 the Army of the Potomac under command of McClellan was advancing on its drive for Richmond; Yorktown was besieged in April and May by the Union troops and the battle of Williamsburg was fought May 5, 1862. Of the New Jersey Volunteers, the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Regiments took part in this engagement. In the Fifth Regiment Captain Robert S. Gould's company, "E," Lewis Guards, and Captain Charles Ewing's company, "B," Livingston Guards, of the Sixth New Jersey Infantry, were the Trenton companies engaged, and particulars of the battle were awaited with much apprehension by those having relatives and friends in the New Jersey organizations. In the delay of any official list of casualties the anxiety for definite information increased.

When authentic particulars were finally received with lists of the killed and wounded in the New Jersey regiments the people of Trenton were for the first time brought to a realization of the tragedy of war, more especially as it was then learned that on that bloody day at Williamsburg fell two gallant young officers from Trenton—Lieutenant DeKlyn Lalor of Company E and Aaron Wilkes, Adjutant of the Sixth Regiment, besides Private Walter S. McCormick of Captain Ewing's company. There

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were several other of our young men serving in the ranks of the Jersey troops killed or wounded on that day.

When the bodies of Lalor, Wilkes, and McCormick reached Trenton, they were buried with military honors. Walter McCormick was an estimable young man, an employee in the office of the *True American*, and had many friends in Trenton.

Another happening, June 23, 1862, causing considerable excitement in Trenton, was an accident to a troop train running on the Camden and Amboy Railroad along the Delaware and Raritan Canal between two and three miles below the city. The train consisted of twenty-five cars heavily loaded with men, horses, cannon and other ordnance stores, together with commissary and quartermaster stores, etc., of the Eighth Battery, Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteers.

President Lincoln and suite returning from West Point had passed through Trenton over this road a few hours before the accident en route to Washington via Camden. After the special had passed the spot where later the accident occurred a gang of workmen making some repairs, not knowing of the coming of the troop train, had removed several rails. The engineer of the troop train, although sighting the working gang, failed to notice the absence of any rails and ran ahead, causing the accident which resulted in the overturning of some of the cars and the drowning of two men, George E. Smith and Hosea Packard, and twelve horses of the battery. As this accident occurred within the boundaries of Mercer County, Coroner LaRue called a jury and held an inquest on the bodies of the unfortunate men and rendered a verdict in accordance with the facts without censuring the engineer of the train or the working gang.

GENERAL MC CLELLAN'S SOJOURN IN TRENTON

An event of particular local interest was the arrival here of General George B. McClellan after he was relieved by executive order from the command of the Army of the Potomac, with instructions from the General-in-Chief to turn his command over to General Burnside, repair to Trenton and report for further orders.

General McClellan arrived in Trenton at 4 a.m., November

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12, 1862, on the "owl train" from Washington. He was accompanied by Colonel E. H. Wright, son of former United States Senator William Wright, of Newark; Lieutenant Colonel E. M. K. Hudson, Lieutenant Colonel Paul von Radowitz, Lieutenant Colonel A. V. Colburn, Captain J. C. Duane and several other officers, civilians, clerks, etc. They proceeded directly to the State Street House (now the Hotel Sterling), then under the management of Charles M. Norcross, where quarters for himself, family and staff had been reserved, and where Mrs. McClellan with her parents, General and Mrs. Marcy, and near friends were anxiously awaiting their arrival.

After greeting relatives and friends the General retired to his room for much needed rest. He remained in his room all day, admitting only a limited number of visitors and those being personal friends and acquaintances. In the evening an immense crowd assembled in front of the hotel and the Trenton Cornet Band commenced a serenade. After several airs had been played, the Hon. Andrew Dutcher appeared and requested the assemblage to preserve order as General McClellan was about to come out. A few minutes later McClellan stepped quickly out to the front steps at the hotel entrance, and was greeted with tremendous cheering. He looked well and appeared to be in robust health. With a few appropriate remarks, Mr. Dutcher introduced him to the assembly and he at once began speaking in a clear voice, as follows:

My friends—for I feel that you are all my friends—I stand before you, not as a maker of speeches, not as a politician, but as a soldier. I came among you to seek quiet and repose, and from the moment of my arrival I have received nothing but kindness. Although I appear before you as a stranger, I am not altogether unacquainted with your history. Your gallant soldiers were with me in every battle, from the siege of Yorktown to the Battle of Antietam, and I here bear witness to their devotion to the cause for which we are fighting. [Here the cheering caused the General to pause for nearly ten minutes; continuing, he said:] I also have to speak of the ever faithful, ever true Taylor; the dashing and intrepid Kearny—men who have given their lives for the maintenance of our government, and before bidding you good night, I have this advice to give you: While the Army is fighting, you as citizens must see that the war is prosecuted for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution, for your nationality and your rights as citizens.

The crowd about the hotel remained for a long time and in

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further answer to repeated calls, McClellan appeared at the window and thanking the people bade them "good night."

The *New York Herald's* correspondent spoke of this demonstration to McClellan in Trenton as "unprecedented, both as to numbers and enthusiasm."

As were the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, our citizens were deeply impressed by McClellan's winning personality and freedom from anything like ostentation, in short, they found him a man who would be sure to inspire love and respect among his comrades-in-arms and all others with whom he came in contact.

Mrs. McClellan and General and Mrs. Marcy came in for a large share of admiration and favorable comment for the democratic but dignified and refined manner in which they assisted in greeting the stream of visitors who called daily to pay their respects to General McClellan many of whom, veterans of the Army of the Potomac, greeted him as their "Old Commander."

A letter received from an officer in the army to a friend in Trenton reads as follows:

In Camp Near Fredericksburg, Va., November 22, 1862.

The removal of McClellan has thrown a deep gloom over the army, which in my opinion, may prove disastrous to our army. The whole army had more confidence in him than in any other man in the country; and he could get more fight out of them than any other man. . . .

The forebodings expressed above were soon to be realized by the disasters of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville while the Army of the Potomac was under the command of Burnside and Hooker respectively.

A correspondent in the local press speaking of McClellan's popularity exclaimed:

One is surprised after a short visit [to him] to account for the bitterness of the radical press, except upon the theory that he is, in look and gesture, mind and manners, the very opposite of radicalism.

Of course the criticism of McClellan in the local press was not all favorable; articles were written charging him with being overcautious, and procrastinating in his movements in following up advantages gained, etc. His loyalty and courage were never questioned.

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McClellan's relief from command of the Army of the Potomac terminated his service in the Army of the United States. He remained in Trenton some two months until his affairs with the War Department were adjusted and he then for a time occupied a home in New York City until he finally established himself and family in a beautiful home on the Orange Mountains in New Jersey.

THE PENNSYLVANIA EMERGENCY

The disasters to the Union arms in Virginia following the removal of McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac had a depressing effect on the people, manifested in Trenton and elsewhere by the difficulty experienced in obtaining recruits or reenlistments for the diminishing ranks of the regiments in the field and for the new organizations forming under calls for more troops. This difficulty was increased for the reason that many members of regiments whose term of service was expiring were induced by officers of the U.S. Army to enlist in the regular service, and it was only by offers of large bounties that cities, counties and townships were enabled to fill their respective quotas without recourse to the impending draft. The draft was most unpopular and enrolling officers were greatly hampered in the work assigned to them in connection therewith. The invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania by Lee in June and July 1863, terminating in the battle of Gettysburg, was a source of disturbed feeling in Trenton. The streets were filled by anxious crowds eager to learn of the movements of the Confederate Army under Lee; the telegraph office was besieged and the street in front was almost impassable. On June 15, 1863, President Lincoln called for one hundred thousand militia to repel the threatened invasion of Maryland, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio by the Confederate Army, and in response to this call, and an urgent request from Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, Governor Parker under date of June 17, 1863, called upon the citizens of the State to organize as military companies to march at once to the assistance of Pennsylvania during the emergency existing there. Under this call

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the following named militia organizations from Trenton volunteered for the relief of Pennsylvania:

Company A, New Jersey Militia: Captain, William R. Murphy; three commissioned officers and sixty-one enlisted men.

Company B, New Jersey Militia: Captain, George F. Marshall; three commissioned officers and thirty-nine enlisted men.

Company C, New Jersey Militia: Captain, James C. Manning; three commissioned officers and fifty enlisted men.

Company I, New Jersey Militia: Captain, Joseph A. Yard; three commissioned officers and thirty-nine enlisted men.

The Trenton companies with the other militia companies from New Jersey under this call, upon their arrival at Harrisburg, Pa., reported to Major General Couch, commanding the Department of Militia, and were organized into two battalions. Captain William R. Murphy of Company A was assigned to the command of the First Battalion. At the end of their thirty days' service they were returned to Trenton for discharge. The thanks of Governor Curtin were tendered for their service in Pennsylvania.

Except for receptions given in June to the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Infantry, New Jersey Volunteers, on their return after the expiration of their term of service, the town had quieted down from the excitement attending the invasion of Pennsylvania.

In March 1864 General Grant was placed in command of all armies in the field, himself taking command of the Army of the Potomac. May 4 he began activities by crossing the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness where he was attacked by Lee and the Battle of the Wilderness was fought. The result was indecisive and frustrated Grant's plan of placing himself between Lee and Richmond. The battles of Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor followed, and within some thirty days after the crossing of the Rapidan, Grant had lost in killed, wounded and missing 54,939 men, and no advantage had been gained. It was after the battle of Spottsylvania that Grant wrote to Halleck, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Lee's losses were much less; indeed, as matters stood after the butchery of Cold Harbor, his army, strengthened with some reinforcements, emerged from thirty days of incessant fighting almost as

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large as it was at the beginning of the campaign. It did take Grant "all summer" and well into the spring of 1865, at a dreadful sacrifice of life, before the Confederacy was finally vanquished.

The presidential campaign of 1864 resulting in the reelection of Abraham Lincoln was of much interest in Trenton as General McClellan, the Democratic nominee, during his stay here after his relief from the command of the Army of the Potomac had made many friends in our community; and with the parades, meetings and flag-raising of both political parties; with speeches by prominent men of New Jersey and neighboring States; and the current war news, the town was kept very much alive, although people were getting war-weary and the activities of the armies in the field raised but little interest.

THE END OF THE WAR

Much apprehension was felt in the early spring of 1865 when it was announced that a draft to fill Trenton's quota would begin March 28, at the Provost Marshal's office in Odd Fellows Hall, at the southwest corner of Greene and Hanover Streets, and continue daily until the quota was completed. The lists of names drawn were published daily and the substitute brokers prepared for a big harvest. Substitutes were furnished by these thrifty patriots at prices ranging from \$500 to \$1,000, and notorious bounty jumpers enlisted early and often in the place of drafted citizens. But the end was rapidly approaching and it was soon apparent that our citizens drafted under this last call would not be mustered into service. First came the fall of Richmond, and on Sunday, April 9, 1865, a little after 10 p.m., news was received of the surrender of General Robert E. Lee and the remnant of his army. The news ran through the town like wild-fire; crowds passed through State Street and Warren Street cheering, and the City Hall bell and the church bells began ringing and kept it up until midnight. The rejoicing in the streets was kept up until nearly daybreak; and on Tuesday a salute of two hundred guns was fired on the State House grounds in the rear of the Capitol in honor of the final victory of the Union arms in Virginia.

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In a few days an order was issued by the Secretary of War directing that all further recruiting and drafting be stopped, to the great relief of those citizens of Trenton whose names had appeared in the lists of conscripts.

But the rejoicing at the success of our armies was soon to be turned to expressions of horror and grief, for on the early morning of Saturday, April 15, the shocking news was received of the assassination on the night before of President Lincoln in Ford's Theatre, Washington, by John Wilkes Booth, and in a few hours the decorations of victory on our public buildings and many private homes were changed for the inky emblems of mourning. With the final passage on April 24 through our city of the funeral train bearing the body of the beloved President, stricken down in the hour of national victory, and with the welcome tendered by the city authorities to the returning veterans by detachments or complete organizations, terminating with the reception, May 2, 1866, to the Thirty-fourth Infantry, New Jersey Volunteers, which had been retained on duty in Alabama, Trenton's memorable connections with the great war were ended.

SONGS OF THE CIVIL WAR

No people, unless in old Scotland in the feudal days of the clans and the border wars, ever produced so many battle songs as those written by American song-writers during the period of the Civil War. The attempt will be made here to give a brief account of some of the more popular ones, taken entirely from memory as but little reference to them could be found in any literature on the war of 1861-65. They were all popular in Trenton.

"Dixie" came out in 1860, before the Civil War, and, becoming popular in the South, was adopted as its own. In addition to "Dixie," the only songs of the South that survived the war were "Maryland, My Maryland," set to the music of a beautiful German air, and the "Bonnie Blue Flag that Bears a Single Star."

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In the North one of the earlier songs was "When This Cruel War Is Over." The air to this sentimental song was plaintive in tone and became extremely popular. President Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand troops brought out "We Are Coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand More." "John Brown's Body Lies a-Mouldering in the Grave, But His Soul Goes Marching On," became very popular. The music was taken from a revival song of the day, beginning, "Say, brothers, will you meet us," and was also adapted by Julia Ward Howe as the music to her "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

"'Tis Just Before the Battle, Mother"; "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp the Boys Are Marching"; "Who Will Care for Mother Now" and "The Battle Cry of Freedom," or "We'll Rally Round the Flag, Boys," were also much favored.

"When Johnny Comes Marching Home" was a tremendous favorite and because of its brisk, catchy melody was used by the young people of those faraway days at the wind-up, or "All Hands Around" of the "Lancers," and the quadrille.

When McClellan, after his successful campaign in West Virginia, was assigned to the command of the Army of the Potomac, "McClellan Is Our Leader" was produced, and when he was first removed from the command of that army, the clamor from the veterans of the Army of the Potomac for his restoration was voiced in "Give Us Back Our Old Commander," which was done, and he defeated Lee at Antietam.

In 1862, when McClellan's army fell back from before Richmond and reoccupied some of its former camp sites, the song "Tenting Tonight on the Old Camp Ground" became, and still is, a favorite melody.

The late Justice Alfred Reed of the Supreme Court, in those days a popular young lawyer, had a fine tenor voice and was fond of these songs which he sang with much expression. The writer remembers one in particular which he heard him sing. It was of a faithful old slave bewailing the sad changes that war had brought to the old plantation. It ran as follows:

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Since Massa's gone to wah,
The devil's been to pay,
The cotton-pickin' niggers
Have all run away;
Some are up at Richmond,
The good-for-nothing scamps,
Some are diggin' muck
In the Union Army camps.

Chorus: Come back, Massa, come back,
O, come back, Massa, come back;
Come back to Uncle Sam
And be a Union man,
And save the old plantation.

Others of more or less popularity are recalled, but we shall take space to mention only one of these which, with the exception of "Dixie," has outlived in popularity all the others,—the famous "Marching Through Georgia," dedicated to General Sherman.

Listening to these old melodies calls up, in the hearts of the few of us who lived in those never-to-be-forgotten days, feelings that can hardly be realized by the present rapid-living and busy generation.

IV. Services of the State and City in the Civil War

IN 1861 the militia forces of the State were organized under the revision of the militia law of April 17, 1846, which divided the militia into county brigades, each under the command of a Brigadier General; the several brigades were formed into divisions designated as the First, Second, Third and Fourth Divisions, respectively. Although some amendments had been made to this antiquated Act between 1846 and 1861, the general provisions were the same, dividing the militia between the ages of eighteen and forty-five into two classes, the active and the reserve; the former comprised all persons liable to military duty who were enlisted in the uniformed companies of the several brigades, and the reserve consisted of the residue or unorganized portion of the militia.

Many years of profound peace, and the absence of any cause for alarm, had left the reserve militia entirely unorganized and to a great extent unenrolled throughout the State, while the

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active militia or uniformed companies were almost entirely supported by patriotic individual effort with little or no encouragement from the state or national government. The active militia amounted in the aggregate to about four thousand four hundred officers and enlisted men, consisting in a great measure of scattered companies allotted to the several county brigades, and these organizations in many instances were but poorly armed and equipped. So when the State was suddenly called upon to detail from the militia a brigade of four regiments of infantry for immediate service, with a probability of being called on later for a larger force, an immediate organization of the reserve militia was deemed necessary and orders for that purpose were issued.

In the meantime existing uniformed companies were raised, and within a week after the acceptance of the first company the required brigade was organized; fifteen days after the call to arms by the Federal Executive, New Jersey had her brigade ready to move to Washington, for national defense.

ARMS AND EQUIPMENT

The arms and accoutrements in possession of the State in the beginning of the year 1861 were limited in quantity and of inferior pattern. Rifled, percussion and flint-lock muskets aggregating about six thousand stands with less than one thousand rifles of more modern pattern were in the hands of the uniformed companies of the militia. Many of these arms were of obsolete pattern and were at once called in, and those in store at the Arsenal⁴ were put in condition for active service. Under

⁴ This old building, the scene of so many activities during the Mexican, the Civil, the Spanish-American and the World War, covering a period of nearly ninety years, has been abandoned as an arsenal and turned over by the Quartermaster General to the custody of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies.

All serviceable military property stored at the Trenton Arsenal has been removed to the new arsenal completed in 1928 at the State camp grounds, Sea Girt.

When the present State prison was finished in 1836, the inmates of the old penitentiary were transferred to the new institution and the Mercer County authorities were permitted the use of the old building as a jail until the new County jail, then in course of construction, was completed. After the removal of the County prisoners to the new jail, the old prison, as had

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contracts for these repairs about seven thousand five hundred flint-lock muskets, caliber 58, were changed to percussion and rifled to suit the required service.

There were no breech-loading rifles in possession of the State and few, if any, in the U.S. Army in 1861.

ORGANIZATION OF TROOPS

On the fifteenth of April, 1861, President Lincoln made his memorable proclamation, calling on the militia of the several States for seventy-five thousand men for three months' service for the national defense, and on the same day the Secretary of War notified Governor Olden that New Jersey's quota would require, including officers and enlisted men, a force amounting to 3,123.

On April 17 Governor Olden issued his proclamation calling on the militia for four regiments of infantry to total in strength the number shown in the schedule accompanying the requisition of the Secretary of War. Under date of April 16 the Adjutant General, Robert F. Stockton, ordered Captain William R. Murphy, Company A National Guard, First Regiment, Mercer Brigade, to report to the Quartermaster General of the State, which order was complied with, and on the same day General Lewis Perrine, Quartermaster General, directed Captain Murphy to proceed with his command to the State Arsenal for guard duty at that place. The duty was performed by that organization with such fidelity as to elicit the commendation of Governor Olden at the termination of this important service, for the Arsenal had suddenly become the scene of much activity.

The Arsenal buildings being found inadequate for the increased demand on their facilities in the work of equipping the four regiments, a large and commodious building was constructed, twenty-five feet wide by one-hundred and fifty feet long, and two stories in height.

been recommended by Governors Southard and Vroom, was turned over to General Samuel R. Hamilton, Quartermaster General, to be used as an arsenal for the storage of the ordnance, ordnance stores and camp and garrison equipage which had up to that time been kept in the old State Bank building at the northwest corner of Warren and Bank Streets and in the loft of the State House.

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The State was without camp and garrison equipage, and vacant houses were rented for the accommodation of the Third and Fourth Regiments. They were billeted at the different hotels and boarding houses for meals. For the accommodation of the First and Second Regiments, barracks were hastily erected within the Arsenal inclosure, and two mess-halls, each one hundred and fifty feet long with a commodious kitchen, were also constructed. Subsistence for the troops was furnished by contract.

The First Regiment was clothed at Newark, by authority of the Quartermaster General at the expense of the State. The Second Regiment was mostly clothed by a committee of liberal and patriotic gentlemen, citizens of Jersey City, at their own expense without authority from the State. The entire brigade of four regiments was armed and equipped at the Arsenal.

The organization, arming and equipping of the First Brigade, New Jersey Militia, being completed, it was mustered into the service of the United States at Trenton, on April 30, 1861, to serve three months, by Major Theodore T. A. Laidley and Lieutenant Alfred T. A. Torbert of the U.S. Army, and left Trenton for the seat of war May 3, 1861. In consequence of the destruction of railroads and bridges between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and in order that no time might be lost thereby in forwarding the troops when ready for marching orders, fourteen steam transports were chartered by General Perrine, fitted up at great expense, and the entire command accompanied by a state battery of four brass field-pieces, all under command of Brigadier General Theodore Runyon, left Trenton for Washington. General Runyon with his brigade reported to President Lincoln at Washington, May 6, 1861, being the first fully organized brigade to reach the national capital for its defense. This prompt response to the call of the President was acknowledged in a letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Olden in which he said :

Allow me to tender to you the thanks of this department for the very prompt and efficient manner in which you, and the people of your State, have responded to the requisition made upon you.

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The New Jersey troops being among the earliest to reach the seat of war, and being the only fully organized brigade there, were at once assigned to the important and urgent duty of strengthening the defenses of the national capital, at that time seriously threatened and supposed to be in imminent danger; and their timely services were repeatedly acknowledged. This brigade was not in active service at the battle of Bull Run, Sunday, July 21, 1861, but as reported by Major General Irwin McDowell commanding the army at the Bull Run disaster July 21, 1861, the First and Second Regiments, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, were ordered up from Runyon's brigade to assist in checking, or covering the retreat of the panic-stricken army. The Third Regiment (containing the three Trenton companies) and the Fourth Regiment, New Jersey Militia, performed no other service during the battle of Bull Run than guarding communication with Washington by way of Vienna, and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

Upon the expiration of their term of service July 31, 1861, the four regiments, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, of Runyon's brigade were honorably discharged; a large portion of them, however, immediately volunteered their services and were mustered in with one or the other of the three-year regiments then forming.

According to General Runyon's report to the governor, the brigade lost by death from all causes, during its absence from New Jersey, but four men, two of whom were of the First Regiment, and the others of the Fourth. Ensign Henry K. Zehner of Company D, Third Regiment, Captain Mulford's company, died July 28, 1861, at Washington, D.C. There were no other casualties in the Trenton companies.

Lieutenant Zehner was the first citizen from Trenton and the first commissioned officer from New Jersey to give up his life in the service of his country, and the arrival of his remains in Trenton was made the occasion of the first military funeral here of the Civil War.

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THREE-YEAR REGIMENTS, VOLUNTEERS

Trenton had now become the scene of great military activity.⁵ Tents were erected in the Arsenal yard and were also pitched in the grounds about the State House. Most of the rooms in the State House were turned over to the use of military officers, who in their attractive uniforms were constantly passing in and out of the building.⁶ With the rotunda and corridors filled with recruits; the marching and countermarching of detachments and squads of troops in the streets to the inspiring music of fife and drum; the foreign-looking Zouaves with baggy red trousers and fez; mounted officers and orderlies dashing to and from the State House to the Arsenal and the mobilization camps, our quiet town suddenly put on much of the "pomp and circumstance of war" strangely at variance with the sleepy period of those peaceful years following the return of the volunteers from Mexico.

⁵ Trenton was the headquarters of the Second Congressional District of New Jersey, which district was composed of the Counties of Ocean, Burlington, Monmouth and Mercer. The Provost Marshal of the district was James R. Coppock, stationed in Trenton at the southeast corner of Warren and Front Streets, to take charge of the recruiting, enrolling, drafting, arresting of deserters, etc., in his district.

From the beginning of the Civil War until October 26, 1861, the State of New Jersey was in the Military Department of the East under the command of Major General John E. Wool. From October 26, 1861, to February 1, 1862, New Jersey was not in any military department. From February 1, 1862, to March 22, 1862, the State was in the Military Department of the Potomac, under the command of Major General George B. McClellan. From March 22, 1862, to February 6, 1863, New Jersey was in the Middle Department under the command of Major General John A. Dix, Major General John E. Wool, and Major General Robert C. Schenk, respectively. From February 6, 1863, to the end of the war, it was in the Department of the East, under the command of Major General John E. Wool, Major General John A. Dix, and Major General Joseph Hooker, respectively.

⁶ The first camp in Trenton was just outside of the Arsenal walls and was called Camp Olden in honor of Governor Olden; later this name was given to the large camp on the Sandtown road near Pond Run, where many of the New Jersey regiments were mobilized and mustered into Federal service.

Camp Perrine was located on the East bank of the Delaware and Raritan canal opposite the State Prison. There was a cavalry camp, Camp Halsted, along the feeder near Moses Woods, now the junction of West Hanover and Passaic Streets. Camp Bayard was situated west of South Broad Street and south of Cass.

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The war had meanwhile assumed a magnitude which made imperative a call for a larger number of troops for a longer term of service for its suppression, and May 3, 1861, the President issued his proclamation calling for men for three-year service, under which call three regiments were assigned to New Jersey.

A proposition was made by Governor Olden to the War Department at Washington for the State to furnish the necessary clothing, equipment and camp and garrison equipage as specified in general orders, to be inspected and paid for in accordance with the customary rules of the service as observed towards other contractors. The proposition was accepted and within three weeks the necessary supplies were furnished and delivered at the Arsenal. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1861, the three regiments were sent forward by rail to Washington, amply provided with everything necessary for active service.

Following the consternation and excitement occasioned by the overwhelming defeat sustained by the Union forces at Bull Run, all hopes for a speedy suppression of the rebellion vanished and it was realized that this country was to face a long, obstinate and bloody war. Under date of July 29, 1861, the Secretary of War under authority of the President called on Governor Olden for five new regiments in addition to the three three-year regiments then in the field. The Fourth Regiment was the first of these five regiments to leave for the front.

ORGANIZED MILITIA COMPANIES OF TRENTON SERVING IN NEW JERSEY REGIMENTS

Of the forty-one militia companies formed in Trenton from August 12, 1861, to December 18, 1861, only eleven attained to the numerical strength requisite for muster into Federal service. Consequently, many members of the weaker organizations were transferred to the companies nearest completion, to fill them up to the required strength. These completed organizations served in the following-named regiments:

THREE-MONTHS MEN

Third Regiment, Militia

Company A: Joseph A. Yard, Captain; Robert S. Gould, First Lieutenant; Charles Ewing, Ensign.

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Company C (Wilkinson Volunteers): Isaac Paul Lykens, Captain; John W. Neal, First Lieutenant; John R. Beatty, Ensign.

Company D (Jersey Blues): Samuel Mulford, Captain; Franklin S. Mills, First Lieutenant; Henry K. Zehner, Ensign.

THREE-YEAR MEN

First Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company B (Company B, National Guard): Sylvester Van Sickell, Captain (resigned July 31, 1862); William H. Tantum, Captain (vice Van Sickell, resigned); William Brant, W., Captain (vice Tantum, promoted).

Fourth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company B (Wilson Zouaves): William Sedden, Captain (deserted March 24, 1862); Robert S. Johnston, Captain (vice Sedden, deserted); Horatio S. Howell, Captain (vice Johnston, mustered out).

Company C (Stevens Guards): Heathcote F. Disbrow, Captain (resigned December 20, 1861); Barzilla Ridgway, Captain (vice Disbrow, resigned); Howard King, Captain (vice Ridgway, promoted); Caleb M. Wright, Captain (vice King, mustered out).

Company D (Jersey Blues): Samuel Mulford, Captain (promoted Major); Baldwin Hufty, Captain (vice Mulford, promoted); John J. Letchworth, Captain (vice Hufty, promoted).

Fifth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company E (Lewis Guards): Robert S. Gould, Captain (resigned April 18, 1863); Edward P. Berry, Captain (vice Gould, resigned. Captain Berry died of wounds received in action at Gettysburg.)

Sixth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company B (Livingston Guards): Charles Ewing, Captain (promoted January 8, 1863); Joseph R. West, Captain (vice Ewing, promoted).

Eleventh Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company C (Belleville Guards): John J. Willis, Captain (resigned March 6, 1863); Andrew H. Ackerman, Captain (vice Willis, resigned. Killed at Gettysburg July 3, 1863); Edward T. Kennedy, Captain (vice Ackerman, killed in action); George Savidge, Captain (vice Kennedy, resigned).

Fourteenth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers

Company B (Union Light Infantry): Benjamin F. Craig, Captain; Jarvis Wanser, Captain (vice Craig, dismissed).

VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS

Of the forty-five volunteer military organizations of all arms of the service raised in New Jersey during the progress of the Civil War of 1861-65, nineteen regiments and twelve companies

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of infantry, three regiments of cavalry and four batteries of the First Regiment of Artillery were mobilized and mustered into Federal service in the camps in, or adjacent to Trenton as shown on this statement :

First Regiment, Infantry, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, afterwards numbered as the Seventeenth Infantry. Mustered in at Trenton April 30, 1861, for three-months service.

Second Regiment, Infantry, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, afterwards numbered as the Eighteenth Infantry. Mustered in at Trenton May 1, 1861, for three-months service.

Third Regiment, Infantry, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, afterwards numbered as the Nineteenth Infantry. Mustered in at Trenton, April 27, 1861, for three-months service.

Fourth Regiment, Infantry, New Jersey Volunteer Militia, afterwards given the designation of the Twentieth Infantry. Mustered in at Trenton, April 27, 1861, for three-months service.

First Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, May 21, 1861, for three years.

Second Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, May 26, 1861, for three years.

Third Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, June 4, 1861, for three years.

Fourth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, August 19, 1861, for three years.

Fifth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, August 22, 1861, for three years.

Sixth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, August 19, 1861, for three years.

Seventh Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, September 3, 1861, for three years.

Eighth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, September 14, 1861, for three years.

Ninth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Olden, Trenton, September 13 to October 14, 1861, for three years.

Eleventh Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, Trenton, August 18, 1862, for three years.

Sixteenth Regiment (First Regiment Cavalry). Headquarters at Camp Halsted, Trenton.

Seventeenth Regiment, Infantry. See First Regiment, Volunteer Militia—three-months men.

Eighteenth Regiment, Infantry. See Second Regiment, Volunteer Militia—three-months men.

Nineteenth Regiment, Infantry. See Third Regiment, Volunteer Militia—three-months men.

Twentieth Regiment, Infantry. See Fourth Regiment, Volunteer Militia—three-months men.

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THE DRAFT

On the fourth of August, 1862, the President ordered that a draft, the first, of three hundred thousand militia be immediately called into the service of the United States, to serve for nine months unless sooner discharged, regulations for the draft to be established by the Secretary of War. A subsequent order dated August 14 directed that "The draft be made on Wednesday the third of September, 1862, between the hours of 9 o'clock a.m. and 5 o'clock p.m. and continued from day to day between the same hours until completed."

A general desire was manifested by our citizens to fill New Jersey's quota (10,478) by voluntary enlistment, and thus avoid the draft; but the time was so short that the returns of draft commissioners could not be obtained before the date fixed by the draft, and so the people were forced to a draft, whereas, if time had been given, New Jersey could have raised the quota by voluntary enlistment. More time was requested of the War Department but it was denied, and it seemed to be a time for state officials to take responsibility upon themselves and act with promptness and energy, for the people had a right to know the number of men they were required to raise, in time to use all endeavor to raise the number without a draft.

It was announced that volunteers in lieu of drafted men would be received up to the first day of September, and that positively the draft would take place at the appointed time if the quota should not be filled by voluntary enlistments by that date.

The result was gratifying beyond all expectation. For several days previous to the time fixed for the draft men poured into Camp Perrine at Trenton, designated as Draft Rendezvous No. 1, under command of Brigadier General N. Norris Halsted, and by the evening of September 2, 1862, our quota was filled by voluntary enlistments, and, practically, a draft at that time was avoided. Subsequently and before the regiments left the State a few men were drafted, one of the commissioners deeming it his duty to resort to draft because the quota of his County was not quite full, notwithstanding the excess of volunteers over the quota of the whole State.

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The organizations mustered in at Trenton under this call were the following :

Twenty-first Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 15, 1862, for nine months.

Twenty-second Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 22, 1862, for nine months.

Twenty-fifth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Five companies of this regiment mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 18, 1862, for nine months.

Thirty-second Regiment (Second Cavalry). Mustered in at Camp Perrine, August and September 1863, for three years or the war.

Thirty-fourth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Field and staff and seven companies of this regiment mustered in at Camp Parker, October 6 to November 9, 1863, for three years.

Thirty-sixth Regiment (Third Cavalry). Mustered in at Camp Bayard, January and February 1864 for three years.

Thirty-seventh Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Trenton, June 23, 1864, for one hundred days.

Thirty-eighth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Bayard, September 1864, for one year.

Fortieth Regiment, Infantry, Volunteers. Mustered in at Camp Perrine for one, two, or three years, October 24, 1864, to March 10, 1865.

First Regiment, Artillery, Volunteers :

Battery B. Mustered in at Camp Olden, September 3, 1861, for three years.

Battery C. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 11, 1863, for three years.

Battery D. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 16, 1863, for three years.

Battery E. Mustered in at Camp Perrine, September 8, 1863, for three years.

VOLUNTEERS FROM TRENTON

The population of Trenton in April 1861, based on the census of 1860, was 17,221, or in round figures in April 1861, 18,000. The actual number of males between the ages of 18 and 45 cannot be definitely ascertained, but according to the reports of the Adjutant General of New Jersey, of the 98,886 men in the State available for military duty, 88,305 were sent to the field. From Trenton there were, based on a fair estimate of the militia strength of the city, approximately two thousand volunteers in New Jersey regiments and volunteer organizations of neighboring states.

CITIZENS' RELIEF ASSOCIATIONS

On April 18, 1861, a public meeting was held in Temperance Hall at the southeast corner of Greene (later Broad) and Front Streets for the purpose of devising plans for the care and support of families of volunteers enlisting for the war and the

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appointment of committees to solicit subscriptions from the citizens of Trenton for that purpose. The appeal met with a generous response. The Trenton Bank and the Mechanics Bank also made liberal contributions to the fund in addition to the large loans tendered to Governor Olden towards the expenses of fitting out the volunteer organizations. Sub-committees were also appointed to attend to the proper distribution of money and supplies to the families of soldiers.

The women of the First Presbyterian Church and of other churches formed societies for the purpose of furnishing lint, bandages, clothing and other supplies of a miscellaneous nature required by soldiers in the field. These associations continued their work during the entire period of the war for our troops in the field.

In the spring of 1865 an Act was passed by the Legislature to incorporate a Soldiers' Children's Home and named for the management thereof a number of prominent women of the State. The object of this Act was to provide for the support and education of the destitute children of any soldier, living or dead, who may have been engaged in the conflict for the preservation of the Union. This institution was established originally in Jersey City but after an appropriation for its support was made it was removed to Trenton, locating at Millham. Mrs. William L. Dayton was chosen president and Mrs. J. S. Davenport and Mrs. Augustus G. Richey vice-presidents; Miss Mary A. Hall, treasurer, and Miss Mary F. Johnston, secretary, with a board of directors residing in Jersey City and Trenton. The location at Millham being at a considerable distance from Trenton, a house at 92 Warren Street was purchased and used until the completion in 1867 of the new building at Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues to be used for the purposes named in the Act for the next ten years. A full description of this building is given in Raun's *History of Trenton*. From the opening until its close in 1877, some three hundred children, boys and girls, were cared for and educated at this institution until they arrived at an age when they were qualified for employment for self-support. Upon the close of the institution the care of the buildings was turned over to the Quartermaster General who re-

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tained supervision until its conversion into a State institution for the deaf and dumb, for which purpose it was used until the construction of the present buildings at Trenton Junction.

MISCELLANY

Much activity among our merchants in Trenton during the Civil War was occasioned by the urgent need of the national and state governments for military supplies of every description. Our large industrial plants were also very busy. One of the most important of these plants was that of the New Jersey Arms and Ordnance Company, manufacturing muskets and heavy ordnance. The Trenton Iron Company, later known as the New Jersey Steel and Iron Company, rendered great service to the War Department in the manufacture of iron of a quality suitable for gun barrels, etc. Charles Hewitt, at the request of the Secretary of War, went to England and bought up a large quantity of such suitable iron and studied the conditions of its manufacture. Mr. Hewitt, with the information thus gained, succeeded in manufacturing an excellent quality of iron and rolled gun barrels therefrom which passed a rigid inspection by Major Dyer, U.S.A., superintendent of the Springfield Armory. All barrels made under Mr. Hewitt's formula were stamped "Trenton" and were known as the "Trenton-Springfield Rifle."

The New Jersey Arms and Ordnance Company established a proving ground near Trenton along the Delaware and Raritan Canal, near Lock No. 3, better known later as Mitchell's Lock, for the testing of the Dahlgren guns and other ordnance manufactured for the government under the supervision of the Secretary of War. This proving ground was carefully constructed for practice with heavy ordnance, and to guard against the possibility of accidents was under rigid surveillance during testing periods.

General Lewis Perrine, Quartermaster General of New Jersey, contracted with the New Jersey Arms and Ordnance Company for muskets and with Emerson & Silvers of Trenton for swords and scabbards for non-commissioned officers and for sabers for the cavalry and artillery. Among local merchants furnishing various military stores were Joseph McPherson,

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artillery harness, saddles and bridles; John B. Anderson, forage caps and army hats; Jonathan Steward and others, flannel shirts; Joseph Rice and Charles H. McChesney, drawers; Daniel and William Temple, boots and shoes; Henderson G. Scudder and others, army blankets.

Upton and Miller, Brearley, Cogill & Company and other local dealers furnished large quantities of small ordnance, commissary and quartermaster stores too numerous to mention in detail.



"WHEN JOHNNIE COMES MARCHING HOME"

NOTE TO ILLUSTRATION

Former Councilman Edmund C. Hill is the boy with one leg crossed over the other, in the above picture, illustrating a local reception to Civil War soldiers on their return from the war. He was one of the "coffee boys" who aided in regaling the guests and his recollection is that these affairs at Yard Avenue were largely organized by Central Baptist Church members. Other similar entertainment was provided at the street markets, at Bechtel Hall and elsewhere.

V. Trenton Officers in the Civil War and Roster of Company A, National Guard

FOLLOWING is a record of citizens of Trenton who served as commissioned officers in the Volunteer and Regular Armies, the Navy and the Marine Corps during the Civil War; service, if any, in the Mexican War of 1846-48 is indicated by an asterisk (*):

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- Abbott, Joseph W.*, 1st Lieut., Co. E, 7th N.J. Inf., Vols., Sept. 18, 1861; Captain, May 27, 1862; killed in action at Bull Run, Va., Aug. 29, 1862.
- Allison, Thomas S.*, Major and Paymaster, June 1, 1861; Brevet Lieut. Col., March 13, 1865; appointed Paymaster U.S. Army April 1, 1867. Died Feb. 1, 1871.
- Austin, Matthew S.*, Pvt., Co. G, 5th N.J. Inf., Vols., Aug. 24, 1861; Commissary Sergt. N.C.S., Aug. 29, 1861; 2d Lieut., Co. G, Nov. 10, 1862; mustered out Sept. 7, 1864.
- Barton, James A.*, 3rd Asst. Engineer, U.S. Navy, Jan. 16, 1863; resigned Nov. 5, 1868.
- Beatty, John R.*, Ensign, Co. C, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vols., Militia, April 27, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861.
- Bennett, George A.*, 1st Sergt., 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; 2nd Lieut. Co. D, Dec. 21, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. C, Sept. 16, 1862; discharged April 6, 1863.
- Bodine, Budd S.*, 1st Lieut., Co. B, 14th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 20, 1862; resigned March 1, 1864.
- Boyd, Charles S.*, Sergt., Co. B, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 9, 1861; 2nd Lieut., June 11, 1863; mustered out Nov. 6, 1864.
- Bragg, George Lawrence*, Pvt., 8th Cav., Penn. Vols.; 2nd Lieut., Co. F, Aug. 21, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. M, July 15, 1862; promoted Commissary of Subsistence from Co. M, Oct. 15, 1862; killed in action at Deep Bottom, Va., Aug. 16, 1864.
- Brant, William, Jr.*, Corp., 1st Inf., N.J. Vols., May 21, 1861; Sergt. Feb. 4, 1862; 1st Lieut., Co. B, Feb. 2, 1865; Brevetted Capt., April 2, 1865, for gallant and meritorious conduct before Petersburg, Va.; Captain, Co. B, May 11, 1865.
- Brown, Charles P.*, Q.M. Sergt., 12th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 12, 1862; 2nd Lieut., Co. A, April 11, 1864, not mustered; 1st Lieut., Co. I, May 20, 1864; Capt., Jan. 30, 1865; mustered out June 4, 1865.
- Campbell, Edward L.*, Capt., Co. E, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vols., May 28, 1861; Lieut. Col., 15th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 13, 1862, for distinguished service and gallantry at Cedar Creek, Va., to date from Oct. 19, 1864; Col., Feb. 6, 1865; declined. Col., 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., May 29, 1865; brevetted Brig. Gen. to date from April 9, 1865, for gallant and meritorious services in the operations resulting in the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Gen. Lee at Appomattox.
- Clark, Henry R.*, 2nd Lieut., Co. A, 5th Inf., N.J. Vols., Dec. 16, 1862; killed in action at Gettysburg, Va., July 2, 1863.
- Craig, Benjamin F.*, Capt., Co. B, 14th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 20, 1862; dismissed Nov. 12, 1864.
- Cunningham, Thomas*, Sergt., Co. B, 1st Inf., N.J. Vols., May 21, 1861; 1st Sergt., Sept. 1, 1862; 1st Lieut., Co. C, Feb. 13, 1863; Capt., Co. K., 38th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 12, 1864; mustered out June 30, 1865.
- Dayton Ferdinand V.*, Asst. Surgeon, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., Sept. 20, 1861; Surgeon, 2nd Cav., N.J. Vols., July 2, 1863; discharged at Natchez, Miss., Aug. 2, 1865; brevetted Lieut. Col. for meritorious conduct during the war, to date from March 13, 1865; mustered out October 24, 1865.

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- Dickinson, S. Meredith*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; Acting Asst. Paymaster, U.S. Navy, 1861; resigned Oct. 31, 1862.
- Disbrow, Heathcoate J.*, Capt., Co. C, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; Capt., 15th U.S. Inf., May 14, 1861; resigned Dec. 20, 1861.
- Dod, Albert B.*, Pvt., Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; Capt., 15th U.S. Inf., May 14, 1861; resigned Aug. 15, 1864.
- Drake, J. Madison*, Sergt., Co. C, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; Sergt., Co. K, 9th Inf., N.J. Vols., Oct. 15, 1861; 1st Sergt., May 16, 1862; 2nd Lieut., Co. D, June 3, 1863; 1st Lieut., April 13, 1864; Capt., Feb. 8, 1865, not mustered. This officer was taken prisoner at Drury's Bluff, Va., May 16, 1864, but made his escape by leaping from a train of cars while in transit from Charleston to Columbia, S.C., and after forty-seven days' wandering in the mountains reached the Union lines in safety. Lieut. Drake received a medal of honor from Congress for gallantry and bravery.
- English, Earl*,* Midshipman in U.S. Navy in 1840; Lieut. Commander, July 16, 1862, and at the time of his retirement had attained to the rank of Rear Admiral. He died in 1893 at Culpepper, Va.
- Ewing, Charles*, Ensign, Co. A, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; Capt., Co. B, 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; Major, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Jan. 8, 1863; Lieut. Col., Sept. 14, 1863; discharged March 16, 1865.
- Farrell, Lawrence*, 2nd Lieut., Co. H, 35th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 21, 1863; 1st Lieut., Sept. 24, 1863; Capt., Nov. 15, 1864, not mustered; discharged Jan. 23, 1865, disability.
- Fausett, Orrin B.*, 1st Lieut., Co. C, 11th Inf., N.J. Vols., July 22, 1862; resigned March 6, 1863, disability.
- Faussett, John B.*, Sergt., Co. A, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; 2nd Lieut., Co. C, 11th Inf., N.J. Vols., March 6, 1863; 1st Lieut., Sept. 29, 1863; resigned July 19, 1864, disability.
- Fisher, Clark*, 3rd Asst. Engineer, U.S. Navy, May 3, 1859; 2nd Asst. Engineer, July 1, 1861; 1st Asst. Engineer, May 20, 1863; Chief Engineer, Jan. 23, 1871; resigned March 27, 1872.
- Fisher, Otis*, 2nd Lieut., 8th Inf., U.S.A., Aug. 5, 1861; 1st Lieut., Sept. 19, 1863; Brevet Capt., Aug. 9, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service at Cedar Mountain, Va.; Brevet Major, Sept. 30, 1864, for gallant and meritorious conduct at Battle of Poplar Spring Church, Va.; died Oct. 4, 1864, of wounds received in action Sept. 30, 1864, at Poplar Spring Church, Va.
- Freese, Jacob R.*, Capt. and Asst. Adj. Gen., Aug. 24, 1861; resigned Dec. 31, 1863.
- Gilkyson, Stephen R.*, Capt., Co. A, 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; Major, July 22, 1862; Lieut. Col., Oct. 11, 1863; Col., June 1, 1864, not mustered; Col. 40th Inf., N.J. Vols., March 7, 1865; mustered out July 13, 1865.
- Gould, Robert S.*, 1st Lieut., Co. A, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; Capt., Co. E, 5th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 28, 1861; resigned April 18, 1863, disability.
- Hall, Caldwell K.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; Adj., 5th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 28, 1861; A.D.C., staff General F. Paterson; Lieut. Col., 14th Inf.,

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- N.J. Vols., Aug. 27, 1862; resigned, Sept. 10, 1864, wounds received at battle of Monocacy, Md., July 9, 1864; Brevet Col. and Brig. Gen., March 13, 1865.
- Halsted, Henry O.*, Major, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., Sept. 21, 1861; discharged Feb. 18, 1862, S.O. War Dept., A.G.O., Washington, D.C.
- Halsted, N. Norris*, Lieut. Col., A.D.C., staff Gov. Olden, and Commandant of Camp Perrine as rendezvous for drafted men and recruits.
- Halsted, William*, Col., 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., Sept. 1, 1861; discharged Feb. 18, 1862, S.O. War Dept., A.G.O., Washington, D.C.
- Hammell, John S.*, enrolled Sept. 6, 1861, at New York City and mustered in as 1st Lieut., Co. G, 66th Inf., N.Y. Vols., promoted Adj. same date; Capt., Co. B, April 15, 1862; wounded at Fredericksburg, Va.; Lieut. Col., Jan. 11, 1863; captured June 17, 1864, at Petersburg, Va.; paroled at Savannah, Ga., Nov. 30, 1864; mustered out with the regiment Aug. 30, 1865; brevetted Brig. Gen. to date from March 13, 1865; said to be the youngest officer of the rank in the Union Army.
- Hammell, William H.*, Capt., Co. F, 9th Inf., N.Y. Vols. (Hawkins Zouaves), May 4, 1861; wounded in action at Camden, N.C., April 19, 1862; mustered out with regiment, May 20, 1863.
- Hargous, Peter J.*, Mate, U.S. Navy, Oct. 11, 1861; promoted Acting Master, "having distinguished himself on the *Congress*, June 14, 1862"; resigned March 17, 1865.
- Heisler, George*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 2nd Lieut., U.S. Marine Corps, Nov. 25, 1861; died at Memphis, Tenn., July 12, 1862.
- Higbee, George H.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 1st Lieut., 11th U.S. Inf., May 14, 1861, reaching the brevet rank of Lieut. Col. for bravery and meritorious conduct during the war; remained in the army until 1870.
- Holt, William H.*, Lieut. Col., 31st Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 11, 1862; resigned Feb. 5, 1863.
- Holt, Woodbury D.*, Capt., Co. E, 31st Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 10, 1862; mustered out June 24, 1863.
- Hunt, James C.*, Son of late Captain W. E. Hunt, U.S.N.; Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. I, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols.; resigned to accept commission as 2nd Lieut., 1st U.S. Cav., Feb. 19, 1862; 1st Lieut., July 17, 1862; Regimental Ord. Master, July 18, 1862; Bat. Capt., May 6, 1864; Capt., June 28, 1864; Bat. Major, April 1, 1865.
- The late Charles J. Ihrie, a resident of this city since 1852, the year of his appointment as State Librarian, an office which he held until 1866, had three sons, formerly well known in Trenton, in the Civil War, as follows:
- Ihrie, George P.*, graduated from West Point, appointed from N.J.; 2nd Lieut., 3rd U.S. Artillery; 1st Lieut., 1857; resigned Dec. 31, 1859; at outbreak of Civil War reentered the regular service and served throughout the war; received brevet ranks of Lieut. Col., and Brig. Gen. for gallant and meritorious services.
- Ihrie, Joseph*, Color Sergt. in the Confederate Army, killed at the battle of Shiloh.
- Ihrie, Warren*, Capt., 61st Reg. & Ill. Inf., Vols.; although in poor health he participated with his company in the battle of Shiloh (where his brother in the Confederate Army was killed); Captain Ihrie died of a

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fever a few days after the battle and his remains were brought to Trenton for burial.

- Johnston, Robert S.*, 1st Lieut., Co. B, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 6, 1862; Capt., vice Sedden, deserted; mustered out Sept. 3, 1864.
- Johnston, Thomas P.*, Q.M., 7th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 24, 1861; resigned Feb. 19, 1863, to accept commission as Capt. and Q.M., U.S. Vols., serving as such in various capacities, receiving for such service brevet ranks of Major and Lieut. Col.; mustered out Nov. 13, 1867.
- Kline, Manuel*, 1st Sergt., Co. A, 15th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 25, 1862; 2nd Lieut., Co. H, Sept. 10, 1864; mustered out June 22, 1865.
- Kafer, John C.*, 3rd Asst. Engineer, U.S. Navy, Jan. 16, 1863; 2nd Asst. Engineer, May 28, 1864; remained in service after the war.
- Kafer, Peter M.*, Acting 3rd Asst. Engineer, U.S. Navy, May 21, 1864; honorably discharged October 20, 1865.
- Lodor, Daniel*, 1st Lieut., Co. A, 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; Major, 10th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 3, 1862; discharged July 12, 1864.
- Lodor, Richard*, graduated from West Point as brevet 2nd Lieut., 4th U.S. Art., July 1, 1856; 2nd Lieut., Oct. 31, 1856; 1st Lieut., Feb. 1, 1861; Capt., Nov. 29, 1861; Brevet Major, Dec. 31, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service in battle of Stone River, Tenn.; Brevet Lieut. Col. and Brevet Col., March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war; retired with rank of Brig. Gen., April 23, 1904.
- Lykens, Isaac P.*, Capt., Co. C, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861.
- McCall, William C.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. B, 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 9, 1861; resigned Oct. 7, 1861, to accept commission as Capt., 14th U.S. Inf.; resigned July 31, 1863.
- McNeeley, James W.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 1st Lieut., 10th Inf., N.J. Vols., April 17, 1863; Capt., June 20, 1863; Major, April 5, 1865; Lieut. Col., 2nd Inf., N.J. Vols., June 26, 1865; Col., July 10, 1865, not mustered; mustered out July 11, 1865.
- Mills, Franklin S.*, 1st Lieut., Co. D, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 24, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861.
- Moody, Irwin*, 1st Lieut. and Adj., 93rd Inf., Indiana Vols.; killed in action at battle of Guntown, Miss., June 10, 1864.
- Mott, Gershom*,* born and raised in Trenton and served under Capt. Samuel Dickinson in the Mexican War. He was living in Bordentown at the outbreak of the Civil War and served in the Union Army as follows: Lieut. Col., 5th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 23, 1861; Col., 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., May 7, 1862; Brig. Gen., Sept. 7, 1862; B't Maj. Gen., Aug. 1, 1864; Maj. Gen., May 26, 1865; resigned, Feb. 20, 1866; Commands: 3rd Brig. (2nd N.J. Brigade), 2nd Div., 3rd Corps; 2nd Div., 3rd Corps, Army of the Potomac.
- Mount, Joseph S.*, Capt., Co. E, 21st Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 2, 1862; mustered out June 19, 1863.
- Mulford, Samuel*, Capt., Co. D, 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 24, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; Capt., Co. D, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; Major, Sept. 16, 1862; resigned Dec. 18, 1862.

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- Murphy, William R.*, Capt., Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; Col., 10th Inf., N.J. Vols., Jan. 29, 1862; resigned March 12, 1863; commanded Co. A, N.J. Militia, Penna. Emergency, June 17 to July 16, 1863.
- Murphy, Charles V. C.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. A, 10th Inf., N.J. Vols., April 17, 1862; Capt., Co. K, 10th Inf., N.J. Vols., July 30, 1864, not mustered; discharged April 18, 1865.
- Murphy, T. Malcolm*, Sergt., Co. G, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., Aug. 4, 1863; Sergt.-Major, Sept. 23, 1863; 2nd Lieut., Co. A, 3rd Cav., N.J. Vols., Nov. 10, 1863; Capt., Jan. 12, 1864; Major, June 30, 1865, not mustered; discharged S.O. 132 Par. 7, A.G.O., War Dept., Washington, D.C.
- Napton, William*,* Col., 3rd Inf., N.J. Vol. Militia, April 27, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; commissioned Capt. of Vols. in Mexican War but not mustered.
- Neal, John W.*, 1st Lieut., Co. C, 3rd Inf., N.J. Militia, April 23, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861.
- Parker, John*, 2nd Lieut., Co. B, 1st Inf., N.J. Vols., July 7, 1861; 1st Lieut., Aug. 6, 1862; Capt., Co. C, Aug. 30, 1863. Discharged as paroled prisoner. Mustered out March 12, 1865.
- Paxson, Frank V.*, Co. A, N.J. Militia, June 17 to July 16, 1863; Asst. Surgeon, 7th Inf., N.J. Vols., Dec. 16, 1864; resigned May 30, 1865.
- Paxson, Henry C.*, Adjutant, 12th Inf., N.J. Vols., July 9, 1862; resigned May 28, 1863.
- Paxson, James O.*, Enrolled at Trenton, July 24, 1861; mustered in as 1st Lieut., Co. D, 48th Inf., New York Vols., Aug. 21, 1861; Capt., June 30, 1862; wounded July 18, 1863, at the storming of Fort Wagner, S.C., and died of his wounds at Beaufort, S.C., July 31, 1863.
- Pearson, John M.*, 2nd Lieut., Co. D, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. F, Dec. 21, 1861; Capt., Co. K, Jan. 8, 1863; mustered out Nov. 19, 1864.
- Phillips, William W. L.*, Major and Surgeon, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., Aug. 16, 1861; mustered out Sept. 20, 1864.
- Price, Frank, Jr.*, Corp., Co. H, 2nd Inf., N.J. Militia, April 26, 1861; mustered out July 31, 1861; Adjutant, 7th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 2, 1861; Major, March 31, 1862; discharged July 13, 1862; discharge revoked Nov. 12, 1862; Lieut. Col., Dec. 9, 1862; Col., July 23, 1863; brevetted Brig. Gen. for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war to date from March 3, 1865.
- Ribble, James I. B.*, Asst. Surgeon, 8th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 20, 1862; Surgeon, 13th Inf., N.J. Vols., April 20, 1864; mustered out June 8, 1865.
- Ridgway, Barzilla*, 1st Lieut., Co. D, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; Capt., Co. C, Jan. 3, 1862; Lieut. Col., Jan. 8, 1863; resigned April 27, 1863.
- Roberts, Robert W.*, 2nd Lieut., Co. C, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; 1st Lieut., Co. E, Oct. 13, 1862; resigned Feb. 1863 to accept appointment as 1st Lieut. and Q.M., 12th Reg., Vet. Reserve Corps; brevetted Major March 16, 1865; discharged Oct. 30, 1867.
- Roebling, Washington A.*, Co. A, N.G., April 16, 1861; discharged to enlist in New York; enrolled June 15, 1861, as Pvt. 6th N.Y. Vol. Independent Battery; Sergt., Sept. 1, 1861; 2nd Lieut., Jan. 23, 1862; discharged

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May 26, 1864, to accept commission as Major and A.D.C., U.S. Vols.; resigned Jan. 1, 1865; commissioned Lieut. Col., U.S. Vols., by brevet to date from Dec. 6, 1864, for gallant service during the campaign before Richmond, Va.; Col., U.S. Vols., by brevet to date from March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war.

Ross, William B., Pvt., Co. A, 14th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 26, 1862; 1st Lieut., Co. B, Sept. 10, 1864. Killed in action at Cedar Creek, Va., Oct. 19, 1864.

Rossell, Nathan Beakes,* Major, 3rd Inf., U.S.A., Sept. 25, 1861; killed at Battle of Gaines Mill, Va., June 27, 1862; served with distinction in the Mexican War in Regular Army.

Rossell, William Henry, Capt., 10th U.S. Inf., Dec. 7, 1861; Brevet Major Feb. 21, 1862, for gallant and meritorious service in the Battle of Valverde, N.M.; retired Nov. 28, 1863.

Rowell, John T., 2nd Lieut., Co. C, 29th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 9, 1862; 1st Lieut., April 4, 1863; Capt., Co. K, 35th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 15, 1863; mustered out July 20, 1865.

Sedden, William, Capt., Co. B, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 9, 1861; deserted March 24, 1862.

Schoonover, John, Pvt., Co. D, 1st Inf., N.J. Vols., May 8, 1861; Sergt., March 24, 1862; Adjutant, 11th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 21, 1862; Lieut. Col., July 28, 1863; B'v't Col., March 13, 1865, for conspicuous gallantry.

Smith, Watson,* Lieut., U.S. Navy, Sept. 15, 1855; Lieut. Com., July 16, 1862; served in Civil War under Rear Admiral David D. Porter in the Mississippi Squadron; contracted a fever on the Red River Expedition which resulted in his death in Trenton, Dec. 19, 1864; also served in the Navy throughout the Mexican War.

Speeler, Henry A., 1st Lieut., Co. K, 35th Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 15, 1863; Capt., Co. H, May 25, 1865; mustered out July 20, 1865; served also in 48th Inf., N.Y. Vols., as a non-commissioned officer in Co. D.

Speer, Calvin P., 1st Lieut., Co. C, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., Aug. 17, 1861; resigned Sept. 9, 1862.

Stahl, Ernest C., Pvt., Battery C, 1st Artillery, N.J. Vols., Sept. 4, 1863; Corp., Dec. 6, 1863; Sergt., June 12, 1864; 2nd Lieut., June 13, 1864; 1st Lieut., March 17, 1865; mustered out June 19, 1865; served subsequently in the 8th and 107th Inf., U.S. Colored Troops; resigned July 16, 1866.

Stryker, William S., Major and Paymaster, U.S. Vols., Feb. 19, 1863; Major and A.D.C., staff of Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore; Brevet Lieut. Col., Nov. 24, 1865; resigned June 30, 1866; Adj.-Gen. of N.J., April 12, 1867.

Stull, Henry S., 2nd Lieut., Co. H, 1st Cav., N.J. Vols., April 4, 1862; resigned Sept. 18, 1862; 1st Lieut., Co. M, 3rd Cav., N.J. Vols., Dec. 12, 1863; Capt., May 6, 1864; mustered out Aug. 1, 1865.

Stull, John, Capt., Co. M, 3rd Cav., N.J. Vols., Dec. 12, 1863; dismissed April 11, 1864.

Tantum, William H., 1st Lieut., Co. B, 1st Inf., N.J. Vols., May 21, 1861; Capt., Aug. 11, 1862; mustered out June 29, 1865.

Titus, Joab, 1st Lieut., Co. F, 22nd Inf., N.J. Vols., Sept. 17, 1862; mustered out June 25, 1863.

Titus, Uriel B., Q.M., F. and S., 22nd Inf., N.J. Vols., Oct. 17, 1862; mustered

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assisting in the work of arming and equipping the troops for the field for the period of three months service from the 16th of April to the 16th of July, in which time seven regiments, four of militia and three of volunteers, were fully armed and equipped. This company served also during the draft riots at Perth Amboy in November 1863.

The following roster will give a brief record of service, including guard duty, rendered by original members of this fine organization, in the Civil War:

| NAME, RANK AND GRADE | SERVICES |
|----------------------------------|--|
| William R. Murphy, Capt. | Col., 10th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Robert C. Belleville, 1st Lieut. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Joseph Ott, 2nd Lieut. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Barzilla Ridgway, 3rd Lieut. | Capt., Co. C, 4th Inf., N.J. Vols., and Col. of 4th Inf. |
| Charles G. McChesney, 1st Sergt. | Capt., Co. G, 10th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| J. Harris Cogill, Sergt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| George M. Cogill, Sergt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Edward T. Green, Sergt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Frederick S. McNeeley, Corp. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| James B. Coppuck, Corp. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| S. Meredith Dickinson, Corp. | Paymaster, U.S.S. <i>Dade</i> , June 17, 1861. |
| Thomas T. Ryan, Corp. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| George Heisler, Corp. | 2nd Lieut., U.S. Marine Corps; died at Memphis, Tenn., July 12, 1862. |
| James S. Pullen, Musician | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. Also Musician, 5th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Edward D. Fox, Musician | 5th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Abbott, Joseph, Jr., Pvt. | 7th Inf., N.J. Vols.; killed in action. |
| Atkin, William, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Baker, William H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Bechtel, William H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Bennett, George A., Pvt. | 4th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Bennett, Aaron, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Blumel, Henry, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Biles, Charles, Pvt. | |
| Biles, Henry D., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Burroughs, Garret S., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Cane, Gustavus, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Christopher, Mark, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Coleman, Caleb, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Dean, George H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Disbrow, Benjamin L., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Disbrow, John C., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Dod, Albert B., Pvt. | Capt., 15th U.S. Inf., May 14, 1861. |
| Fuller, Henry, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Gaston, William B., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Green, Charles E., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Hall, Caldwell K., Pvt. | 5th and 14th Inf., N.J. Vols. |

Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars

NAME, RANK AND GRADE

SERVICES

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Heilent, Charles, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Hendrickson, Montgomery P., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Higbee, George H., Pvt. | 11th U.S. Inf. |
| Hunt, James C., Pvt. | 1st N.J. Cav. and 1st U.S. Cav. |
| Hutchinson, John P., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Ivory, Richard C., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Johnson, Edward N., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Johnson, Thomas W., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Johnston, John B., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Keen, Reynold D., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Kerr, Samuel C., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Lalor, DeKlyn, Pvt. | 5th Inf., N.J. Vols.; killed in action. |
| Leeds, Charles W., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Lodor, Daniel, Jr., Pvt. | 2nd and 10th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| McCall, William C., Pvt. | 6th Inf., N.J. Vols., and 14th U.S. Inf. |
| McConnell, Charles J., Pvt. | U.S. Navy. |
| McIlvaine, Edward, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| McLaughlin, John C., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| McKenzie, Duncan, Pvt. | 4th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| McNeeley, James W., Pvt. | 2nd and 10th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Moses, John, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Mount, Robert S., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Murphy, Charles V. C., Pvt. | 10th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Murphy, John W., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Murphy, T. Malcolm, Pvt. | 2nd and 3rd Cav., N.J. Vols. |
| Neale, William H., Pvt. | Discharged 6, 16, '61; guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Owens, James W., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Patterson, Frank F., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Roebing, Washington A., Pvt. | Discharged to join Bat. attached to 9th N.Y. Militia. |
| Rowley, John D., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Sager, John, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Skirm, Joseph G., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Skirm, Charles H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Skirm, William H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Snowden, Charles F., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863; also as Post Q.M. at Camp Frelinghuysen. |
| Sterling, Joseph, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863; M.S.K. at Arsenal. |
| Stevens, John G., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Stryker, William S., Pvt. | Paymaster, N.J. Vols.; staff duty. |
| Stull, Howell C., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Stull, John, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863; 3rd Cav., N.J. Vols. |
| Taylor, John, Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Thomas, Joseph S., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Thomas, Richard, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |

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| NAME, RANK AND GRADE | SERVICES |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Van Cleve, John B., Pvt. | Discharged to join Co. K., 23rd Inf., Penna. Vols. |
| Van Sickell, Caleb C., Pvt. | 4th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Van Sickell, Charles B., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Wallis, George H., Pvt. | Discharged to join N.Y. Reg.; Capt. 42nd Inf., N.Y. Vols. (Tammany Regiment). |
| Weart, John A., Pvt. | Penna. Emergency, July 1863. |
| Wentz, Philip H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Whittaker, Charles H., Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |
| Whittaker, Edgar, Pvt. | 4th Inf., N.J. Vols.; Adjutant, 29th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Wildey, George, Pvt. | Discharged May 16, 1861. |
| Wilkes, Aaron, Pvt. | 6th Inf.; killed in action. |
| Willis, John J., Pvt. | 11th Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Wilson, Samuel K., Jr., Pvt. | 23rd Inf., N.J. Vols. |
| Witherup, David, Pvt. | Guard duty at Arsenal. |

VI. The Spanish-American War

IN APRIL 1898 the State Military Department consisted of Foster M. Voorhees, Governor and Commander-in-Chief; William S. Stryker, Adjutant General, and Richard A. Donnelly, Quartermaster General. The freeing of the island of Cuba from Spanish rule had long been the dream of liberty-loving Americans of the United States, and the government in two instances endeavored to acquire the island from Spain by purchase: once under President Polk in 1848 and again about 1858 when a measure introduced in the Senate for the purchase of Cuba failed of passage.

The stubborn insurrection in Cuba continued and the blowing up of the U.S.S. *Maine* in the harbor of Havana was followed in April 1898 by a joint resolution in Congress for recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, which was approved by the President on the twentieth day of April, 1898, and on the twenty-third the President called for volunteers to sustain the government. Spain refused to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and the existence of a state of war between the two countries was declared by Congress.

Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars

THE NATIONAL GUARD VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS

Of the four regiments of National Guard infantry mobilized in 1898 at Camp Voorhees, Sea Girt, and of the two battalions of the naval reserve, there were but three companies of infantry and one division of the Battalion of the West, Naval Reserves, volunteering from Trenton in the War with Spain.

The infantry companies were attached to the Fourth Regiment, New Jersey National Guard Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Colonel Robert G. Smith and later by Colonel Quincy O. M. Gillmore, U.S.A.

The following-named officers of the field and staff were from Trenton: Thomas S. Chambers, Major; Gouverneur V. Packer, Battalion Adjutant; Frederick Gilkyson, Battalion Adjutant; Harry O. Valentine, Quartermaster.

The companies were:

Company A: Volunteers from Company A, Seventh Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey; Captain, Richard R. Whitehead; First Lieutenant, Jacob M. Coward; Second Lieutenant, John W. Roberts.

Company G: Volunteers from Company D, Seventh Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey; Captain, Bernard Rogers; First Lieutenant, John M. Rogers; Second Lieutenant, Joseph A. Herron.

Company L: Made up from volunteers from the Trenton Companies of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard of New Jersey, and others unattached to any military organization; Captain, Clayton J. Bailey; First Lieutenant, William E. Pedrick; Second Lieutenant, Fred F. C. Woodward.

William H. Earley served as Second Lieutenant in Company H, Fourth Regiment, New Jersey Volunteer Infantry, and later as First Lieutenant, Company K, of the same organization.

The Fourth Regiment was mobilized at Camp Voorhees, Sea Girt, sent first to Camp Meade, Middletown, Pa., and thence to Camp Wetherill, S.C., where it remained until its muster-out at the close of the war, without any other active service than drill and general camp duty. None of the New Jersey military organizations were sent to Cuba.

THE NAVAL RESERVE

The First Divisions of the Battalion of the West which contained the members of that organization from Trenton were detailed to the U.S.S. *Resolute*, May 13, 1898, and served with the

A History of Trenton

fleet before Santiago de Cuba, witnessing and participating in the action which resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleet under the brave but unfortunate Admiral Cervera, arriving at the scene of surrender before the *Cristoval Colon* struck her flag. The *Resolute* received the prisoners from the *Colon* comprising nineteen officers and four hundred and ninety-five men and proceeded to Guantanamo Bay, transferring the prisoners to the U.S.S. *St. Paul* and the U.S.S. *Harvard*.

On the twelfth of August the *Resolute* was sent to bombard Manzanillo. The bombardment was opened but on the morning of the thirteenth news was received of the signing of the protocol of peace, and hostilities ended. The Naval Reserve of New Jersey made a fine record in the Spanish-American War as shown by the following letter from Commander Eaton, U.S.N., to the Governor of New Jersey:

U.S.S. RESOLUTE

Key West, Fla., October 8, 1898.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY:

SIR.—Today, after a service lasting for five months, the members of the West Battalion, New Jersey Naval Reserves, are detached from this ship and ordered north for honorable discharge.

I cannot allow them to leave the *Resolute* without expressing to you, and through you, to the State which they have honored, my sense of the patriotism, fidelity and bravery these Reserves have shown during the late war. Not only in the battles off Santiago on July 3, and off Manzanillo on August 12, when under fire from the enemy they exhibited coolness, courage and enthusiasm, but also in the much harder, but less glorious work at Guantanamo and Santiago they have shown the qualities which command respect and enforce confidence.

I had my doubts when they joined the *Resolute*—doubts based upon the inexperience of the Reserves, but I assure your Excellency, that after the first month there have been no doubts, and I am most sincerely sorry to have them go. They have shown that they possess all the qualities, steadfastness, courage, endurance and reliability, which render a man valuable to his country in time of need. It will be always a boast of my Naval life that the somewhat proud record, which the *Resolute* has made for herself in the war now past, was due mainly to the efficient and brave service rendered by the men of your State.

I regret that the exigencies of the situation prevent my saying in person, what I have so lamely put on paper, but I can assure you that your State may well feel proud of the record earned by the brave men of the West

Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars

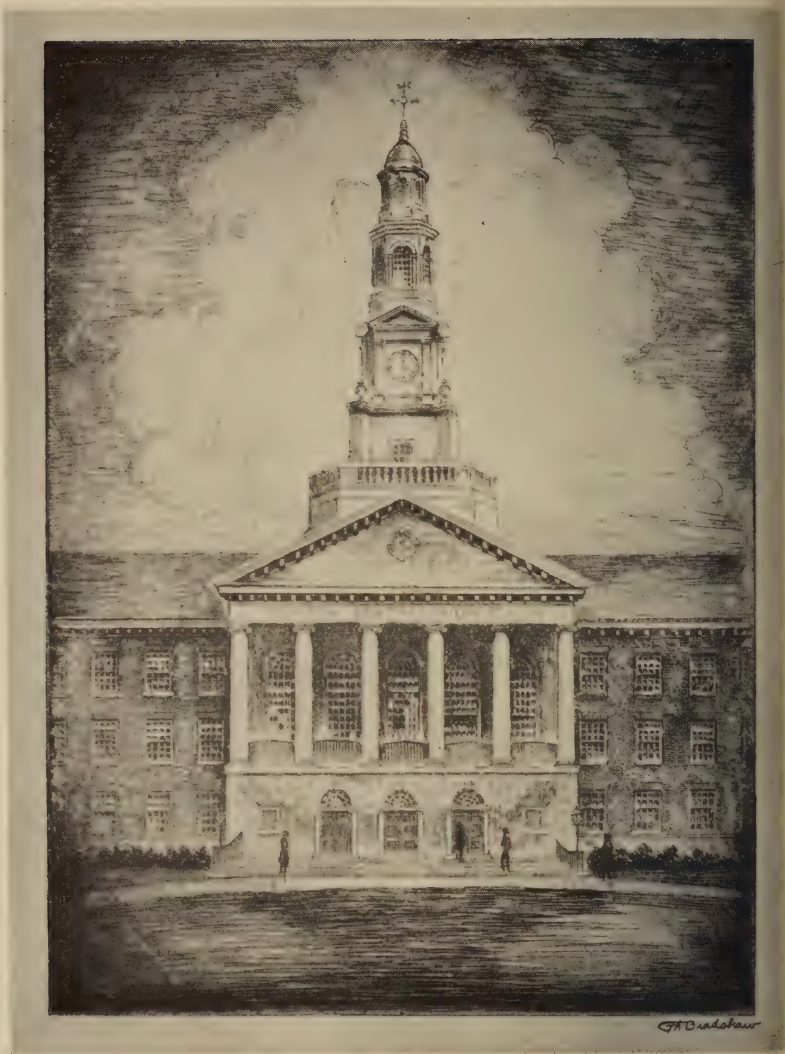
Battalion, who are but now laying down their arms, and quitting the service which they have honored and most ably sustained.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency,

Most respectfully yours,

(Signed) J. G. EATON,
Commander U. S. Navy,
Commanding U.S.S. *Resolute*.

Except in military circles there was but little interest manifested in Trenton during the period of the war with Spain.



CENTRAL SECTION OF THE NEW SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL TO BE ERECTED ON THE
CHAMBERS TRACT. ETCHED BY GEORGE A. BRADSHAW FROM
THE ARCHITECT'S DRAWING.

CHAPTER XIV

Schools and Libraries

BY HOWARD L. HUGHES

I. Early Schools

THE first settlers in this vicinity were Quakers and it may be presumed from Quaker practice elsewhere that some elementary schooling was soon provided. That there was a schoolhouse seems to be indicated by the following entry in the minutes of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting of Friends, December 1, 1693: "It is Aggree'd by this meeteing that A weeke day meeteing be kept every fourth Day of y^e weeke at y^e falles in the Schoole hous." Beyond this vague reference to a schoolhouse at the Falls nothing is known of educational activity among the Quakers for the next hundred years.

THE FIRST COMMON SCHOOL

Trenton's first venture in public education, public in the sense that it was a semi-community effort, occurred under curious circumstances in 1753, when a lottery was advertised in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 26, 1753, as follows:

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, sons of some of the principal families in and about Trenton, being in some measure sensible of the advantages of Learning, and desirous that those who are deprived of it thro' the poverty of their parents, might taste the sweetness of it with ourselves, can think of no better or other method for that purpose, than the following

Scheme

Of a Delaware-Island Lottery,

For raising 225 Pieces of Eight towards building a house to accommodate an English and Grammar-school, and paying a master to teach such children whose parents are unable to pay for schooling. It is proposed that the house be 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, and one story high, and built on the South east corner, of the Meeting-house yard, in Trenton, under the direction of Messieurs Joseph Reed, Benjamin Yard, Alexander Chambers, and John Chambers, all of Trenton aforesaid. [Here follows a list of the prizes.]

A History of Trenton

The managers of the lottery are Reynald Hooper, son of R. Lettice Hooper, Esq; Joseph Warrell, junior, son of Joseph Warrell, Esq; Joseph Reed, junior, son of Andrew Reed, Esq; Theophilus Severns, junior, son of Theophilus Severns, Esq; John Allen, junior, son of John Allen, Esq; William Paxton, son of Joseph Paxton, Esq; deceased; and John Cleayton, son of William Cleayton, Esq; who hereby assure the adventurers in this lottery, that the prize money shall be paid by the persons hereafter appointed to sell tickets, immediately after the lottery is drawn, without any deduction; and such prizes as are not demanded in three months after the lottery is drawn, shall be taken as generously given to the school. The drawing will be on the 11th day of June next, on the Fish-Island, in the river Delaware, opposite to the town of Trenton: and the money raised by this lottery shall be paid into the hands of Moore Furman, of Trenton, merchant, who is under bond for the faithful laying out the money for the uses above.

And we the managers assure the adventurers upon our honour, that this scheme, in all its parts, shall be as punctually observed, as if we were under the formalities usual in lotteries; and we flatter ourselves, the publick, considering our laudable design, our age, and our innocence, will give credit to this our publick declaration.

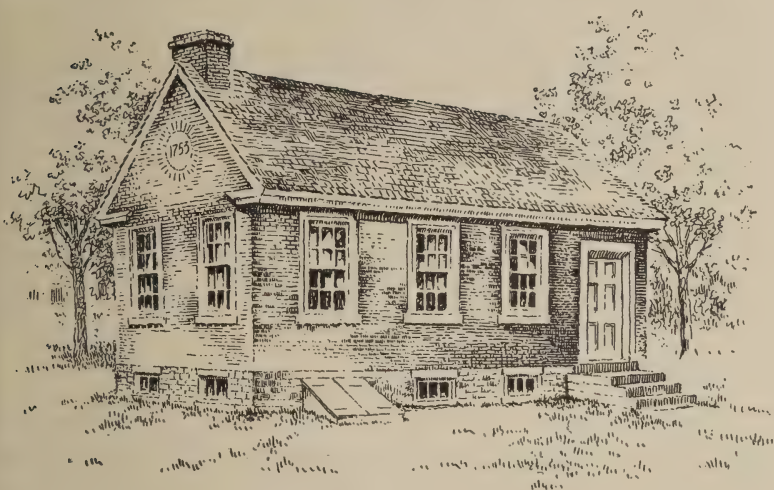
Tickets are to be sold at Seven Shillings and Sixpence each, at Philadelphia, by Andrew Reed, Esq; and at Trenton, by Moore Furman merchant, Reynald Hooper, Joseph Warrell, junior, Joseph Reed, junior, Theophilus Severns, junior, John Allen, junior, William Paxton, John Cleayton.

A later notice in the same newspaper indicates that the lottery was actually drawn July 2, 1753. As the laws of New Jersey prohibited lotteries, it was perhaps a polite evasion to hold the lottery on an island, Fish Island being little more than a gravelly bar, partly now included in Mahlon Stacy Park. Probably for the same reason, the lottery was advertised in the name of minors, who in their "innocence," and considering their "laudable design," will readily be forgiven for this circumvention of the law. The proceeds of this lottery permitted the erection of a brick schoolhouse in 1753 on what is now the site of the First Presbyterian Church, a little to the east of the church of that time.

Little is known about the management of this school. Built on Presbyterian grounds it was principally under the control of that congregation. The pastor, the Rev. David Cowell, seems to have had correspondence with President Burr of the College of New Jersey in 1753 regarding a schoolmaster. The minutes of the trustees in 1765 record that Alexander Chambers and Benjamin Yard were elected by the congregation "Directors of the School-

Schools and Libraries

House.”¹ The Episcopalians also shared in the management as is shown by an entry in the minutes of the vestry of St. Michael’s Church, August 12, 1771, which reads, “The Rev. William Thompson and Danl. Cox Esqs are chosen Trustees for this



FIRST COMMON SCHOOL BUILDING, 1753-1838. ON SITE OF PRESENT FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Congregation to Visit the Free-school and do all such things as to them shall appear serviceable for sd. school in this town.”²

An advertisement in the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 23, 1780, tells what was expected of the schoolmaster :

A VACANCY, A VACANCY,

In the SCHOOL of Trenton, for a Master qualified to teach Reading, Writing, Arithmetick, and some of the branches of the Mathematicks. A person so qualified, and bringing a good recommendation with him, will meet with great encouragement (as the school is large) by applying to the Printer.

N.B. A single man, or one with a small family, will answer best, and the sooner the application the better.

A joint meeting of the Legislature was held in this school building March 17, 1780.

¹ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 72.

² Schuyler, *A History of St. Michael's Church*, p. 58.

A History of Trenton

The progressiveness of this early school is shown in the following notice:

Notice is hereby given, That an English Night School will be opened on Monday evening the 10th day of December inst. at the brick schoolhouse near the Presbyterian Church. Those who may please to encourage the same, are desired for terms to apply to the master, at said place.

Trenton, November 28, 1781.³

In 1800 this building was leased to the Trenton Academy for its girls' school and, in the lease, the premises are described as "a certain brick building which was erected on the lot belonging to the trustees of the said church for the purposes of a schoolhouse." Dr. Hall says: "The lessees added a story to the building, and it continued to be used for school and church purposes until it was taken out of the way [*circa* 1838] at the erection of the present church." The first Presbyterian Sunday School was held in this building in 1816.

THE TRENTON ACADEMY

Trenton's most important early institution of learning was the Trenton Academy which first opened in 1782 and continued until 1884. Among its trustees, teachers and students are to be found the names of many citizens distinguished not only at home but throughout the State and nation. The story of the Academy is told at some length by Dr. John Hall in a series of newspaper articles in the *State Gazette* in April and May 1847 and also by William L. Dayton in a pamphlet entitled "Historical Sketch of the Trenton Academy, read at the centennial anniversary of its foundation, February 10, 1881." A brief summary must suffice for these pages.

On February 10, 1781, twenty citizens of Trenton and its vicinity formed an association "for the purpose of erecting a School House in the said Town, and keeping up a Regular School for the Education of Youth, to be conducted under the Firm of the Trenton School Company." The twenty original proprietors were Joseph Higbee, David Brearley, James Milnor, Jr., Rensselaer Williams, Joseph Paxton, Stacy Potts, Isaac Smith, Isaac Collins, William Tucker, James Ewing, Conrad

³ *New Jersey Gazette*, Vol. IV, December 12, 1781.

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Kotts, Stephen Lowrey, Abraham Hunt, Moore Furman, Robert Neil, Micajah How, Jacob Benjamin, William Churchill Houston, John Neilson and Francis Witt. Messrs. Potts, Furman, Ewing, Collins and Houston were elected the first trustees.

The capital stock consisted of £270, divided into thirty-six shares of £7 10s. each, which were subject to additional assessment to finish the school building. Each shareholder had the right to send a child to the school without any charge for the use of the building. Other students were charged, besides tuition, a half dollar for rent. All students were subject to extra charges for incidentals.

On May 20, 1781, the trustees bought for £15 the lot on Fourth (afterward Academy) Street where the school was built. Additional adjacent lots were bought in 1783, 1788 and 1854. The building, two stories high, twenty by twenty-six feet, costing £444, was far enough along on February 11, 1782, to permit the opening of the school. James Burnside was the first teacher, and the students during the first quarter numbered forty.

The studies were at first elementary but soon grammar-school courses were added under the charge of George Merchant. On January 1, 1783, the trustees advertised in the *New Jersey Gazette* for "a writing master and accountant" who must be "well qualified to teach writing, arithmetic and bookkeeping," and "be well recommended for sobriety, industry and capacity."

The school was soon further strengthened by subscriptions and by increasing the number of stockholders, and two additional rooms were added in 1783. The quarterly examinations including public speaking were held publicly in the Presbyterian Church and attended by distinguished citizens and visitors.

On November 10, 1785, the school was incorporated by an act of the Legislature under the name "The Proprietors of the Trenton Academy."

A girls' school was added in 1787 under the care of Mrs. John Mease, and in the same year the Rev. James F. Armstrong, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, was engaged to act as superintendent of the Academy, which position he held until 1791. One of the pupils at this time was Charles Ewing, afterward

A History of Trenton

chief justice, who was prepared for Princeton College, where he graduated with first honors in 1798.

The Academy in 1794 obtained permission from the Legislature to hold a lottery which added considerably to the funds.

In 1800 the girls' school was moved to the brick schoolhouse in the Presbyterian churchyard, this building being leased at \$1.00 per year for the purpose and a second story added.



THE TRENTON ACADEMY, BUILT 1782, ACADEMY STREET. THE SITE IS A PART OF THE GROUNDS OF THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The first Sunday school of the Methodists was conducted in the Academy building in 1816.

The Academy seems to have enjoyed its most flourishing period in the '50's. David Cole⁴ was the very successful prin-

⁴ David Cole was an important educational leader in the State at this time. An interesting chapter written by him on school matters 1853-58, entitled "Educational Reminiscences," appears in Murray's *History of Education in New Jersey*. He was appointed a member of the first board of trustees of the State Normal School at Trenton and was professor of ancient literature at the same institution from 1857-58. In 1858 he entered the ministry of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Schools and Libraries

principal from 1851 to 1857. Samuel Backus was a much respected teacher during this period. He acted as vice-principal from 1847 until he succeeded to the principalship in 1857, but he died shortly afterward. A catalog of 1851-52 shows among the students Charles C. Abbott, S. Meredith Dickinson, Ion H. Perdicaris, Washington and Ferdinand Roebling, William S. Stryker, Clark Fisher and Alexander C. Yard. George S. Grosvenor was principal from 1859 to 1875. Mr. Grosvenor, now (1929) in his ninety-eighth year, lives at Nice, France.

The development of the State Model School and the public schools gradually caused a decline in the number of pupils attending the old Academy. In 1884 its doors were finally closed and its affairs settled under the receivership of Barker Gummere. Clark Fisher purchased three of the lots and the building in order to obtain the old bell. The property continued in his possession until sold to the trustees of the Free Public Library in 1900. During the Fisher ownership the building was used as a public school annex and as a temporary abode for the School of Industrial Arts.

II. Public Schools

THE free public school, supported by taxation and controlled by the State, while now commonly accepted as an indispensable public institution, has developed, as far as New Jersey is concerned, only within the last century. Its remarkable growth and expansion during this period have been due to the unselfish and devoted efforts of a long succession of forward-looking and liberal-minded citizens who battled step by step against shortsightedness, conservatism and penuriousness in order that the advantages of a liberal and effective education might be freely available to all. In its early years the free public school had to make its way against several antagonisms. Many taxpayers, especially those able to educate their children in private schools, objected to contributing to the education of all. Sectarian feeling also entered in. Various religious bodies had for years supported and administered whatever schooling there

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was in many communities and some of them were apprehensive of giving way to the public school. Furthermore, the public school at first had to labor under the reproach of pauperism, because the first state legislative action on the subject of public school support, in 1820, authorized townships to raise money by taxation "for the education of such poor children as are paupers . . . and the children of such poor parents as are, or shall be . . . unable to pay for schooling the same."

It must be remembered that all municipal support of schools by taxation had to be authorized by legislative action. We cannot here trace the growth of the public school through the succession of Acts, Amendments, special Acts, and Charter Provisions of subsequent years, except in a few instances. The "Act to establish common schools" passed in 1829 and amended in 1830 seems to have induced Trenton's first step in public education. The "Act to establish public schools" passed in 1838 is important in that it removed the pauper stigma from public schools. New Jersey settled the question of public education in 1875 by the following amendment to the Constitution: "The Legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools for the instruction of all the children in this State between the ages of five and eighteen years."

TRENTON'S FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Our sources of information on the beginning of Trenton's public schools are scattered notices in the advertising columns of the newspapers, an occasional item in the editorial or news columns, and two documents: a manuscript history written by Edward S. Ellis in 1876 and an address on the "Early History of the Public Schools in the City of Trenton" by Dr. Charles Skelton, printed in 1876. No records of the transactions of school committeemen or trustees previous to 1850 are known.⁵

The earliest newspaper notice about a public appropriation for the education of poor children, as permitted by the Act of 1820,

⁵ Annual reports of the board of education of later years refer to the Free School Act passed in 1835, doubtless an error for 1829 or 1830, and name the earliest school trustees as Thomas J. Macpherson 1835-36, James Skirm 1835-39 and Benjamin F. Vancleve 1835-36.

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appeared in the *Trenton Federalist*, April 16, 1827, when it was stated that:

The township of Trenton, at the late annual town meeting, voted 300 dollars for the schooling of poor children.

In the same newspaper a week later there appeared the following statement:

Those indigent inhabitants of Trenton, who wish to avail themselves of the benefit of the late appropriation for schooling poor children, are requested to report their names, residence and number of children, to either of the School Committee—Gen. G. D. Wall, Charles Parker, Charles Burroughs, William Potts and James Hamilton.

As the Act of 1820 did not provide for the building and organization of schools, the money appropriated was doubtless used to pay the fees of indigent children while in attendance at some of the small private schools. Dr. Hall⁶ says that for a time "the public schools" were under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Lancaster whose "contract was to teach eighty children for one year, and supply books and stationery, for two hundred and seventy-five dollars."

The Act of 1829 went farther and permitted the building and organization of public schools. The following notice in the *Trenton Federalist* on May 4, 1829, probably announced Trenton's first public school. Although tax-supported it was doubtless for the poor only.

The Trenton Free School is now open for the reception of Scholars. Persons who wish to send children, are requested to make application to Mrs. Kitchen, at the building lately occupied by Joseph Lancaster, as a School-house.

A notice in the *State Gazette* on April 17, 1830, calling a meeting of the school committee of the township of Trenton, when studied with other later notices, indicates that the city of Trenton for school purposes was considered a part of the larger township of Trenton, which was divided into five districts, and that each district elected a school committeeman. Each district had also three trustees, and the city of Trenton as then bounded was district no. 1, of the township of Trenton. A news item a few weeks later, May 1, 1830, in the *State Gazette*, states that:

Trenton township, at the late town meeting, voted 400 dollars for the support of Common Schools. The amount receivable by the township, this

⁶ *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 247.

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year, from the State fund,⁷ is 400 dollars. This, we understand, includes this and last year's dividend. The annual amount which Trenton township is entitled to draw [from the State fund] is 200 dollars.

The next notice continues the story:

COMMON SCHOOLS

The Trustees for the district comprising the city of Trenton, appointed under the act to establish Common Schools, hereby give notice that they expect to have one or more Schools open for the reception of scholars to be taught at the public expense, on or about the first of June ensuing—and request all those who may wish to send any children to said Schools to make application with as little delay as possible to the trustees—that they may know how many scholars to provide for.

CHARLES BURROUGHS
JOHN McCULLY
JOHN WILSON

Trustees.⁸

The same trustees, in the *State Gazette* of September 11, 1830, gave notice that:

The Schools supported by the Public Funds, have commenced another quarter, and are not yet full—those of the Trenton district wishing to send Children will please to apply to Charles Burroughs for Tickets of admission.

In 1831 David Johnston was elected school committeeman for the first district and the trustees were John McCully, Joel Gordon and Charles C. Yard. A notice in the *State Gazette* May 7, 1831, shows that there was to be opened on May 9 in the first district “the male school . . . under the tuition of Mr. Charles Rice and the Female school . . . under the tuition of Mrs. Kitchen.”

In May 1832 the trustees, Thomas J. Stryker, Charles C. Yard and William P. Sherman, gave notice of the opening of “the School for girls, and for colored Children” on May 8 and at the same time they advertised for a teacher for “the School for boys” which was to be opened on the twenty-third.

The first published financial report of Trenton's public

⁷ The School Fund, established by the Legislature in 1817, was New Jersey's first action toward a system of public education. This fund has increased from \$100,000 in 1818 to \$11,126,416 in 1928. From the income annual appropriations are made and apportioned to the Counties for public schools. This annual appropriation has been increased from \$20,000 in 1829 to \$500,000 in 1928. Apportionment is now made on the basis of days' attendance. Trenton's apportionment from the State Fund in 1928 was \$12,299.

⁸ *State Gazette*, May 22, 1830.

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schools submitted by Treasurer William P. Sherman appeared in the *State Gazette* on March 30, 1833:

| | |
|--|----------|
| The total receipts were | \$522.89 |
| The expenditures were: | |
| To Charles Rice, balance due him for teaching male school in 1831 | \$92.40 |
| To Elizabeth Kitchen, balance due her for teaching female school in 1831 | 16.60 |
| To James B. Stafford, balance due him for teaching colored school in 1831 | 20.75 |
| To Mrs. Gordon, for one quarter's rent of room for white male school in 1831 | 6.00 |
| To George Cole, for two quarters' rent of room for colored school in 1831 | 6.00 |
| To Charles C. Yard, Wm. Merseilles and James Faussett, for repairs to room of white male school | 5.35 |
| To Charles Rice for benches and desks for white male school | 6.25 |
| To George Sherman for printing admission tickets for the year 1832 | 2.00 |
| To Robert Parry for teaching white male school one quarter, in the year 1832 | 70.00 |
| To Daniel Coleman for teaching do. part of succeeding quarter | 8.00 |
| To Mrs. Gordon for two quarters' rent of white male school room in the year 1832, at 6 dols. per quarter | 12.00 |
| To Mrs. Fenton for teaching white female school in 1832, two quarters | 150.00 |
| To Miss Stafford for teaching four children one quarter | 6.00 |
| To James B. Stafford for teaching colored school two quarters, in 1832 | 116.75 |
| To George Cole for two quarters' rent of room for colored school, at 3 dols. per quarter | 6.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total amount paid | \$524.10 |
| Deduct amount received | \$522.89 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance due treasurer | \$ 1.21 |

The trustees for the years beginning May 1833 and 1834 were James Skirm, Benjamin S. Disbrow and Joseph G. Brearley. It was necessary again to advertise for teachers.

Such were the beginnings of Trenton's free public schools. So far they were conducted in rented rooms, and for the poor only. Doubtless they were not largely attended because of the reproach of pauperism.

Ellis claims for Trenton "the honor of having established the first free school in New Jersey," naming a school organized in the old Masonic Hall in 1833 "where all the pupils received free tuition." He attributed his information to Thomas J. Macpher-

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son who had been a teacher in that school. In view of the above notices of 1829 and 1830 it is doubtful in what respect the Masonic Hall school may claim to be the first.

As mentioned above, the Act of 1838 removed the pauper feature from public schools, and it seems that thereafter for several years a small quarterly fee was charged, because as Dr. Skelton complains, "the sums appropriated, and allowed to be raised by tax, were so small that [free] provision could only be made for those in extreme destitution." The following notice, appearing in 1842, gives a rather full picture of our school system at that time:

The schools will be opened on the first Monday in April.

In the school under the care of Mr. F. Kingman, at the State Bank building [corner of Warren and Bank Streets], the [quarterly] rates of tuition will be as follows:

| | |
|--|--------|
| For spelling, reading, writing, defining, Arithmetic, Geography | \$1.50 |
| For these, with Grammar, History, Rhetoric, Botany, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy or Chemistry | 2.00 |

Music will be taught as a regular branch of information, without extra charge; but not to such a degree as to interfere with the other studies of the school.

Exercises on the black board and slates, in Geography, Drawing, Orthography, Etymology, Elements of Geometry, and Natural Philosophy, will form part of the duties of each week; thus affording to every pupil an opportunity of acquiring a practical knowledge of those branches without the expense of text books.

In the female school under the care of Miss Mary Johnston, at the school house in Perry St., the terms will be as follows:

| | |
|---|--------|
| For spelling, reading, writing, defining, Arithmetic, Geography | \$1.25 |
| For these, with Grammar, Natural Philosophy, History, Rhetoric and Botany | 1.75 |

A school will be opened at the School House in Perry Street, under the care of Mrs. Mary Hunt, in which the youngest white children, of both sexes, will be taught spelling and reading. The terms in this school will be \$1.00.

In the school for colored children, in Hanover Street, under the care of Mr. Elymus Rogers, the terms will be:

| | |
|---|--------|
| For spelling and reading | \$1.00 |
| For these, with writing, arithmetic and geography | 1.25 |
| For these, with other higher branches | 1.75 |

The number of scholars in each school is limited to fifty.

By order of the Trustees,

JAMES T. SHERMAN,
Secretary.⁹

⁹ *State Gazette*, March 22, 1842.

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In the same year we note the advent of the first "high" school in the following:

The schools will be opened, for the next quarter, on Tuesday, the 5th of July.

At that time will be commenced in the upper room of the State Bank a

PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL

under the superintendence of William M. Hough, late Principal of the Norristown Academy. The terms of tuition in this school will be as follows:

For reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, \$1.50 a quarter.

For English grammar, composition, rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy and chemistry, \$2.00.

In natural philosophy and chemistry, frequent lectures will be given, illustrated with experiments, for which an apparatus is provided.

Mr. H. will also teach the Latin, Greek and French languages; but the Trustees do not feel authorised to apply the public moneys to the support of a classical school; and, therefore, the terms of tuition in these studies will be \$7.00 a quarter. . . .

The school room is large and airy, and has been painted and furnished so as to be comfortable and attractive to the scholars; and the Trustees confidently expect that this school will acquire general respect and approbation. . . .¹⁰

In 1844 the high school under Mr. Hough and, shortly afterward, the primary departments were moved to the old town hall¹¹ building on Academy Street.

In 1848, according to Dr. Skelton, the Trenton public schools were made free to all without fee.

THE FIRST FREE PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILT ON CENTRE STREET

We turn back now to that portion of Nottingham Township which as South Trenton was annexed to Trenton in 1851, to quote from Dr. Skelton who had been since 1842 a member of the school committee of that township, and school superintendent¹² in 1847. The school built on Centre Street was, in Dr. Skelton's opinion, excepting the "pauper" schools, "the first

¹⁰ *State Gazette*, June 30, 1842.

¹¹ This building served as the town hall and jail from 1809 to 1838. The site had been purchased by the city in 1808 from Peter Hunt, with the proviso that it was to revert to his estate when no longer used for its original purpose. The city acquired a clear title to the property in 1843 from William E. Hunt for \$100. It was in front of this building that the whipping post stood until it surreptitiously disappeared one night in 1839.

¹² The early meaning of this term is explained on p. 737.

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free public school established in our city, and I believe, the first really free public school in our State." He tells its story as follows:

In the spring of 1843, the school committee of the township [of Nottingham] recommended to the voters to raise, by tax, eleven hundred dollars; six hundred to build a house, and five hundred to support the school, which sums were voted almost unanimously. The people said they were willing to raise any amount necessary to support public schools, but not a dollar for pauper schools. The opponents of public schools here raised legal questions and set aside the proceedings of the town meeting as illegal.

The school committee and the citizens, then applied to the Legislature, to be allowed to raise, by tax, one thousand dollars for the support of public schools, and after much contention, succeeded in getting the privilege to raise six hundred dollars for that purpose, and five hundred to build a house. At the annual town meeting of 1844, the school committee recommended to raise, by tax, the full sum allowed by the special township act, and to appropriate the interest on the surplus fund of the general government, and the tax on dogs, to the support of public schools, which recommendations were carried by a large vote; the committee had saved the two years' appropriation from the State fund, amounting to about three hundred dollars. Thus the committee found themselves in possession of less than two thousand dollars for the purpose of building a house and supporting a public free school; and resolved to proceed, immediately, to erect a suitable house. Here was the first triumph of the friends of public education, and this too, after a desperate struggle of two years; and although the sum raised was exceedingly small for the purpose of building a house and supporting a school for over six hundred children, yet it was a victory. . . .

The committee then purchased a lot, one hundred feet square, on Centre Street, near the First Baptist Church, for the sum of one hundred and sixty dollars. They made a contract with Mr. William Johnson to build a brick house, thirty by fifty feet, two stories high, to contain four rooms, with seats in each room for seventy-five children. The cost of the building furnished, and lot, was about twenty-four hundred dollars. When the building was finished, the committee found themselves in debt about fifteen hundred dollars. Thus far they had proceeded without taking legal advice, and now, they were informed, by a celebrated lawyer, that their proceedings were illegal, and that they had no right to borrow money and mortgage the house for the payment of the money. A town meeting was called, and the people, by a vote directed the town committee to mortgage the house and pledge the faith of the township for its redemption; accordingly the money was raised, and the difficulty settled. About the first of September, 1844,¹³ four teachers were employed, to take charge of the schools—Mr. Joseph Roney, as principal, and the following named ladies as assistants: Miss Susan S. Albertson, Miss Hannah Carlin and Miss Sarah Joycelin. The first at an

¹³ This date should read 1845. An article in the *State Gazette* April 25, 1845, tells of this building as about to be built. This is confirmed also by Dr. Skelton's reference below "and now, [1876] after the lapse of thirty-one years."

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annual salary of four hundred dollars, and the others at one hundred and fifty dollars each. The first day the schools were opened, over four hundred children presented themselves for admission, about half of whom had never attended school of any kind. Here was serious practical difficulty—how shall this surplus of applicants be disposed of; shall they be crowded into the rooms, one hundred in each room, or shall they be sent home, and thus deprived of the blessings of education? The committee concluded to meet this difficulty by a general rule. The State law admitted all over five years of age; the committee made a rule to exclude all under seven years of age, and thus give the oldest the first privilege, and let the younger come in as they advanced in years. This rule worked well, and left in attendance about three hundred children. After three days of incessant labor, order was brought out of confusion, and the gratifying spectacle was presented of three hundred children seated at their desks pursuing their studies with cheerfulness and good order. This result was highly gratifying to the friends of education; and now, after the lapse of thirty-one years, the recollection returns with vivid pleasure. Nottingham township at that time contained over six hundred children, capable of attending school; not over one hundred of whom had been attending any school. Hundreds of children were educated in this institution who would otherwise have grown up in ignorance, and many in vicious habits; many of these, then children, are now heads of families, prosperous and happy. Much clamor was raised against building a house so large and fine; a brick building two stories high, containing four rooms, was evidence of a spirit of extravagance that was sure to ruin the country. On looking back, we, at this time [1876], think it very strange, that such objections should have been urged against such a building. Mr. Joseph Roney, the principal, introduced music at the organization of this school; he led on the violin and sang appropriate school songs. Music had great influence here, in harmonizing discordant and unruly feelings, at the same time it enlivened the feelings of the children and enabled them to make more rapid progress in their studies.

This school was first known as the Centre Street School. Two additional rooms were built in 1856. When in the early '70's further addition was contemplated, it was decided to erect an entirely new building which was completed in 1876. This building is still in service. In 1891 it was fittingly renamed the Charles Skelton School.

THE ACADEMY STREET SCHOOL

We must return again to Dr. Skelton to whose persistent efforts so much of the early public school progress was due. In 1847 he moved into Trenton proper and for the next three years was elected superintendent of schools in Trenton. His story of the first school building in Trenton, erected on the site of the old town hall and jail building, follows:

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This school in the old jail [on Academy Street] had for some years been under the control of the Common Council, and was not free, except to the destitute; but each pupil was required to pay a tuition fee. The fee policy was changed in 1848, and all the children were admitted without charge. The free system, and a change in the organization of the schools, largely increased the number of applicants for admission, and created a necessity for more rooms and more teachers. In the spring of 1849, the trustees and superintendent recommended to the citizens to vote for making a loan of six thousand dollars, to pay for the erection of a new school house. The vote was accordingly taken, and carried by a large majority. Legal difficulties were raised by the opponents of public schools, and the Common Council refused to raise the money. The trustees and superintendent, at the next session of the Legislature, applied for authority to make a loan of six thousand dollars to build a school house, and to raise, by tax, any sum not to exceed two thousand dollars, to support the schools. In the spring of 1850, the citizens voted to make the proposed loan, and to raise, by tax, the full amount allowed by law for the support of the schools.

The trustees and superintendent immediately resolved to pull down the old jail, and to build on the lot where it stood, a house suited to the wants of the city. The lot adjoining on the east, was purchased at a cost of \$737.50. A plan was drawn by the superintendent and adopted by the trustees, to put up a building three stories high, with a basement for a lecture room, and four rooms above, on each floor. This plan the trustees were obliged to reduce by taking off the basement and third story, in consequence of the sum of money in their possession being too small to pay for the building on the original plan. This change was much to be regretted, as it marred very much the beauty of the building, and deprived the city of four good school rooms and a large lecture room. A contract was made with James Hammell, and the building erected at a cost of \$4,723. The building was opened for the reception of pupils on the first day of October, 1850, and immediately filled. Six hundred children were seated under the tuition of the following named teachers: G[eorge] G. Roney, as principal, and Miss P. S. Vancleef, Miss L. H. Tucker, Miss S[usan] S. Albertson, Miss S[arah] P. Yard, Miss Mary Johnson, Miss M. J. Mitchell and Miss M[aria] W. Thomson, as assistants.

The Academy Street School has continued to serve the purposes of public education from that day until this. The third story was added in 1876. For a short period it was called the Charles Skelton School, but in 1891 was renamed in honor of Joseph Wood who was the mayor of Trenton from 1856-59. The principal of this school from 1874 until his retirement in 1913 was Lewis C. Wooley.

A special Act of the Legislature in 1850 made the city of Trenton one school district and enabled the trustees to take title to land, erect buildings and accept trusts, and another special

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Act in 1856 enlarged the powers of the trustees, making them more independent of Common Council.

A brief chronicle must suffice for the years from 1850 to 1888. During these years the public schools grew steadily in strength and numbers but the growth was slow and painful. There were always pupils on the waiting list for admission and many makeshifts were adopted. Nearly every year rooms and annexes were rented for school purposes here and there about the city. The school system was crudely organized and weak both in business methods and in pedagogy. The superintendents and trustees, without remuneration, gave what time they could take from their business and private affairs.

The outstanding superintendents were Abram R. Harris 1851-57 and 1859-63, who succeeded Dr. Skelton; William S. Yard 1857-59; Thomas J. Corson 1863-68; Dr. Cornelius Shepherd 1868-76 and 1881-84; and Edward S. Ellis 1884-85.

Among active supporters of public schools during this period was David Naar,¹⁴ editor and proprietor of the *True American*. He was a member of the board of trustees 1854-55 and 1860-68. Through the columns of his paper and in public addresses he ably championed the cause of public education both at home and elsewhere in the State. His printed address of 1862 to the trustees and teachers shows that public schools were still much on the defensive, particularly on the subject of tax support.

THE NEXT SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The next new school building was erected in 1857 on Bellevue Avenue, then Higbee Street, for the accommodation of colored children.¹⁵ The colored children were later transferred to a rented building on Belvidere Street and in 1872 to a new school building on Ringold Street, which was sold in 1883, on the completion of the Lincoln School on Bellevue Avenue. The Higbee Street School was in 1896 named the Nixon School in honor of

¹⁴ For further reference in this chapter to David Naar, see p. 746. He was the father of Joseph L. Naar.

¹⁵ Mention of a public school for colored children on Hanover Street has been made previously. As far as is known this was the first school for colored children. The building had been a meeting house for colored people for many years before. Because of complaints about its dilapidated condition, this building, then popularly called "Nightmare Hall," was sold by the city in 1855 for \$21 and removed. The Young Women's Christian Association now occupies the site.

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Judge John T. Nixon. The building is now used as a carpenter shop, it having been discarded for school use a few years ago.

The next new building was the Market Street School on the corner of Market and Cooper Streets. It was opened in 1859 with Charles Britton as principal. In 1896 it was renamed the Cooper School in honor of Peter Cooper.

The Union Street School was dedicated in 1869, and in 1896 named the Parker School in honor of Clara Parker, an early school teacher in that vicinity.

The Rose Street School was opened in 1870. Marcia M. Wright served as principal from 1870 to her retirement in 1902. In 1896 this school was named the Livingston School in honor of New Jersey's first governor after independence was declared.

In 1872 a new school was opened on Grant Avenue. It was later named the U. S. Grant School. Kate Weeks was principal from the opening until her retirement in 1895.

THE SCHEDULE OF EARLY SALARIES

A glance at the early salaries of teachers is of interest. In 1860 the list was as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Joseph Roney, principal Academy Street School | \$800 |
| Charles Britton, principal Market Street School | 700 |
| Charles Sutterley, principal Centre Street School | 660 |
| William H. Brace, teacher | 475 |
| 19 "lady" teachers, each | 250 |

In 1871 the following schedule was adopted:

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| First, Second and Third grades | \$450 |
| Fourth grade | \$1,100 male, \$500 female |
| Fifth grade (presumably male) | \$1,200 |

In 1861 two supervising principals were appointed, and a northern and southern division designated with the Assunpink Creek as the boundary. Joseph Roney was appointed for the northern and Charles Britton for the southern district. Each, of course, continued his previous duties as a school principal and teacher. In 1864 Joseph Roney was elected supervising principal of all schools at a salary of \$1,000 but after a year he resigned to take a similar position in Scranton.

Night schools were first opened in 1864 in the Academy Street and Market Street Schools, with a total average attendance of 150. The Young Men's Christian Association pledged \$50 to furnish books and stationery. Night or evening schools have been conducted at intervals ever since, but their early

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years were marred by the invasion of hoodlums and rowdies and there was no definite program of instruction.

THE FIRST HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING

The year 1874 was memorable in Trenton's annals in that it saw the completion of the first high school, an event which superintendents, trustees and intelligent citizens had been advocating ever since it was first urged in 1858 by William S. Yard, then superintendent. After several refusals, Common Council in 1873 granted an appropriation of \$7,000 for the purchase of a lot of one hundred feet frontage on Mercer Street. The new school, costing in all about \$30,000, was opened in October. It had seats for 304 pupils and there were 296 pupils the first year. William H. Brace, then principal of the Academy Street School, was appointed the first principal, in which office he continued to serve until the next high school was opened in 1902. A list of the first teachers and their subjects follows:

William H. Brace, Principal, and Teacher of Classical Literature.

SENIOR DEPARTMENT

Joseph R. Encke, Mathematics and Natural Sciences.
Lizzie Johnston, Elocution, English and American Literature.
Emma Bodine, Grammar and Rhetoric.
Sarah L. Roberts, Political and Physical Geography and Drawing.
Mary J. Curns, Orthography and Penmanship.

JUNIOR DEPARTMENT

Harriet Dickinson, Mathematics and History.
Ella A. Macpherson, Grammar and Elocution.
Ella Bodine, Geography and Drawing.
Lizzie Blair, Orthography and Penmanship.

The principal and Mr. Encke received annual salaries of \$1,200 each and the other teachers \$500 each.

The board of education in 1887 first began to provide free text-books, a policy which was rapidly extended to include all schools and all grades. In 1894 an Act of Legislature made this compulsory throughout the State.

OTHER NEW SCHOOLS

Between the opening of the new high school and the year 1888 a number of school buildings were erected or otherwise acquired.

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The Mott School on Centre Street was built in 1881. At first called the Sixth Ward School, it was in 1896 renamed in honor of General Gershom Mott who once lived about where the school stands. It was considerably remodelled and enlarged in 1912. Previous to 1881 there was another school nearby on Second Street which had been built for Nottingham township in 1854.

The first Lincoln School was built on Bellevue Avenue in 1883 for colored children. The principal from that time until his retirement in 1913 was Spencer P. Irwin.

The Peabody School, built in 1882, was first called, from its location, the West Hanover Street School. In 1896 it was named in honor of George L. Peabody.

The present Administration Building was first a private school known as the Institute. It was bought by the city in 1884 and called the Stockton Street School. In 1896 it was named in honor of Commodore Richard Stockton. In 1912 this building was enlarged and devoted entirely to administration purposes.

By the annexation of Millham in 1888 the school on Girard Avenue was acquired. It was named in 1896 in honor of Stephen Girard. It was built in 1884 by district no. 20, and first called the Millham Public School.

With the annexation of Chambersburg, Trenton acquired in 1888 the Centennial, Washington and old Franklin Schools.

The old Franklin School is on the corner of Liberty and William Streets. The first school on this site was built in 1857 but replaced in 1880. Known then as the Hamilton School and also as the Academy, it was upon annexation named the Franklin School. It has now outlived its usefulness. Adjacent to it is the new Franklin School built in 1913.

The Washington School was built in 1867 by the trustees of district no. 34. Numerous additions and alterations have been made. Before annexation it was known as the Chambersburg School and also as the "White" School from its coating of white rough casting.

The Centennial School on Whittaker Avenue was built in 1876 by the trustees of district no. 34. Additions were made in 1878 and 1887.

The Monument School on Pennington Avenue was opened in 1889 and enlarged in 1895.

B. C. GREGORY BECOMES SUPERVISING PRINCIPAL

A new epoch in Trenton school history began in 1888 when the board appointed Benjamin C. Gregory to the position of supervising principal of the Trenton schools, a fortuitous choice which we owe to a committee of the school trustees consisting of Frank O. Briggs, John A. Campbell and George W. Macpherson. These gentlemen reported that "the necessity for this officer was very pressing. The members of the Board are all men engaged in active business and not versed in the science of teaching. They have neither the time nor the training to decide all the technical

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questions arising in the management of our schools. We believe that the citizens of Trenton wish the schools of this city run on business principles: that a school system without a practical school man at its head is in the same condition as any other business without a proper head." After the first year of the Gregory administration the committee felt that "as a result, a strong homogeneous, efficient system is being evolved from the old ones [the High School, the Northern District, the Southern Districts and the recently annexed Chambersburg and Millham Schools]—a system that will be a power in the development of the city and a source of pride to its inhabitants."

Gregory set about at once to reorganize the school system and to lift it out of its provincialism. He was gifted with a genius for inspiring leadership and he brought to his work culture, urbanity and wide experience. He kept not only abreast but ahead of the times and he was always alert to bring to Trenton the best methods and practices that experience elsewhere had developed. He was intensely though sensibly modern and he would have been considered so even today without much alteration in the point of view he held over a quarter of a century ago.

Gregory rightly felt that his most important task was to develop better teaching. He found standards low and that little regard had been given to teaching ability when teachers were employed. Only a high school education was required of a beginning teacher and she learned her art generally by unsupervised practice on her unfortunate pupils. In a short time the requirements were raised to include a normal or training school education. The Hewitt Training School was soon instituted where a class of pupil teachers could both observe the best teaching in actual practice and take courses in teaching methods, psychology and kindred pedagogic subjects. Meetings and conferences of both teachers and principals were introduced and the supervising principal gave a great deal of his time to helpful visiting of the school rooms. A monthly round table, a voluntary reading circle and a consulting library of professional books were established. Teachers were urged to take summer courses. Every effort was made to encourage continued study and self-improvement on the part of all teachers. Gregory had the courage

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to "import" occasionally a teacher from elsewhere, for he found the teaching force anemic from the lack of new blood. Attention was given to the salary schedule. Gregory found teachers' salaries very low and without relation to improvement or length of service. The average teacher received \$45 per month, whether good, bad or indifferent, whether just appointed or of long experience. In time new schedules improved salaries and related them to ability and length of service.

Limited space permits mention of only a few of the progressive undertakings of the Gregory administration. The high school was strengthened by moving the junior section, the seventh and eighth grades, from the high school to the grammar schools. A commercial course was introduced which became at once popular and successful. Agitation for a new high school was begun which in 1901 culminated in the new high school on the corner of Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues. The project was approved by popular vote in 1896, 3989 "for" and 2243 "against," but legal and financial difficulties stayed progress for several years.

Gregory gave immediate attention to improving the evening schools. He found that "what should be taught was left to the caprice of the teacher. No plan of work, no one was responsible for the work, few if any books, no organization and poor discipline." Systematic courses were provided, successful and experienced teachers chosen, and order and discipline were required and maintained. The employment of a special officer helped considerably. The following report of efficient Officer B. Sholes in 1893 gives an interesting picture of conditions:

I reach the schools about 6:45 p.m., and generally find many boys around making considerable noise. As soon as I arrive there is less noise. I remain there until school opens and see that there is as little confusion as possible; stay awhile after school commences, and if any are there that do not belong to the school I drive them away. These are the persons who want to stay around and call and whistle to their friends inside. When all is quiet I go to another school, and generally find outside boys around. I drive them away and remain until school is out, and see that all are away before I leave. . . . I reach all the different schools every other night; the oftener they see me, the better the order is.

An evening high school was established for the first time in

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1890, in rented rooms on the third floor of 120 North Broad Street. The supervisor of evening schools from 1896-1916 was Eva Ellis.

Gregory gave constant attention to improving the comfort, attractiveness and sanitation of the school buildings. There was general rejoicing in 1912 when the board contracted for one clean towel for every class room each day. Slates and slate-pencils about this time gave way to paper, lead pencils, pen and ink.

Many innovations such as art, music, physical education, manual training and kindergartens, which we may be sure conservative citizens decried as fads but which no self-respecting public school would be without today, were urged by Gregory. For some of these he merely prepared the way for their establishment under his successor. An accomplished musician himself, Gregory particularly urged and developed the study of this art. Some attention had been given to music previously. Joseph Roney from September 1855 to April 1856 had been engaged to teach music, and in 1875 Gertrude Deckrow was appointed for the same purpose. The first supervisor was Lottie G. Johnston who acted in this capacity from 1891 to 1894. This luxury was forgone then until 1897 when Lella Parr acted as supervisor for a year. In 1898, Catherine M. Zisgen, then a teacher in the Washington School, was appointed supervisor of music, a position which she has creditably held ever since.

The first mothers' meeting in Trenton at the Cadwalader School in 1900 and the organization of a Parents' Society in the same school in 1901-02, marked the beginning of these endeavors which have had much to do with bringing schools and parents into closer cooperation and understanding. Another step in this direction had been previously adopted by Gregory in the institution of monthly reports on each pupil to his parents.

In 1902 Dr. Gregory resigned to become school superintendent of Chelsea, Mass. During his administration the enrolment had increased from 5,631 to 9,119, the number of school rooms from 124 to 211, the seating capacity from 6,000 to 10,067, the number of teachers from 124 to 220, and the high school pupils from 285 to 589.

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SCHOOL BUILDINGS ACQUIRED DURING THE GREGORY ADMINISTRATION

The John A. Roebling School, on a plot bounded by Home Avenue, Beatty and Orange Streets, was opened in 1889. It was destroyed by fire in 1902 and immediately rebuilt.

The Columbus School, on the corner of Brunswick Avenue and Mulberry Street, was opened in 1892. A considerable addition was built in 1913.

The Hewitt School, bounded by Washington, Roebling and Emory Avenues, was opened in 1891. It was originally called the Hewitt Training School, and was named for Charles S. Hewitt.

The Cadwalader School, on the corner of Murray and Boudinot Streets, was opened in 1893. It had its origin in a rented room on the corner of Montgomery Place and West End Avenue (then Philemon Street). Additions were made in 1897 and 1907.

The Hamilton School on the corner of Hamilton Avenue and Anderson Street, was opened in 1897.

Through the annexation of Wilbur in 1898, Trenton acquired the William G. Cook and the James Moses Schools. The Cook School is on Cuyler Avenue and was first opened in 1891 and the Moses School on Park Avenue was first used in 1897.

The annexation of a part of Ewing township in 1900 brought in the Hillcrest School and Brookville School. The latter, named the Dorothy Dix School, was afterward abandoned.

THE NEW HIGH SCHOOL

An outstanding event of the Gregory administration was the achievement of a new high school building on the corner of Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues. It was dedicated April 8, 1901, and its total cost was about \$138,500, representing efforts of the trustees and commissioners for a period of ten years.¹⁶ The first principal was Dr. William A. Wetzel, who today in the same position is busy with plans for Trenton's next new high school shortly to be begun. The growth and improvement of the high school, its courses and instruction under Dr. Wetzel, are matters well known to thousands of Trentonians who have profited thereby. The city of Trenton has had no more faithful, untiring and efficient public servant than Dr. Wetzel. In 1906 an athletic field was acquired by funds solicited by the pupils, large contributors to which were Ferdinand W. and Washington A. Roebling. In 1911 a pipe organ, the first of its kind in any public high school, was installed at a cost of \$5,000, which

¹⁶ A full report of the dedicatory exercises and a description of the building is given in the biennial report of the board, 1902.

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amount was raised by the school. Unfortunately as early as 1905 the number of pupils began to exceed the seating accommodations and the operation of the high school ever since has been increasingly handicapped by lack of space. Today the old building and a part of the adjacent Carroll Robbins School accommodate together only the eleventh and twelfth grades. The whole tenth grade is crowded temporarily into Junior High School No. 3.

To mention some members of the board is perhaps unfair to others and yet at the time of the struggle for the new high school and for some years afterward Trenton had two especially capable and diligent servants on its school board. Deserving of special mention in a record of this kind are the intelligent services of Carroll Robbins, a member from 1895 until his death in 1907, and the long and faithful work of Samuel H. Bullock, a member from 1898 to 1919, during which period he almost never missed a meeting of the board.

THE MACKEY ADMINISTRATION

Ebenezer Mackey was called from Reading, Pa., to succeed Dr. Gregory as supervising principal on September 1, 1902. Dr. Mackey held this office until his death in 1919. In 1910 the title "supervising principal" was changed to "superintendent of schools." Dr. Mackey was a capable, kindly and faithful public servant, of the finest spiritual qualities, who devoted himself without stint to his duties. The rapid growth of school needs seems always to have kept ahead of the foresight of school authorities and yet the Mackey administration was marked by many important developments and improvements.

KINDERGARTENS

Action by the school board on June 4, 1903, authorizing the equipping of five school rooms for kindergartens, may be considered the actual beginning of this important addition to the public school program. One kindergarten had been opened in the Charles Skelton School in 1888 through the efforts of Nellie Bodine, a teacher in that school, and the principal, Thomas M. White. This kindergarten was transferred to the Hewitt Train-

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ing School in 1891. Dr. Gregory made repeated recommendations for the establishment of more kindergartens but nothing further was done until the action mentioned above in 1903. Mary E. Windsor was the first supervisor of kindergartens and her successors have been Stella McCarthy and Bertha M. Barwis.

MANUAL TRAINING

In 1888, Frank O. Briggs, then a member of the board, first suggested the appointment of a committee to investigate and report on the subject of manual training. The subject continued to be considered at intervals for the next eighteen years and Dr. Gregory frequently recommended action. Finally, in 1906, manual training was introduced in the high school. It has since been extended down to include the fifth grade. Its importance in correlating the training of the hand with that of the mind is clearly recognized, especially since the training afforded by the old-fashioned household chore has been lost. Alvin E. Dodd was the first supervisor of manual training. Sewing was added in 1907 and cooking in 1908, at which time Louise Kingsbury was appointed the first supervisor of domestic science.

ART EDUCATION

Drawing had been taught in the schools for some time, depending on the ability of the classroom teachers to handle the subject. In 1901 Eva E. Struble was appointed the first supervisor of drawing. Later a supervisor of industrial arts in the primary grades and a supervisor of fine arts for the upper grades and the high school were appointed.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

A system of "physical culture" was urged by Dr. Gregory in 1890 and some attempt was made in 1893 to introduce it. Ella A. Macpherson, vice-principal of the high school, was supervisor of physical training from September 1895 until December 1904, performing the duties of this office after the close of the daily session of the high school. In 1906 Helen R. Levy was appointed the first supervisor to give full time to the subject.

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SPECIAL CLASSES

The first special classes for mentally retarded and incorrigible pupils were begun in 1905 by Principal Thomas M. White at the Skelton School. As these classes have developed they now provide only for pupils who are mentally retarded. At the present time there are 22 such classes in the city giving this type of individual attention to 312 pupils. During the present school year (1928-1929) a survey is being conducted by several experts from outside the school system to determine what further plans should be made for pupils thus handicapped.

MEDICAL INSPECTION

Medical inspection was introduced in 1909, when six physicians and a school nurse were appointed. This service has been gradually increased. At the present time the department consists of five physicians who give part of their time; fourteen school nurses, and two full-time dentists.

SUMMER SCHOOLS

The first summer vacation schools were opened in 1910. Classes were in two buildings and there were 228 pupils and 7 teachers. The next year there were classes in ten buildings with 1374 pupils and 43 teachers. Summer schools have been maintained ever since. Pupils who have fallen behind in their work are enabled to make up by summer school attendance, while a few attend to gain advanced standing.

THE SIX-THREE-THREE PLAN

Until 1914 the public school system consisted of elementary schools of eight grades and a high school of four grades. About this time educational leaders began to urge a change of organization to eliminate the sharp break between elementary and high schools and also to provide a more varied and effective education for pupils of the adolescent age. The proposed new plan provided for an elementary school of six grades, a junior high school of three grades (7, 8 and 9) and a senior high school of three grades (10, 11 and 12). It meant that the junior high school grades would ultimately be placed in new buildings planned with facilities for the new kind of education proposed.

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Dr. Wetzel ardently advocated the plan, while Herman C. Mueller, then president of the board of education, immediately saw the educational value of the proposed shop work and insisted that the first step in the achievement of the new plan was to erect junior high school buildings. The plan was officially adopted in 1914 and shortly afterward the old Almshouse plot of seven acres on Princeton Avenue was acquired and Trenton's first junior high school was opened in October 1916. A year later the Carroll Robbins School, previously the Training School, was opened as Junior High School No. 2.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS ACQUIRED DURING THE MACKEY ADMINISTRATION

The old high school on Mercer Street was converted to elementary school purposes in 1901 and named the William McKinley School. Additions were made in 1911. The Harrison School on Genesee Street was built in 1903, the McClellan School on Fillmore Street in 1904 and the Jefferson School on Brunswick Avenue in 1905. The latter was considerably enlarged in 1923.

The Carroll Robbins School on Tyler Street was built in 1908 and to it was transferred from the Hewitt School the training school for teachers. The training school was abolished in 1917 and this building designated as Junior High School No. 2, for which purpose it was used until 1926. At the time of this writing the building is used by elementary grades and for "overflow" classes from the senior high school. This was the first public school building in Trenton to contain a gymnasium.

The B. C. Gregory School on Rutherford Avenue was built in 1912 and the new Franklin School in 1913 on a tract bounded by Liberty, William, Dayton and Woodland Streets.

Junior High School No. 1, opened in 1916, has been mentioned above.

CHANGES IN THE SUPERINTENDENCY

Dr. Mackey died in 1919 and he was succeeded by Zenos E. Scott, who at the time of his appointment was an assistant commissioner in the state department of education. Dr. Scott resigned after a year to accept the superintendency of Louisville, Ky. He was succeeded by William J. Bickett, who came to Trenton from Bernardsville, N.J.

THE BICKETT ADMINISTRATION¹⁷

Shortly after Dr. Bickett became superintendent several fortunate new appointments to the board of education and firm

¹⁷ Further comment on recent public school matters will be found in Chap. XIX, below, by James Kerney.

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progressive action on the part of the new superintendent indicated an aggressive handling of many pressing problems that had been held in abeyance during the war years. Dr. Bickett immediately surveyed the building situation and formulated plans for future development. A further survey under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Education approved Dr. Bickett's recommendations and suggested a considerable strengthening of the supervisory and business staff. The board of education adopted many of the recommendations, made the superintendent the responsible executive officer of the board, abolished the cumbersome system of standing committees, enlarged the supervisory and business staff and began to take active steps for the acquisition of sites and the erection of new buildings.

Within a few years three new schools, adequate, generous, handsome and modern were opened. They have, in addition to the usual classrooms, cafeterias, gymnasiums, libraries, swimming pools, shop space and auditoriums, and each is placed on spacious grounds. The first was the new Lincoln School for colored children of both elementary and junior school grades, opened in 1923 on North Montgomery Street on a site of four and a half acres. Then in 1924 followed Junior High School No. 3 on a seven-acre plot owned by the city on West State Street and Parkside Avenue, and in 1926 Junior High School No. 4 on a site of eight acres on Dayton and Grand Streets. Today Trenton is one of a few large cities that accommodates all of its seventh, eighth and ninth grade pupils in modern buildings specifically designed for junior school purposes.

A site of thirty-six acres, on Chambers Street, between Hamilton and Greenwood Avenues, was purchased in 1922 for the location of a new Senior High School. There is room also on this site for a future junior school. Plans for the first units of the new Senior High School are now completed. Other sites have been purchased for future elementary schools. Never before in the history of Trenton public schools has so much generous foresight been exercised and future generations will bless the wisdom of the present city commission, board of education and superintendent of schools.

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A new salary schedule for the teaching force, adopted by the board in 1925, provides, for the first time in many years, reasonably adequate remuneration and protects the Trenton school system from having its best teachers attracted elsewhere.

During the past few years much attention has been given to a thorough revision of the courses of study for all grades from



JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL NO. 3. BUILT 1924.

kindergarten through the high school. Classroom teachers have been called upon to contribute their ideas and to assist the superintendent in this task. The intensive study consequently given by the teachers to their problems has contributed to better teaching. Trenton's new courses of study have been widely recognized throughout the country as an outstanding accomplishment.

Important progress in the evening schools was made in 1926 when an evening high school was organized to enable pupils to obtain a diploma equivalent to that granted by the day high school, on the basis of completing the same number of courses. Evening high school students now attend five evenings per week for the entire school year and follow a program leading to a definite end. Trenton is one of four cities in the State offering this kind of an opportunity in its evening schools.

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SUMMARY, 1850-1928

From 1850 to 1856 the official body in charge of public schools was known as "the trustees of the public schools of the city of Trenton." In 1856 this title was changed to "the Superintendent and Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Trenton." From 1850 to 1892 the superintendent and trustees were elected by popular vote, the trustees, two from each ward, and the superintendent by the city as a whole. In 1892 the organization was changed from twenty-two elected trustees to eight members appointed by the mayor who was an ex-officio member and the board was entitled "the Commissioners of Public Instruction of the City of Trenton." In 1902 "the Board of Education of the City of Trenton" became the official title and in 1911 it appears that the membership of the board was increased to nine, and the ex-officio membership of the mayor discontinued. The superintendent, who in the early days was the chief business and fiscal officer of the schools, was elected by the board from 1892 to 1902. The office in that sense was abolished in 1903. When in 1910 Dr. Mackey's title was changed from supervising principal to superintendent of schools, the latter title meant, as it does today, the professionally trained executive officer of the board. From 1892 the board has elected a salaried secretary from without its number. Robert C. Belville has served continuously in this office since 1897.

A complete list of the public school trustees or board members, superintendents and officers 1835-1912, may be found in the Report of the Board of Education for 1912.

The first woman member of a Trenton board of education was Hannah L. Longmore, who served 1919 to 1923.

The presidents of the board from 1850 to 1928 have been as follows:

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Stacy G. Potts | 1850-1851 |
| Benjamin S. Disbrow | 1851-1854 |
| David Naar | 1854-1855, 1861-1862, 1866-1868 |
| Roswell Howe | 1855-1856 |
| Charles J. Ihrle | 1856-1859 |
| Andrew Dutcher | 1859-1861 |
| John Woolverton | 1862-1866 |
| Edward H. Stokes | 1868-1870, 1871-1874 |
| William M. Lenox | 1870-1871 |

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| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Lewis Parker | 1874-1878 |
| Robert S. Woodruff | 1878-1879, 1895-1896 |
| Cornelius Shepherd | 1879-1880 |
| Charles Megill | 1880-1881, 1883-1884 |
| Morris C. Werkheiser | 1881-1882 |
| William H. Mickel | 1882-1883 |
| J. Fletcher Dickson | 1884-1885 |
| Frank H. Lalor | 1885-1886 |
| George W. Macpherson | 1886-1887 |
| Frank O. Briggs | 1887-1888 |
| John A. Campbell | 1888-1890 |
| Charles M. Hattersley | 1890-1891 |
| Leslie C. Pierson | 1891-1893 |
| J. Howard Ronan | 1893-1894 |
| Joseph K. Beans | 1894-1895 |
| Carroll Robbins | 1896-1899 |
| Samuel H. Bullock | 1899-1901, 1918-1919 |
| Charles W. Howell | 1901-1905 |
| Willard H. Young | 1905-1908 |
| Joseph Stevenson | 1908-1909 |
| John A. Hartpence | 1909-1910 |
| Charles H. English | 1910-1912 |
| Joseph L. Bodine | 1912-1914 |
| Herman C. Mueller | 1914-1918 |
| James S. Messler | 1919-1921, 1928- |
| Hannah L. Longmore | 1921-1922 |
| James Hammond | 1922-1923 |
| William G. Wherry | 1923-1926 |
| John P. Dullard | 1926-1928 |

The following figures from reports of the Board of Education give a statistical picture of the growth of the Trenton public school system since 1850:

| YEAR | BUILDINGS OWNED BY | | | EXPENDITURES | VALUE OF |
|------|-----------------------|----------|--------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | BOARD | TEACHERS | PUPILS | FOR MAINTENANCE | SCHOOL PROPERTY |
| 1850 | 1 | 6 | 355 | \$ 7,199 | |
| 1855 | 2 | 10 | 912 | 6,213 | |
| 1860 | 5 | 26 | 1,506 | 10,627 | |
| 1865 | 5 | 28 | 1,571 | 16,894 | |
| 1870 | 7 | 35 | 2,010 | 29,266 | \$ 75,000 |
| 1875 | 10 | 62 | 2,286 | 46,840 | 150,000 |
| 1880 | 11 | 66 | 2,436 | 41,565 | 130,000 |
| 1885 | 16 | 78 | 3,024 | 63,219 | 154,000 |
| 1890 | 18 | 135 | 5,454 | 106,022 | 337,338 |
| 1895 | 21 | 160 | 6,351 | 135,699 | 478,906 |
| 1900 | 25 | 204 | 7,986 | 207,555 | 570,589 |
| 1905 | 29 | 294 | 11,495 | 262,699 | 890,815 |
| 1910 | 31 | 377 | 13,380 | 417,431 | 1,067,107 |

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| | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|--------|-----------|-----------|
| 1915 | 31 | 494 | 16,667 | 602,254 | 1,491,891 |
| 1920 | 32 | 555 | 17,764 | 951,698 | 2,110,909 |
| 1925 | 33 | 673 | 19,943 | 1,843,084 | 4,088,535 |
| 1928 | 34 | 711 | 20,288 | 2,209,791 | 6,092,842 |

The year 1929 finds Trenton close to the achievement of a thoroughly adequate and modern public school system. One who looks back over the century it has taken to accomplish this is impressed by the devoted efforts of hundreds of faithful teachers and executives and of scores of public-spirited members of official boards. A retrospective glance at the same time reveals the more important background of the picture, an ever-increasing stream of young people passing through our schools and out into citizenship with lives made richer, fuller and more fruitful because of the privileges of our free public schools.

III. Private and Sectarian Schools

UNTIL the middle of the last century small private schools of varying degrees of proficiency were the principal source of whatever schooling, usually elementary only, that most children received. As the public schools developed the small private school began to disappear, although several excellent ones remain. Over one hundred of these private schools are known, but space will permit the mention of only a few.

BEFORE 1800

The earliest newspaper advertisement of a school in Trenton was the following:

The Subscriber, hath lately opened a School in Trenton, and teaches the English Grammar, Reading, grammatically, Writing, Arithmetick, Vulgar and Decimal &c, agreeable to the newest Rules, and truest Method, practised by the best Teachers, and approved of by all good Judges; and being indefatigably diligent, he expects Encouragement from all who love the Improvement of Youth in Virtue and Learning.

JOHN REID.

N.B. He would teach the practical Branches of the Mathematicks, if required. His School opens at 6 o'Clock, A.M. with Morning and Evening Prayers. He has Accommodation for Half a Dozen Boarders.¹⁸

¹⁸ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 13, 1764.

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Joseph Toy, who founded the Methodist society in Trenton in 1771, was here from that year until 1776. He advertised as follows:

The Subscriber begs Leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has opened a Boarding School in Trenton; it being a healthy pleasant situation, on a public post Road; where he teaches the English Language grammatically, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, after the Italian Method, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Surveying, Gauging and Navigation.

The Advantages of such an Education are too obvious to need repeating here; and having himself been educated in that well known School at Burlington, and taught therein for several Years, hopes himself the better qualified for that arduous Task.

Those who please to favour him with the Care of their Children, may depend on his exerting his utmost Abilities to facilitate their Learning, instruct their Morals, preserve their Health, and, in every Respect, to approve his Conduct to God and Man.

N.B. Proper Care will be taken of their Clothes, &c.¹⁹

It is possible that both the Reid and Toy Schools were conducted in the brick building on the Presbyterian lot.

A gravestone in the pavement of the First Presbyterian Church reads: "To perpetuate the memory and the modest worth of Mrs. Mary Dunbar, this marble is placed over her grave, a tribute of the grateful and affectionate remembrance of her pupils, whom for three successive generations as schoolmistress she had taught in this city." She died December 9, 1808, aged 76 years.

Miss Mary Dagworthy, a sister of General John Dagworthy, at the time of the Revolution lived and taught school in the building on South Broad Street later known as the Eagle Hotel. She afterward became the (second) wife of Abraham Hunt.

The Rev. William Frazer, rector of St. Michael's Church from 1788-95, conducted a boarding school for boys about this time, probably on Pennington Avenue. Among his pupils was Philip, the son of Alexander Hamilton.

IN THE EARLY 1800'S

About 1800 a Mr. Coles kept a school on the north side of East State Street. His successor, Joshua Slack, taught in the same building.

There was a Mrs. Hopkins' Boarding School in Bloomsbury in 1805.

Jared D. Fyler kept a "select school" in a building west of the State House. It was one of the principal schools of the time and attended by the children of many distinguished families. Fyler came from the South and was here about twenty years. He was succeeded by a Mrs. Nottingham in whose school Dr. F. A. Ewing was a teacher for several years. Dr. Ewing later conducted a school of his own on Chancery Court.

"In October, 1827, the celebrated Joseph Lancaster established his residence here and opened a school. In the next year a girls' school was taught by Mrs. Lancaster," according to Dr. John Hall.

¹⁹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 9, 1772.

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A Mrs. Carr "opened an Infant School, on the Pestalozzian Method . . . at the corner of Greene and Market Streets."

There was an old building used as a school for many years on the rear of a lot on Broad Street opposite Livingston Street. William S. Yard said that it was built before 1776 and that the Mullins, Wellings, Boyers, Collins's and Redmans taught there. The building was also used for public school purposes in early days.

Mr. and Mrs. Ely's School, later Mrs. Ely's boarding and day school for young ladies, was conducted at 95 State Street in the late 1840's.

Hannah and Ann Newbold, daughters of Joshua Newbold, had a young ladies' boarding and day school in a one-story building on what is now the site of the First Methodist Church.

The Mill Hill Academy was a primary school in the second story of the market building on Market Street fronting on Broad, before 1841.

John Hazard's "select school" is advertised at several locations over a period of twenty years.

In the 1830's there was a school in the old Masonic Hall on Front Street. Among the teachers were Robert Pittman, Daniel Z. Wright, Xenophon J. Maynard and Thomas J. Macpherson.

The Misses Mary F. and Emmeline R. Johnston had a boarding and day school at their home in the northern end of the Old Barracks, then a private house, from 1844-68.

One of the most noted schools of this period was Roswell Howe's School for Boys. It was in a building at the rear of a lot opposite the State House, the school itself being near Quarry Alley. Mr. Howe was a prominent and highly respected citizen, and a trustee of the public schools 1852-54.

Richard Lilley had a school on Pennington Avenue in the 1830's and early 1840's.

The Trenton Institute for Young Ladies was on South Stockton Street from approximately 1864 to 1883. Some of the teachers were Matilda Lewis, Eliza C. Morgan, Clara Bloodgood, Adriana Bullman and Sallie M. Riley. The building was bought by the board of education in 1884 and became the Stockton Street School and later the Administration Building.

Other schoolmasters at this period were William C. Ivins, who had a school on his farm near the present site of the McKinley Hospital on Brunswick Avenue, and George Miller, who had a school in several locations and especially on Brunswick Avenue opposite McKinley Hospital.

THE PRESENT CENTURY

The Bowen School was started by Ida R., Verde M. and Maude V. Bowen at their home in Trenton Junction in 1904 with ten pupils. It was moved to 214 West State Street in 1913. At present there are 38 pupils. The courses include primary, intermediate and college preparatory work.

The Ireland Private School, conducted by Anna M. Ireland, began in 1908 with four children. This school has grown to number about one hundred pupils in 1928. Its classes include a kindergarten and the first nine grades and the school is located at 447 Chestnut Avenue.

The Prospect Hill Private School at 440 Bellevue Avenue was incorporated in 1917, not for profit. It is a modern cooperative school for children from the ages of four to sixteen, from kindergarten through the ninth grade.

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The present principal is Edna V. Hughes, and the enrolment about 125 pupils.

QUAKER SCHOOLS

As mentioned above, it is probable that the Society of Friends made some provision for elementary schooling in Trenton from the earliest times, but there are no records to prove it until 1807 when it is stated in the minutes of the Chesterfield Monthly Meeting that :

There is a school at . . . Trenton, superintended by a committee of the Preparative Meeting and taught by members of the Society.

In 1817 the minutes of the Trenton Preparative Meeting record that :

The following named Friends are appointed Trustees to Friends' School in this place: Joshua Newbold, Samuel Coleman, Joseph Decou, Joseph Shirm and Lewis Evans, who are desired to pay the necessary attention thereto.

Later in the same year this committee reported that :

. . . as there are but very few children that are members of our society at the school [we] think it is a disadvantage and improper to keep a school in the Meeting house as this house is much dirtied and the yard and fence much injured.

Occasional references to a school continue down to about 1842. Doubtless a number of Quaker children were sent to the Trenton Academy which included among its founders in 1781 such prominent Friends as Isaac Collins and Stacy Potts. Among teachers known to have conducted school at the Trenton meeting house were Robert Pittman, Abel North and Hannah Furman, Jr.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The extensive system of Roman Catholic parochial schools now in Trenton had its beginning in 1854. In that year the Rev. John P. Mackin established a school in the basement of St. John's Church which stood on the site of the present Sacred Heart Church. The first teachers were Anna McCaffrey and a Miss Scanlan. The first male teacher who was later employed was Peter P. Cantwell.

In 1861-62 a small frame building for older boys was erected on Cooper Street in the rear of the church. Teachers in this

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building, which was used until 1876, were Peter P. Cantwell, Thomas Kehoe, John Dunphy, John Madden, Mr. McKeon, John McMahon, Patrick A. Hogan and William Roche. Mr. Hogan also conducted a night school at his home.

The cornerstone of St. John's School, a large brick building with sixteen rooms and an assembly hall, on Lamberton Street, was laid in 1874. There was a convent for the sisters at one end of the building and at the other a home for the Brothers of the Holy Cross. Classes began in 1876-77. After a short period the brothers were succeeded by lay teachers for grown boys and the following were successively principals: D. J. Wallace, Reni Rocfort and William J. Connor. The whole work of teaching was afterwards assumed by the Sisters of Charity. The Lamberton Street building was abandoned in 1923 when a new St. John's School was built adjacent to the Sacred Heart Church.

The first teaching nuns, who were of the order of the Sisters of Charity, came to Trenton in 1861, at the invitation of the Rev. Anthony Smith, to take charge of an orphan asylum on Broad Street, and to conduct classes for girls in the basement of St. John's Church. Outstanding among the sisters of this order, and still affectionately remembered by their pupils, were Sisters Monica, Veronica and Emiliana.

St. Francis' School began in a frame building on Market Street, built in 1856 by Father Gmeiner in the rear of the first Catholic Church. The school was at first in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame. In 1869 the Sisters of St. Francis took charge. Meanwhile the church organization was moved to Front Street to the present St. Francis' Church, which building previously had belonged to the Methodists. The present St. Francis' School building on Front Street was erected about 1875.

In 1868 the Rev. Anthony Smith purchased lots on the corner of Bank and Chancery Streets and sometime later commenced the building of a school. St. Mary's School was first opened in October 1871 with about 170 pupils under the care of three Sisters of Charity. At the same time a high school was established with 40 pupils in connection with St. Mary's School. At first it included only grades through the ninth. In 1911 a complete four-year high school course was adopted and officially

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approved as meeting the requirements of the State board of education. In 1921 Bishop Thomas J. Walsh designated the Cathedral High School as the central Catholic high school for the diocese. The enrolment in 1928-29 was 725 pupils, representing twenty-five parochial schools. General, classical and commercial courses are offered.

St. Joseph's School was built on Sherman and St. Joe's Avenues in 1882. In 1891 a new school was erected and the old one became the dwelling of the Sisters of Charity. The school is now under the care of the Sisters of Mercy.

The first school in the Immaculate Conception Parish was a college for young men preparing to join the Franciscan Order, which was built in 1875 on Chestnut Avenue. In the same year a parish school was opened in the basement of the convent and was continued there until 1880 when a new school was built. Additions were built in 1897 and new buildings in 1906 and 1921. The Sisters of St. Francis are in charge. The old college building was replaced by a modern brick building in 1898. A high school was established in this parish in 1921 and its courses were extended to meet the requirements of the State board of education in 1925. The enrolment in 1928-29 was 243 pupils.

The following parishes, treated more fully in a section of Chapter VIII on the Roman Catholic churches by John J. Cleary, also maintain parochial schools: St. Mary's Greek Catholic, St. Stanislaus', Holy Cross, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Joachim's, St. Hedwig's, St. Stephen's, Blessed Sacrament and St. James'.

Altogether the Roman Catholic parochial schools of Trenton have about 9,000 pupils.

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN SCHOOL

The German Evangelical Trinity Lutheran Church has at various times conducted a school mostly in elementary subjects including both German and English. The first school was opened in the old church building in May 1849 and taught by the pastor, the Rev. Christian K. A. Brandt. In 1863 additional land, fronting on Cooper Street and in the rear of the church, was acquired

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and two years later a small school building was erected. From 1868 to 1884 and from 1889 to 1893 Carl F. Lebtien was the teacher in charge.

In 1896 the pastor, the Rev. Hugo R. Wendel, aroused new interest in the school and in the following year the old building was torn down and replaced by a new one accommodating 200 pupils. The congregation, however, found the school a heavy financial burden and many parents preferred to send their children to the public schools. In 1899 the building was rented to the city board of education and used as an annex to the public school system until 1926.

THE HEBREW SCHOOL

In the late 1890's or early 1900's a school called the Talmud-Torah was organized, and sessions were held on the second floor of the Lavine Department Store on Union Street. The attendance reached 180 and at times there were three instructors.

When larger quarters were sought the Congregation of the Brothers of Israel became interested and decided to sponsor a movement for the erection of a school building. In 1904 a lot was purchased opposite the synagogue on Union Street, and a school building erected. This school flourished for a time and then waned. The building was sold to the board of education and used as an annex to the Parker School.

A frame dwelling, near the center of the Jewish community, was then acquired at 49 Union Street and the Hebrew school moved there. It was found that the school regained some of its attendance in the new location but that larger accommodations and wider backing were necessary.

Funds were raised, a new group took over the property from the Brothers of Israel and the building was considerably enlarged. This new school was opened formally in October 1926. The school is in session from 4 to 8 p.m. on week-days and from 10 to 12 a.m. on Sundays. The Hebrew language, traditions and precepts are taught. The outstanding figure in the movement for this school was Rabbi Isaac Bunin, and the institution is named the Dr. Theodor Herzl's Zion Hebrew School.

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IV. Other Schools

NEW JERSEY'S first Normal School, authorized by an Act of the Legislature in 1855, was opened in Trenton in the same year.²⁰

There were then less than a dozen normal schools in the United States. The Act provided for a board of trustees, one of whom was David Cole of Trenton, who were authorized to seek proposals for grounds and buildings throughout the State. The trustees decided upon Trenton as the place for the new school, both because of its convenient location and because a group of public-spirited citizens of Trenton raised funds for the first building. This building on North Clinton Avenue, still in use, cost \$17,000 and was erected on land leased from William P. Sherman.

THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL BEGINS FIRST TERM, 1855

The first term of the State Normal School at Trenton began October 1, 1855, in the Trenton City Hall. The next week the school moved to temporary accommodations in a building owned by Dr. John McKelway on the corner of Hanover and Stockton Streets. The second term began March 17, 1856, in the new school building. At the same time in the new building a "model" or "pattern" school was opened so that Normal

²⁰ This was a period of educational renaissance throughout the State, and among Trenton leaders were David Cole, principal of the Trenton Academy, and David Naar, editor of the *True American*. For further reference to David Cole, see p. 712. Of David Naar, John Bodine Thompson writes as follows in Murray's *History of Education in New Jersey*: "The acknowledged leader of the most powerful political party of the State, he used all the weight of both his political and personal influence to forward the educational movements of the day. Naturally a ready and popular speaker, he possessed a remarkable talent for foreseeing the ultimate as well as the immediate effect of public measures. Hence he threw himself with all his energy into the effort to provide for the future of the Republic by the education of the people. He was for many years an active member of the school board of the city of Trenton, where his counsels were as wise as they were in the conclaves of his political party. Rising high above all selfish considerations, it was owing more to his influence than to that of any other one man that educational affairs in New Jersey were kept entirely aloof from the corrupting influences of party politics, and that the board of trustees of the Normal School and the State Board of Education were thoroughly nonpartisan so long as he lived." See also p. 786, below.

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School students might have the opportunity of observing the "model" practices in teaching and school management. At the end of the first year there were 43 students in the Normal School and 125 pupils in the Model School. In 1857 a group of citizens purchased an adjacent lot and erected a separate building for the Model School. The total cost of land and building was \$30,000. In 1865 the Legislature appropriated \$38,000 for the purchase of both properties which had cost an association of Trenton citizens over \$50,000.

The Boarding Hall, opened in 1865, was due also to the enterprise of private citizens, and in 1867 it was purchased by the State for \$32,080. The Boys' Hall was erected in 1873, and in 1890 an additional building, containing the auditorium and connecting the Normal and Model school buildings. The gymnasium was built in 1893 and other additions in 1904 and 1914.

The principals have been: William F. Phelps, 1855-65; John S. Hart, 1865-71; Lewis M. Johnson, 1871-76; Washington Hasbrouck, 1876-89; James M. Green, 1889-1917; Jerohn J. Savitz, 1917-23; Don C. Bliss, 1923 to date. The Trenton Normal School has made a profoundly important contribution to the cause of public education in New Jersey, and the long succession of capable educators comprising its faculty has added much to the enrichment of Trenton's intellectual life.

The Model School was for many years an important elementary, secondary and preparatory school. Hundreds of Trentonians have profited by its excellent teaching. Its students were always charged fees, sufficient in total to pay the running expenses of the school, making it to that extent a private school. It was discontinued in 1917 and a public practice school, including kindergarten and the first six grades, established in its place.

There were 709 students in the Normal School and 232 pupils in the training school in 1928. During its history the Normal School has graduated over 9,100 students.

In 1891 the management of the Normal School was transferred from a board of trustees to the State board of education, while in 1926 the control was given to the commissioner of education, subject to the State board's approval of general plans and policies.

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There is no charge for tuition to those students who agree to teach at least two years in New Jersey. The general program of study has been a two-year course. Besides training teachers for general elementary schools, courses have been offered in recent years to prepare teachers in the special fields of commercial work, manual training, health and physical education and music.

In 1925 the Normal School was empowered to grant the degree of B.S. in Education on the successful completion of the four-year course then offered. After September 1929 all students preparing to teach in elementary schools will be required to take a three-year course, those preparing for junior or senior high school work, a four-year course.

In 1929 the title of the school was changed to the "State Teachers' College and State Normal School at Trenton."

A new site of about one hundred acres on the Pennington Road at Hillwood Lakes was purchased for this school by the State in 1928. The erection of new buildings will shortly be begun, and the old site and buildings ultimately abandoned.

THE SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF

New Jersey's school for the deaf was the result of an Act of the Legislature in 1882. The school was opened October 16, 1883, in the buildings on Hamilton Avenue, between Chestnut Avenue and Division Street, which had been built by the State at the close of the Civil War and occupied by the Soldiers' Children's Home. From 1821 until 1883 the State had made provision for the education of the deaf children by appropriations enabling them to be sent to institutions in other States. The school was first called "The New Jersey Institution for the Deaf and Dumb of New Jersey." In 1884 this title was changed to "The New Jersey School for Deaf Mutes" and in 1903 to "The New Jersey School for the Deaf."

From its establishment until 1891 the school was administered by a board of trustees of eleven members, including the governor, the comptroller and the superintendent of public instruction. This board was abolished in 1891 and the school was placed under the control of the State board of education, making it a

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part of the public school system of the State—a boarding school for deaf residents between the ages of six and twenty-one.

From time to time the State made improvements and additions to the buildings, but as they became increasingly inadequate it was decided to build anew. By an appropriation in 1917 the board was enabled to buy a tract of one hundred acres on Sullivan Way, near Trenton Junction. Subsequent appropriations permitted the erection of the handsome group of buildings now occupied. Those for the primary department were completed in 1923 and those for older pupils in 1926. The Hamilton Avenue property was then abandoned.

The new school plant is the most modern and best-equipped school for the deaf in the United States. The pupils are at once taught speech and lip reading and all communication in the classroom is oral. In the industrial department the pupils have the opportunity of learning the fundamentals of a trade. Every effort is made to train the deaf children of the State to become intelligent self-supporting citizens. The pupils have increased from 90 in 1882 to 315 in 1928.

The superintendents of the school have been Weston Jenkins, 1883-99; John P. Walker, 1899-1916; Walter Kilpatrick, 1916-17; Alvin E. Pope, 1917 to date.

The old stone house now used as the superintendent's residence was once the home of the Rev. Eli F. Cooley, pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, through whose efforts the State in 1821 made its first appropriation for the education of the deaf.

THE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS

The School of Industrial Arts grew out of the Evening Drawing School conducted on North Broad Street (Bergen Building) by the commissioners of public instruction, as the school board of that time was called. The Evening Drawing School was established November 3, 1890, under the direction of Joseph Crampton, an earnest and skilful teacher whose "interest was unremitting and not confined to stated hours of service."

Over a period of ten years Charles E. Roberts, counsellor-at-law, who had been a teacher in the evening schools, kept before

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the public the need for establishing an art school in Trenton and finally, as a result of his efforts, Mayor Welling G. Sickel in 1897 appointed a public committee to consider the matter. This committee in reporting on January 3, 1898, called attention to the Evening Drawing School under Mr. Crampton and also to a State law on industrial education passed in 1881. This law provided that when a school board appropriated, or private citizens donated, money for industrial education, the State would supplement the fund by an equal amount up to \$5,000 in one year. The school having expended \$883.60 on the Evening Drawing School, it was believed that an equal amount could be obtained from the State. The law provided also that the school board could associate with itself in the administration of such a fund and such a school a number of persons not exceeding ten representing the donors. The committee recommended that the school commissioners, having in fact a school of industrial arts already, should take action based on this law. This recommendation, after further conferences, was followed. The Evening Drawing School became "The Trenton School of Technical Science and Art" and was formally opened as such April 4, 1898. Charles F. Binns, a ceramist of long training and experience, was the first principal. The school commissioners created an advisory board consisting of Walter S. Lenox, G. D. W. Vroom, John A. Campbell and Frank O. Briggs. The school was continued for the rest of the school year in the same quarters. On September 12 it was reopened in the old Trenton Academy building, which the board rented for the purpose. There were classes both afternoon and evening. Later in the same year Archibald Maddock, Charles E. Roberts, Edward C. Stover, Welling G. Sickel and Dr. Thomas H. Mackenzie were added to the advisory board of which Mr. Campbell was elected chairman.

Mr. Binns resigned in 1900 and was succeeded as principal by John Ward Stimson who in turn was succeeded in 1901 by Henry McBride. Mr. McBride was designated "director" and he served in that capacity until 1906.

During the year 1901-02 the school was conducted in the

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Union Library Building and then it was moved to 219 East State Street.

On December 12, 1901, the name was changed to "The School of Industrial Arts."

In 1903 the control of the school was transferred from the board of education to a board of trustees appointed by the governor. Frank Forrest Frederick, the present director of the school, was appointed in 1906, and during his administration the enrolment and scope of the school have been considerably increased.

Henry C. Kelsey, who for many years was secretary of state in New Jersey, had for some time observed the work of the school and in 1909 he offered to erect a suitable building for the art school in memory of his wife, Prudence Townsend Kelsey. Needless to say, his offer was accepted by the trustees with the enthusiastic approval of the city. A site was acquired on the southwest corner of West State and Willow Streets and the present building was erected in 1910 at a total cost of \$142,000, all of which was borne by Mr. Kelsey. Cass Gilbert was the architect. In March 1911 the school moved into its new quarters which have ever since been a matter of pride to the city.

In 1919 by appropriation from the city commission the trustees acquired a lot on Quarry Street and built a shop building, permitting a further extension of this kind of work. Considerable addition was made to the shop building in 1924.

In 1912 a "day technical course" was added to the curriculum.

The school continues to operate under the Act of 1881 and subsequent amendments. The official title of the governing body is the "Board of Trustees of Schools for Industrial Education of the City of Trenton," which on January 1, 1929, consisted of Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr. (president), John A. Campbell, Thomas F. Riley, John S. Broughton, J. Osborne Hunt, Herman C. Mueller and Albert E. Schoeller. Robert C. Belville is secretary. The faculty at present consists of the director, 10 full-time and 44 part-time instructors. The appropriation for 1928 was \$44,100 from the city and \$30,000 from the State. There were 1,442 students on January 1, 1929, about four-fifths of whom are enrolled in evening classes. Altogether over 15,000

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persons have availed themselves of the privileges of this school during its existence.

As the current catalog states,

The School offers day and evening courses in fine art, industrial art or fine art applied to industries, in several of the art-crafts, in dressmaking and millinery, and for the training of artisans in clay, wood and metal. It offers, in evening classes, to men and boys employed during the day, vocational courses for the machine, building, automobile, electrical and ceramic trades; and, in day classes, courses for boys who wish to fit themselves for careers in the industries. In addition, it conducts classes for teachers and for children on Saturday mornings.

RIDER COLLEGE

For over a half century Trenton has had the good fortune to have one or more excellent schools giving training for commercial work, formerly known as "business colleges."

The first of such schools was established 1865, in Temperance Hall, by Bryant and Stratton, a firm that had similar schools in several other cities. The next year Andrew J. Rider, then of Newark, was placed in charge, and the location changed to 20-22 East State Street. Shortly afterward Mr. Rider and Joseph A. Beecher acquired ownership, Mr. Rider continuing as principal until 1873. Mr. Beecher then sold his interest to William B. Allen. At this period the school was called the Capital City Commercial College. In 1878 Mr. Rider acquired full control and returned to the active management of the school. It was incorporated in July 1893 and was then generally known as the Rider Business College. For a time it was located in the former Masonic Temple on the corner of State and Warren Streets, and later in the Ribsam Building on the corner of Broad and Front Streets. In 1898 Mr. Rider sold his interests to Franklin B. Moore and the school took the name of Rider-Moore Business College.

The Stewart and Hammond Business College was organized in 1883 by Thomas J. Stewart and William P. Hammond. Two years later Mr. Stewart became the sole owner and principal, and the name of the school was afterward changed to the Stewart Business College and School of Shorthand and Typewriting. Its location for many years was 10 South Broad Street. In 1901 Mr. Stewart sold his interests to John E. Gill.

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In the same year, 1901, Messrs. Moore and Gill decided to consolidate the two schools under the name Rider-Moore and Stewart Schools of Business. In 1920 the owners built a large and well-equipped school building on the corner of East State and Carroll Streets, and the school took the name Rider College. At the same time the curriculum was considerably improved and extended. In 1922 the State board of education granted Rider College permission to confer the degrees of Bachelor of Accounts and Bachelor of Commercial Science, and in 1927 the State board permitted the conferring of Masters' degrees in the same subjects for postgraduate work. In addition to general business training Rider College gives courses leading to the Bachelor degree in accountancy, business administration, secretarial science and commercial teacher training. The enrolment for 1928 was 1,938 students, representing 34 States and 11 countries. Franklin B. Moore is president and John E. Gill vice-president and dean.

V. Public Libraries

THE modern free public library, owned by the municipality and supported out of taxation, is largely a development of the last fifty years. The beginning of the public library, however, may be traced back to Benjamin Franklin, who relates in his *Autobiography* how he "set on foot" his "first project of a public nature, that of a subscription library." The idea grew out of the famous Junto Club, the members of which for a time clubbed their books in a common library. In 1731 Franklin drew up proposals for a subscription library and procured fifty subscribers at an initial subscription of forty shillings each and ten shillings per year thereafter. Thus was founded the Library Company of Philadelphia, which, Franklin goes on to say, "was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous." It was a "public" library in a sense. Any one of proven respectability was eligible to acquire a share of stock and become a subscriber. Furthermore, the librarian was, by the rules, allowed to permit "any

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civil gentleman to peruse the books of the library in the library room, but not to lend to or suffer to be taken out of the library by any person who is not a subscribing member, any of said books." Thus in a limited way the Philadelphia Library became a public reading-room.

TRENTON LIBRARY COMPANY FOUNDED IN 1750

One of the earliest known children of this mother library was the Trenton Library Company founded in 1750 by Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, who gave £500 for that purpose. Dr. Cadwalader had been one of the original incorporators of the Philadelphia Library and one of its directors at intervals from 1731 to 1774. From 1743 to 1750 he lived in Trenton, serving as chief burgess under the royal charter of that period. His gift appears to have been made shortly before he returned to reside again in his native city of Philadelphia. Through this benevolence Trenton has the honor of the first "public" library in New Jersey.

We have little record of the Trenton Library Company, its rules and form of organization, until its reorganization in 1797, although we may presume it was a stock company following rather closely the scheme of the Philadelphia Library Company. It is likely that each subscribing member bought one or more shares of stock and paid a stated annual amount toward upkeep. The books were probably housed in a rented room which was opened at certain hours once or twice a week. Notices published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* indicate that an annual meeting of the members was held the second Monday of April for the election of directors and a treasurer and the transaction of business. A few of these newspaper notices follow.

Trenton, March 27, 1759.

The Library Company of Trenton, meets at the house of William Yard in Trenton, on Monday the ninth day of April next at twelve o'clock, to choose their Directors and Treasurer, and to make their ninth annual payment.

MOORE FURMAN, Secretary.²¹

The Members of the Trenton Library Company are desired to meet at the House of Isaac Yard, in Trenton, on the second Monday in April next, at

²¹ *Pennsylvania Journal*, March 29, 1759.

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Ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, in order to make their Eleventh Annual Payment, chuse Directors and Treasurer, and settle the Company's Accounts. By Order of the Directors.

SAMUEL TUCKER, junior, Secretary.²²

Trenton, May 13, 1765.

Whereas several of the Members of the Trenton Library Company have been deficient in making their annual Payments, which is very prejudicial to the Growth of so valuable an Institution; the said Delinquents are hereby earnestly requested to discharge their Arrearages by the first Day of July next, otherwise the Directors will proceed to make Sale of their respective Shares to discharge the same, agreeable to the Articles. And any of the Members, or others, who have either of the following Books belonging to the said Library, viz., Oldmixon's History of England; first Volume of Granville's Works; Pomfret's Poems; Trail of the Witnesses; first Volume Independent Whig; several Volumes Plutarch's Lives; Presbyterian Loyalty; third Volume Pope's Works; Life of the Dutchess of Marlborough; second Volume Rambler; Harvey's Meditations, both Volumes; Mundrell's Travels; or any other of said Books, which have been out longer than their respective limited times, are desired to return them to the Librarian as soon as possible, or they may expect to be proceeded against. Signed, by Order of the Directors, by Stacy Potts, Secretary and Librarian.²³

Trenton, April 7, 1766.

The Members of the Trenton Library Company are desired to meet at the House of Isaac Yard, in Trenton, on the 14th Day of this instant April, at Two o'clock in the Afternoon, to choose a Treasurer and Directors, and make their Sixteenth Annual Payment, agreeable to their Articles. And as it is expected the Company will order the Shares of the Delinquents to be disposed of, the Members are requested generally to attend.

Per Order, STACY POTTS, Secretary.²⁴

Samuel Smith's *History of New Jersey*, in enumerating some of the merits of Trenton in 1765, says that "the inhabitants have a public library."

The Revolution then came and with it disaster. The library seems to have been almost wholly destroyed by the British in December 1776. Force's *American Archives* states, under date of December 31, 1776, that the enemy "have degraded themselves beyond the power of language to express by wantonly destroying," among other things, "an elegant public library at Trenton." Some of the books survived, probably those that happened to be out of the library at the time of the ravages. There are no records of any activity in the Trenton Library Company

²² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 12, 1761.

²³ *ibid.*, May 23, 1765.

²⁴ *ibid.*, April 10, 1766.

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during the next few years, but as the successful culmination of the Revolution loomed ahead, efforts were apparently made, as the following notices indicate, to revive this worthy institution.

The Members of the Trenton Library Company are desired to meet at the House of Renssalaer Williams, Esquire, in Trenton, on Monday the fifteenth Day of this Instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

January 3, 1781.²⁵

Trenton, State of New-Jersey, Jan. 31, 1781.

The Trenton Library Company being desirous to renew the same, request all such Members, and every other person in this state who may have any of the Books belonging thereto, to deliver or send them immediately.

R. WILLIAMS, Libr.

N.B. Any person living at a distance, and having books, the expense of transportation will be paid by the Librarian.²⁶

We have no further record until 1797, except that, at the annual meeting of the company in 1796, a committee was appointed to collect the amendments that had previously been made to the constitution. In 1797, at a meeting of the members held at Drake's Tavern, an effective reorganization is indicated by the survival of a quaint old pamphlet entitled "Laws and Regulations of the Trenton Library Company agreed to by the Said Company on the First Monday in May, 1797." The pamphlet was printed in Trenton in 1798 by Matthias Day. One copy is preserved in the Trenton Free Public Library and another in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In addition to the "laws and regulations" the pamphlet contains the "rules made by the Directors . . . on the second Monday in May, 1797, respecting the Attendance on the Library and the lending and hire of Books," a list of the proprietors at the time and a catalogue of the books in the Library.

According to the "Laws and Regulations" any person approved by the directors might become a member or proprietor by paying the value of a share. A member might have "as many shares as he may think proper" but he was entitled to only one vote. Every member was required to pay one dollar per year for each share that he held and penalties were provided for being in arrears. A member two years in default forfeited his stock

²⁵ *New Jersey State Gazette*, Vol. IV, January 3, 1781.

²⁶ *ibid.*, Vol. IV, January 31, 1781.

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and "shall be considered no longer a member." An annual election was to be held on the second Monday in May, and the officers to be chosen were a "Treasurer and five other members to be Directors for the year ensuing." The directors were required to "meet at least once in two months" to attend to the routine business of the company, including the choosing of books for the library. "The said Directors shall also, from time to time, when necessary, appoint a Secretary and Librarian, and such other officers and servants as they may find necessary, with such wages and allowances as they may think adequate to their services."

The "rules" numbered ten and a quotation of some of them will show the library practice of that time.

RULE 1²⁷

The Librarian to give attendance at the Library Room Wednesdays and Saturdays, every week, from eleven till one o'clock, on said days; to keep a book, ruled column-wise, in which is to be entered the name of the person borrowing, the title of the book, the number, the time for which the book is lent, the day when to be returned, the sums received for the hire of books, and the forfeitures arising from defaults.

RULE 2

No borrower to be entitled to more than one book at one time, to be returned, if a folio, in four weeks, a quarto, in three weeks, octavo, and others of a smaller size, in two weeks, unless the borrower be a member living upwards of one mile from the Library, in which case he may retain any of the books four weeks, without being subject to a penalty; and no borrower shall be at liberty to take out the same book a second time, if application has been made to the Librarian by any other person before the return thereof.

RULE 5

Every borrower, not being a member of the company, shall deposit with the Librarian double the sum marked in the catalogue, against the book he borrows, as a security for returning the book without damage, within the limited time for books of that size, and paying the hire thereof, and shall pay one shilling per week for folios, and six-pence per week for books of a smaller size, for the benefit of the Library.

The list of the proprietors or stockholders includes so many of the prominent Trentonians of that period that it is reprinted herewith:

²⁷ The actual record of books issued as required by the above rule, covering the period November 12, 1831, to April 25, 1855, is now in the possession of the Free Public Library.

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|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Abraham Hunt | Isaac Collins | Philemon Dickinson |
| Lambert Cadwalader | Ephraim Olden | Aaron Howell |
| Aaron D. Woodruff | Richard Howell | Aaron Dunham |
| George Anderson | Pontius D. Stelle | Willis Pearson |
| Archibald W. Yard | James Mott | Nathan Combes |
| Rebecca Frazer | Joseph Milnor | Benjamin Smith |
| Peter Gordon | Benoni Waterman | Matthias Day |
| Alexander Chambers, jun. | Nicholas Belleville | Joseph Brearly |
| Nathan Beakes | William Green | Israel Carle |
| John Beatty | William Tindall | Samuel Moore, jun. |
| James F. Armstrong | Isaac Smith | John Chambers |
| Moore Furman | John Potts | John Rickey |
| James Ewing | William Smith | Philemon Hunt |
| John Allison | William S. Moore | Samuel Leake |
| Robert Pearson | Maskell Ewing | Abraham G. Claypoole |
| Jacob Benjamin | Jonathan Doan | James B. Machett |
| Richard Throckmorton | Bernard Hanlon | Thomas M. Potter |
| John Vandegrift | John C. Hummel | Lucius H. Stockton |
| Randle Rickey | Mary and Sarah Barnes | John E. Spencer |
| Joseph Brumley | Lewis Evans | John Rutherford |

The "Catalogue of Books" is naturally of interest as indicative of the tastes and available literature of the day. The titles are listed according to size. There were 2 folios, 6 quartos, 94 octavos and 140 duodecimos. One of the folios, *History of Edward III*, presented by Maskell Ewing, may still be examined, though in a much crumbled condition, in the present Free Public Library, as well as about thirty others of the actual volumes listed in this catalogue. The quaint bookplates identify the respective volumes in accordance with the numbers assigned by the catalogue.

The selection of books was of a high order of excellence and of wide variety, and some comment thereon may be worthy of inclusion. The fare for the novel-reader was scant but hearty. It must be remembered that in 1797 the English novel was in its infancy. Most of the fathers of the art now so prolific were then still living or but lately passed away. Samuel Richardson, the first of English novelists, is represented by *Pamela* in four volumes, *Clarissa Harlowe* in eight volumes, and *Sir Charles Grandison* in seven volumes. Henry Fielding's offering was *Tom Jones*. Tobias Smollett was represented by *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle* and *Humphrey Clinker*; and Laurence Sterne by his *Works* in seven volumes. Sterne's imitator, now long forgotten, Henry Mackenzie, was credited with *The Man*

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of *Feeling*, *The Man of the World* and *Julia de Roubigne*. *The Vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith is listed. It had then proved itself a classic by thirty years of existence and it has continued to be read by each successive generation. Other novels are *Evelina*, *Cecilia* and *Camilla* by Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay); *The Monk* by Matthew Gregory Lewis; *Romance of the Forest* and *The Italian*, thrillers by Mrs. Anne Radcliffe. Translated from other languages are *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, *Gil Blas* by Le Sage and *Telemachus* by Fénelon. Among the poets are found Ossian, Milton, Prior, Young, Pope, Cowper and Burns, the latter two then contemporary. The liberal mindedness of the directors is shown by the inclusion of William Godwin's *Political Justice* and Tom Paine's *Works*. There was apparently no censoring of radicals. Dr. Samuel Johnson, who died in 1784, is represented by *The Adventurer*, *The Rambler*, *Journey to Scotland*, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and *Lives of the English Poets*, while Boswell's *Life* of the great doctor, then a comparatively new book, was available. Periodicals include four volumes of *The Tatler*, eight volumes of *The Spectator*, three volumes of *Gentleman's Magazine*, thirteen volumes of *The Monthly Review* and three volumes of *The Mirror*. Travel is numerously represented, likewise history, including Hume and Gibbon. Among practical books are found *Clarks's Farriery*, *Peters's Agriculture*, *Logan's Agriculture* and *Gallatin on Finance*. There are plays, essays, biography, a few sermons and other religious works. Among perennial masterpieces are Lady Montagu's *Letters*; Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a new book in 1776; and *The Federalist*, first published in book form in 1788.

Each entry in the catalogue includes the value of the book. Smith's *History of New Jersey*, of course in the first edition, is given a value of \$1.33. The collector who aspires to own this rare volume today must be willing to pay at least \$60.00 for the privilege. The last title in the catalogue, "Crawford's Poems, presented by the Author" is appraised, perhaps generously, at 25 cents. Of greater value was *Sermons to Asses*, presented by Randle Rickey and valued at 66 cents.

Another catalogue of the Trenton Library Company was

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printed in 1804.²⁸ The number of volumes had now grown to seven hundred and they were classified not according to size but by subject, in ten classes.

Another similar catalogue was issued in 1819, a copy of which is in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

On February 17, 1813, a number of the stockholders petitioned the Legislature for permission to erect a house on a part of the government lot²⁹ to be used as a library room. The building was not to exceed twenty by thirty feet. Permission was granted, the House approving it on the 19th and the Council on the 20th, but there is no evidence that such a house was ever erected. The library doubtless continued to be accommodated in a rented room.

It would appear that the Trenton Library Company continued to be active down into the 1830's and then entered into a period of decline. At the annual meeting of the stockholders in 1832 the matter of the sale of the library was discussed but no action taken at the time. The previously mentioned extant record of books issued from November 12, 1831, to April 25, 1855, shows diminishing activity. In 1832, 717 books were issued; in 1837, 159; in 1842, 109; in 1847, 25; in 1852, 17. Apparently the active proprietors of the flourishing days had died and no "new blood" filled their places. New leaders arose in the community who deemed it better to start a new organization to meet the reading needs of the day. On May 20, 1855, after more than a century of service, the Trenton Library Company wrote *finis* to its long and honorable career by transferring its books to the recently organized Trenton Library Association.

THE CHRISTIAN CIRCULATING LIBRARY

In May 1811, Daniel Fenton, bookseller and publisher, established at his home and place of business in Mill Hill, the Christian Circulating Library. The following month he moved to South Warren Street nearly opposite the Trenton Bank. This Library at first consisted of religious books. It did not prosper and Fenton increased its scope by adding secular literature. "It

²⁸ Murray, *History of Education in New Jersey*.

²⁹ The "government lot" meant the grounds and site of the governor's mansion on West State Street. The mansion is now the front part of the Hotel Sterling.

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is natural to suppose," his advertisement states, "that the subscriber has a view to private interest in the line of his business; but with this is truly combined a wish to improve young minds by giving an opportunity to cultivate a taste for useful and general reading." He regrets that not "every paragraph or part of a book can pass the inspection of the conductor" but he promises that "no book shall be put in circulation which shall not more or less have the apparent tendency to promote the great object of religion, virtue and morality." Still the Library did not prosper, and Fenton announced in March 1812 that he must either give up the project or raise the dues to subscribers from \$3.00 to \$4.00 per year and increase the number of patrons to one hundred, ministers being on the free list. Books were given out Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. In December 1812 he announced additions to the shelves. There is no later mention of the Christian Circulating Library.

THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY COMPANY

The Apprentices' Library Company was established in 1821, the opening exercises having been held on the evening of December 31. The library was benevolently intended for the young working men of the day, and one may infer that they did not patronize the older Trenton Library Company, which must have served principally the genteel and élite. Perhaps the organization of the Apprentices' Library Company of Trenton was inspired by the Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia, which was founded a year earlier, in 1820, and is still in active operation.

The first annual meeting of the Apprentices' Library Company was held April 20, 1822. A few interesting extracts from the report³⁰ which was there presented are as follows:

The board of managers of said company respectfully report . . . that, on the evening of the 31st of December, at the request of the board, and agreeably to public notice, Charles Ewing, Esq., president of the society, delivered, in the Presbyterian meeting-house, to a numerous and attentive audience, an appropriate and eloquent address on the utility and importance of this and similar institutions.³¹

³⁰ Given in Raum's *History of Trenton*, p. 226.

³¹ Mr. Ewing in 1824 became chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and this address, here mentioned, has survived in manuscript form and is preserved in the Free Public Library.

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That, on the evening of the 1st of January, the library was for the first time opened, when thirty-five volumes were taken out by apprentices and other young persons.

That, from a report of the librarian to your board, it appears that the number of volumes taken out each week, since the opening of the library, has been, on an average, about seventy-five, ninety-three being the highest number in any one week, and fifty-five the lowest.

From the same report, it appears that the whole amount of fines incurred, for the detention of books beyond the time allowed in the by-laws, is but one dollar and seven cents, of which all but fifteen cents have been paid; that all the books borrowed (except two taken out two weeks ago, and those taken out on Saturday evening last, all of which will be returned, probably, this evening), have been returned, and all in good order.

These facts are highly honorable to our youth, and encouraging to this society. They prove that they properly estimate our motives, and set a just value on this institution, while they are a pledge to us that our continued and increased exertions to place useful knowledge within their reach will not be in vain.

Let it be further observed, to their credit, that the library, from which they draw seventy-five volumes weekly, contains no novels, romances, or plays, which are so apt to captivate juvenile imaginations, but is composed of works of more sterling value and lasting usefulness—on religion, morality, and science, history, biography, travels, voyages, etc. . . .

On the whole, the board offer their cordial congratulations to the society on the experiment made and the prospect presented, and earnestly hope that none who have lent their aid to so good a work will become weary of well doing.

In December 1828, according to a notice in the *Trenton Federalist*, the Apprentices' Library was "placed in the hands of the 'Trenton Literary Society,'" and opened for the loaning of books, "under the like guarantees as formerly," at the Trenton Academy. Much later notices appear in the *State Gazette* in April 1845 when "persons having books in their possession belonging to the 'Apprentices' Library' are requested to return them immediately to the subscriber" who was B. S. Disbrow. It was "proposed to place the Library in charge of a Society recently organized, under whose direction, the books may be made useful to a large portion of our citizens."

When the Apprentices' Library finally ceased operations, the books, according to Raum, continued for many years in the possession of the librarian, Samuel Evans. They were finally placed in the custody of the Y.M.C.A., along with the books of several other defunct libraries.

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THE TRENTON LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

The next "public" library came about in 1852 in the organization of the Trenton Library Association. It was first opened in the corner store of Temperance Hall (now Goldberg's) and in the following year was moved to the second story of Charles Scott's new building on Greene (Broad) Street, just below State Street. A "Catalogue of the Trenton Library Association with their rules and regulations" printed in 1853, as well as many of the volumes listed therein, are in the present Free Public Library. Some of the volumes continue in active circulation. The book selection was of surprising excellence and totalled over 1,500 volumes. The classification headings were Agriculture and Horticulture; Biography; History; Travels, Voyages and Geography; Polite Literature; Speculative and Political Philosophy; Physical Science; Natural History; Fiction; Miscellaneous. In the fiction list we find represented Thackeray, Dickens, D'Israeli, Cooper, Lever, Hawthorne, Kingsley, Borrow, Melville, Marryat and Brontë. Harriet Beecher Stowe's recently published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is also listed.

From the "Rules and Regulations" one learns that:

The Library and Reading Room shall be open four times a week, on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings, from 7 to 9 o'clock, and on Thursday afternoons, from 3 to 4 o'clock.

Stockholders shall pay \$1.50 annually, in half yearly payments, in advance.

Responsible persons, not stockholders, shall be entitled to the use of the Library, whenever open, and to take to their own houses, subject to the prescribed regulations—one octavo, or two duodecimo volumes at a time, on paying in advance fifty cents every three months. And those under eighteen years of age, may take out one book at a time, on their depositing with the Librarian, sufficient security for the return thereof, in good condition; or on presenting a written guarantee from a stockholder of this Association, for the safe and proper return thereof.

Folios and quartos were issued for four weeks, octavos and books of less size for two weeks with privilege of renewal, unless requested by another stockholder or subscriber or unless the book was a recent addition that had been in the library less than two months. Overdue fines were three cents per day for folios and quartos, two cents per day for octavos and smaller volumes. On books overdue more than a week the above fines were doubled.

In 1855 the directors of the Trenton Library Association re-

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ported that there were 79 stockholders and 51 annual subscribers, an annual revenue from these sources of \$220.50, and that, "as nearly as can be ascertained," there were 1606 volumes in the library. The annual expenses of the Association were estimated at \$175 without including the salary of the librarian (one hundred dollars), which one of the directors had undertaken to raise by voluntary contributions. The hours of opening had been increased since 1852, the library now being "open daily, from ten o'clock till one in the mornings, and from three till five in the afternoons, and on every Monday evening from seven o'clock till nine."

The report continues:

There are many useful books in the library, and it is to be regretted that the most useful are the least read. If the community choose to sustain this institution, enlarge its resources, and avail themselves of the instruction already contained in its sixteen hundred volumes, it will be both creditable and profitable to them to do so.

The present directors had, with the aid of some liberal gentlemen, succeeded in paying off the old debts and providing means for adding to the library when the fire of December last occurred. It will now be necessary for the association to pay for rebinding the books injured by the fire, and also for buying new books. This may be easily done if the community will take a proper interest in the prosperity of the library, and it is believed that the same public spirit which has raised the institution will sustain it and carry it on successfully.

The Trenton Library Association found it a struggle to continue. A printed circular dated January 1, 1858, appeals to shareholders "for aid in sustaining the Library, by using their influence to add to the number of subscribers, and by promptly paying their dues to the Treasurer." A manuscript roll book of stockholders, preserved in the Free Public Library, shows no payments after January 1861, although among several extant notices of indebtedness is one dated December 9, 1862.

Probably preoccupation with the Civil War had something to do with the demise of this Association. Its collection of books afterward passed into the possession of the Y.M.C.A.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The Y.M.C.A. was organized in Trenton in 1856. It is probable that one of its activities was the maintenance of a public reading room, and, as previously mentioned, it came into pos-

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session, probably in the late '60's, of the books of the Apprentices' Library Company and the Trenton Library Association. Raum, in 1871, says that the Y.M.C.A. "has a splendid library of several thousand volumes, and various newspapers of the day are to be found in its rooms. The rooms are now located at 20 and 22 East State Street, over Titus and Scudder's dry goods store." A daily register of readers who used the Y.M.C.A. reading rooms, January 1875-September 1878, has come down into the custody of the Free Public Library.

The Y.M.C.A. subsequently went into temporary eclipse. Hageman, in his *History of Mercer County*, says "it quietly breathed its last in 1879." However, it came to life again in 1886, as recorded in Chapter IX.

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

Trenton's orphaned libraries next, in March 1879, came under the kindly ministration of the W.C.T.U., which had been started in Trenton in 1876. For the next two decades this organization strove to meet Trenton's library needs. At first it continued in the same location where it succeeded the Y.M.C.A.,—at 20 and 22 East State Street. The books which it took over numbered about 3,500 volumes. Appreciating the need of more adequate quarters, the W.C.T.U. in 1883 fostered the foundation of the Union Library Company, a stock company with a capital of \$30,000. The stock was subscribed for by public-spirited citizens.

Under the supervision of the board of directors the building on East State Street adjacent to the present postoffice was erected in 1885, the first floor being given over to library use. Under the terms of the subscription the whole building, still the headquarters of the W.C.T.U., was leased to this organization for a period of ten years at the nominal rental of \$1.00 per year.

In 1885 there was printed a "Catalogue of the Public Library, Union Library Building, East State Street, Trenton, N.J." Mrs. L. E. Allen was librarian. Subscription terms were \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for six months, 50 cents for three months, 25 cents for one month or five cents a book with the privilege of keeping it one week. Subscribers were entitled to one book at a time, which could be retained for two weeks. Additional volumes

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could be borrowed for one week at a charge of five cents each. The fine on overdue books was one cent per day. The library then contained about 3100 volumes.

In 1895 the library had grown to about 7,000 volumes besides including many of the leading newspapers and periodicals of the day. The Union Library was Trenton's "public" library until the organization in 1900 of the present municipally owned Free Public Library. The Union Library still maintains a small rental library numbering about 1,500 volumes.

THE STATE LIBRARY

Trenton has been fortunate in having in its midst the State Library of New Jersey, one of the oldest of its kind in the United States. It takes its origin in a resolution adopted by Legislature March 18, 1796, wherein Maskell Ewing, clerk of the House of Assembly, was ordered to procure a case in which to keep and preserve the books belonging to the Legislature.

In 1804 the Legislature appointed a Committee on Rules, which catalogued the library and found 168 volumes. In 1813 the first "Act concerning the State Library" was passed. In 1822 an Act provided for the appointment of a state librarian annually by joint meeting. Previously the clerk of the House was charged with the custody of the books.

A law library, owned by the Law Library Association of which Stacy G. Potts was treasurer and librarian, had meanwhile been formed. It was kept in the Supreme Court Room until 1837 when the Legislature authorized its consolidation with the State Library.

The Legislature by joint resolution on March 11, 1856, granted to the clergymen of Trenton the same privileges of using the books of the State Library as were already enjoyed by the lawyers.

The State Library today consists of a law and general reference library with a legislative reference department. The law library and the general library each number about 75,000 volumes. The general library is strong in political and social science, history and genealogy, especially of New Jersey, public documents, periodicals and newspapers.

The State Library is under the control of a Commission con-

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sisting of the governor, the chancellor, the chief justice, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the state comptroller and the attorney general. Meetings are held at the call of the governor.

THE TRENTON CIRCULATING LIBRARY

The Trenton Circulating Library, a private enterprise, of which George Fitzgeorge was proprietor, was conducted for a number of years at 31 East Front Street. In 1868 it had 5,000 volumes.

THE CADWALADER FREE LIBRARY

A small free library was established October 21, 1897, in the old Cadwalader House on West State Street, for the use of the residents of that section of the city. Cadwalader Place was then just being developed. This little library was supported by the voluntary subscriptions of the residents of the community. Its book collection grew by gift and purchase to number about five hundred volumes. Edmund C. Hill was the moving spirit and treasurer of this library and the records continue in his possession. When the Free Public Library was organized the Cadwalader Library was discontinued and the books given to the Cadwalader School.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Several of the foregoing circulating libraries have been designated "public" libraries, but they were public only in the sense that they were generally open to public users on payment of a small fee. None was public in the sense of being municipally owned, supported and controlled.

Under the leadership of Assemblyman William Prall of Paterson the State of New Jersey enacted in 1884 the public library law, which has been subsequently widened and extended by amendments. This law permitted city authorities to submit the question of the establishment of a free public tax-supported library to a referendum of the citizens. If a majority vote was "for a free public library," the law provided for the establishment of a board of trustees and required that a tax of one-third of a mill on every dollar's worth of taxable property should be levied for library support.

As other cities began to establish public libraries under this

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law, forward-looking citizens from time to time urged that Trenton take similar action. Trenton was slow to act, partly because it had available the Union Library and the reference privileges of the State Library, and partly because of the perennial worry over the increasing tax rate. Union Library authorities were beginning to feel that the city's needs were beyond their library's resources.

In 1893 John Lambert Cadwalader of New York, a great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, offered to buy the Union Library, building and books, and present them to the city as the beginning of a free public library, but the then mayor declined the offer unless Mr. Cadwalader would add an endowment for maintenance.

In May 1897 Mayor Welling G. Sickel formed a public committee of twenty-five influential citizens to study and promote the establishment of a municipal free public library. When the committee met, Mayor Sickel was elected chairman and Edmund C. Hill secretary. Sub-committees were appointed and subsequent meetings held but nothing came of the movement at the time. The minutes of the various meetings have been preserved by Mr. Hill, who for years was a staunch advocate of a free public library.

In 1900 matters were again brought to a focus by Mayor Frank O. Briggs, on whose recommendation Common Council on March 6 acted to have the question submitted to referendum at the spring election. The newspapers supported the project and it had the endorsement of such organizations as the Ministerial Union, the Contemporary Club and the W.C.T.U. The election held on April 10 showed that the free public library had been adopted by a vote of 4,482 "for" to 1,052 "against." On May 15 Mayor Briggs sent to Common Council the following nominations as trustees of the Free Public Library: John A. Campbell, John J. Cleary, William M. Lanning, Joseph L. Naar and Ferdinand W. Roebeling. The mayor and the superintendent of schools, Leslie C. Pierson, were by provisions of the law trustees ex-officio. These nominations were confirmed and the trustees at once organized, electing Mr. Roebeling president, Mr. Cleary secretary and Mr. Campbell treasurer.

The newly organized board of trustees began library service

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promptly by purchasing the books of the Union Library as a nucleus of the new library's book collection and the Union Library premises were leased and temporarily occupied.

Sarah C. Nelson was employed as cataloguer and temporary librarian for about a year and the first assistants appointed were Alice M. Rice and Louise K. Hope. Meanwhile the trustees were seeking a permanent chief librarian and they wisely chose Adam Strohm, then of Chicago, who was appointed to begin his duties here September 1, 1901. Adam Strohm brought to his task a rare combination of ideals, scholarship and executive ability and the reputation which the new Trenton Free Public Library afterward achieved both at home and abroad was due in large measure to his librarianship.



FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, BUILT 1902, ACADEMY STREET.

The trustees immediately studied the possibilities of a new library building. On their recommendation Common Council appropriated \$20,000 for the purchase of a lot on Academy Street, which for more than a hundred years had been the site of the Trenton Academy. Subsequent appropriations of \$80,000 for the building and \$15,000 for furnishing and equipping it were made. The architect was Spencer Roberts of Philadelphia. The new building was dedicated June 9, 1902.

Thus Trenton acquired a free public library on a firm and

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permanent basis. Administered by a high-minded and highly respected board of trustees and under the immediate direction of a trained, alert and progressive librarian, the new institution began at once a popular and useful career. Nearly every subsequent year has marked an increase in the book collection, in the home circulation of books and in reading-room patronage.

Very soon it was evident that the new library building was too small and annual reports of the board began to mention the need for additional space. This was met in 1913 through the generosity of John Lambert Cadwalader, who offered to build a considerable addition to the library and to make certain alterations to the original building. Mr. Cadwalader's formal proffer was brought to the attention of the board of trustees December 5, 1913.

On January 14, 1914, the gift was formally accepted, plans approved, and Mr. Cadwalader authorized to proceed with the work under the supervision of an architect of his own selection, Mr. Edward L. Tilton of New York. Mr. Cadwalader was suddenly taken ill and died on the day that the contracts were signed. His executors faithfully carried out his wishes both in letter and in spirit. The completed improvements represented an expenditure of about \$45,000. The addition was formally dedicated on April 6, 1915, with appropriate exercises at which the principal speaker was Henry W. Taft, a law partner of Mr. Cadwalader's. The Cadwalader addition immediately relieved the congestion and improved the library service, not to mention greatly increasing the working comforts both of the patrons and the staff.

At this writing it appears that further enlargement of the building will shortly be required.

BRANCH LIBRARIES ESTABLISHED

Extension of library facilities throughout the city by means of branch libraries has been undertaken from time to time, in order that library privileges may be more equally shared by residents of all parts of the city, especially the children.

The first branch library was established in 1910 in a rented building on the corner of Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues, and straightway received a heavy patronage. This branch has

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since continued to operate in the same building, though the quarters have long since been outgrown. It is expected that room for this branch will shortly be provided in the new Senior High School, through the cooperation of the Board of Education.

The next branch was opened in 1914, through the cooperation of the Board of Education, in a room of the Columbus School on the corner of Brunswick Avenue and Mulberry Street. This branch continues in the same place.

The third branch was opened in 1917 in the partially abandoned old Franklin School on the corner of Liberty and William Streets. In 1926 this branch was temporarily moved to rented quarters in the basement of St. Mary's Greek Catholic School, on the corner of Grand and Malone Streets. In 1929 it is expected that this branch will be moved into a new building, the first to be built specifically for the purpose in Trenton, on the corner of South Broad and Malone Streets. This site was purchased in 1927 by an appropriation of \$28,000 by the city and in 1928 an appropriation of \$60,000 was made for a building. Construction is now under way.

The fourth branch was opened in 1926 in East Trenton in a rented portion of a building popularly known as the Old Dickinson House, then used for community purposes, on the corner of North Clinton and Girard Avenues. In 1928 the building was bought by the library board at the cost of \$10,000, the City Commission having made a total appropriation of \$16,000 to cover purchase and improvements.

The fifth branch was opened in a rented store at 43 North Hermitage Avenue in 1927.

These five branch libraries now bring library privileges within a mile of practically every resident of Trenton.

APPOINTMENTS TO THE BOARD NON-POLITICAL

Successive mayors have kept appointments to the library board free from party politics. Generally a member whose term expires has been reappointed. The board at present (January 1, 1929) consists of John A. Campbell, John J. Cleary, Edward L. Katzenbach, the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, Alfred P. S. Bellis and *ex-officio* members Frederick W. Donnelly, mayor, and William J. Bickett, superintendent of schools. Messrs. Camp-

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bell and Cleary were members of the original board appointed in 1900, Mr. Cleary having served continuously as secretary since the board was first organized. In 1910, on the resignation of Ferdinand W. Roebeling from the board, Mr. Campbell was elected president and has served continuously since. He was succeeded as treasurer by Edward L. Katzenbach. In the meantime others who have been members of the board between its original and present composition are Henry W. Green, Nathan Stern, Harry G. Stoddard, Frederick W. Gnichtel (both as mayor and by appointment), Frederick C. Carstarphen, Mayors Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr., and Walter Madden and School Superintendents Ebenezer Mackey and Zenos E. Scott.

In 1911 Adam Strohm resigned as chief librarian and he was succeeded by Howard L. Hughes, at the time assistant reference librarian of Princeton University Library and formerly an assistant on the staff of the Trenton Free Public Library.

The Free Public Library has been the recipient of many generous gifts, both of books and money. Many items of local historical interest have been contributed to the Library's collection of Trentoniana, the most cherished of which is the original letter written by Washington acknowledging the courtesies of the ladies of Trenton at his reception April 21, 1789. This was placed in the custody of the Library in 1928 by William E. and Caleb S. Green.

THE SKELTON TRUST FUND

The most valuable bequest that has come to the Library was made before the present institution was dreamed of. By the will of Charles Skelton, M.D., who died in 1879, his real estate and certain other property was bequeathed, after the life interest of certain relatives, to the superintendent and trustees of the public schools of the City of Trenton. The will directed that the net income from this property was to be spent each year for the purchase of books, to be added to the nucleus of his personal library of about nine hundred volumes, which also he gave to the superintendent and trustees of the public schools of the City of Trenton. The will further directed:

That all the books purchased by the aforesaid income of said property shall be strongly and plainly bound, and shall consist of works, treatises on the arts and science, especially in mechanics, engineering, mathematics, as-

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tronomy, geography, natural philosophy, chemistry, architecture, history, travels, biography, but no mere tales and works of fiction. Truth is always more profitable than falsehood. Life is too earnest, and time too precious to be wasted on fictions which give no knowledge. A single great practical truth is of more value than all the fictions ever invented by novelists. I acquired the property hereby devised by a life of honest industry, frugality and temperance, and I desire that it may be employed to inculcate these virtues, without which our republican institutions, based on the sovereignty of the people, must soon perish.

The donor specified that the gift was to be administered "for the use of the teachers and pupils of the public schools of said city, apprentices, mechanics, and such other persons, as the said corporation shall deem expedient, and most conducive to the public good."

The Board of Education accepted the trust but was handicapped by the lack of library space and other facilities for administering the gift so that its fullest values might be realized. After the organization of the present Free Public Library, through the medium of a friendly suit, the Court of Chancery transferred the whole Skelton bequest to the trusteeship of the library board. It was realized that the new Free Public Library was equipped to carry out more effectively the wishes of the donor. The transaction is described in detail in the annual report of the Board of Education 1901-02. When the library board took over the Skelton property there was a net annual income of about \$750. Today, owing to an increase in values and judicious reinvestment of capital, the net income is about \$3,700 per year. The library board has purchased, out of the Skelton Fund, some 25,000 volumes. These volumes have been read and studied by thousands of persons while the value and extent of the collection increases annually. By this benefaction Dr. Skelton left an enduring monument to his interest in the education of the people.

Some idea of the growth of the library may be had from the following table of figures in five-year periods, for the whole system:

| | CITY | ANNUAL | |
|------|---------------|-------------|---------|
| | APPROPRIATION | CIRCULATION | VOLUMES |
| | | OF BOOKS | |
| 1903 | \$ 16,000 | 186,863 | 27,920 |
| 1908 | 19,000 | 217,993 | 42,701 |
| 1913 | 26,110 | 233,012 | 58,818 |
| 1918 | 34,821 | 322,689 | 85,171 |
| 1923 | 61,580 | 470,298 | 102,380 |
| 1928 | 108,806 | 788,451 | 159,060 |

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The Library staff, January 1929, numbered 41 persons as well as 20 "pages," who were mostly high school students working after school hours.

In a world of shifting values, that of reading good books remains universally accepted. Both as a disseminator of good books and as a storehouse of facts, the public library has taken its place alongside of the public school as a part of our educational system. At a small annual per capita cost, the modern public library makes available to all what in early days only a few enjoyed—free access to a garnering of the wisdom of mankind, including the latest facts of science, commerce and industry, as well as such spiritual riches of the ages as have been recorded in print.

VI. Biographical Sketches

Charles Skelton, one of the most valuable citizens Trenton ever had, was born in Bucks County, Pa., April 19, 1806, the son of John Skelton and Leah Doane. His schooling was very limited and his early youth was given to the toil of farm and quarry. Later he moved to Trenton where he served an apprenticeship of three years in learning the trade of a ladies' shoemaker. His spare time was largely devoted to reading and study, the Apprentices' Library Company being doubtless the principal source of his books. In 1829 he married Elizabeth Hutchinson. Filled with the desire for learning he read assiduously and finally decided to enter the medical profession. In the fall of 1835, when he was 29 years old, he moved his family, consisting of his wife and invalid mother, to Philadelphia, and entered Jefferson Medical College, from which he graduated in 1837. After entering college he found the support of himself and family rapidly consuming his savings of about \$2,000 and he made ends meet by working at his trade. When he received his diploma (which is preserved in the Free Public Library) he was without funds and much broken in health.

He commenced medical practice in Philadelphia, but his services were given entirely to the poor from whom he asked no fees. He continued to support his family by working at the shoe bench.

In 1841 he returned to Trenton and opened a ladies' shoe store, which included drugs and medicines. His great sympathy for the poor drew him again to the practice of medicine and, in addition, to giving freely from his medicines. Finally he felt obliged to abandon medical practice entirely in order to support his family by his shoe business. He soon became active in the interests of public schools as related elsewhere in this chapter.

Dr. Skelton later took an active part in advancing the welfare of the workingman and reform measures enacted by the State in 1850 and 1851 were largely due to his persistent and untiring efforts.

In 1850 he received unsought the Democratic nomination to Congress, and so great was his popularity that he overcame the usual Whig majority by

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nearly 1,000 votes. He was elected a second time, serving in Congress altogether from 1851 to 1855. Twice the office of governor was within his reach, had he cared to grasp it. He served in Common Council 1873-75, and as its president.

He was a diligent reader all his life. In 1875 he published an *Essay on Heat, Light, Electricity and Magnetism* and in 1877 a pamphlet on *The Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, Sustained by Modern Scientific Discoveries*.

He was one of the incorporators of Temperance Hall Association and a stockholder in the Trenton Library Association. He died May 20, 1879, and was buried in the Presbyterian Burial Ground at Hamilton Square.³²

Edward S. Ellis was born in Geneva, Ohio, in 1840. He graduated from the State Normal School at Trenton with the class of 1858-59. He first became identified with the Trenton public schools in 1864 when he was appointed a teacher in a rented building on Montgomery Street. He was principal of the Academy Street School from about 1865 to 1874. He was elected a member of the board of school trustees from 1874-78 and from 1880-85, and he was superintendent during the year 1884-85. For a time he was editor of *Public Opinion*, a Trenton newspaper. Ellis was well known to an earlier generation as a writer for young people. He produced many thrilling Indian stories, a number of books of history and several Masonic stories. He died at Cliff Island, Me., June 20, 1916, and was buried at Montclair, N.J.

Benjamin C. Gregory was born in New York City in 1849. He graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1868. After a course at the School of Mines of Columbia University and a few years' business experience he joined, in 1873, the faculty of the College of the City of New York. From 1875-88 he filled executive positions in the public schools of Newark, N.J. From 1888-1902 he was supervising principal of the Trenton public schools. During this period he was very prominent in musical activities and he had a large part in the original organization of the School of Industrial Arts. He organized the Arion Glee Club of Trenton. He received an honorary degree of L.H.D. from Rutgers College in 1901. Dr. Gregory left Trenton in 1902 to become superintendent of schools in Chelsea, Mass., where he died in 1910.

William H. Brace was born at St. John's, Newfoundland, April 20, 1830, and graduated from an academy there. He was a teacher in the Trenton Academy in the early 1850's. In 1857-58 he conducted a classical school on Union Street. His first appointment as a teacher in the public schools of Trenton began December 1, 1858, at the Sixth Ward (Mott) School. During the next ten years he had other school connections at intervals. He spent a year in study at the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1861-62, and was the first county school superintendent of Mercer County, 1867-68. In May 1868 Brace was appointed a teacher and shortly afterward principal of the Higbee Street (Nixon) School, in January 1874 principal of the Academy Street School, and later in 1874 principal of the new high school on Mercer Street. He resigned in 1900, continuing afterward for a period as a teacher

³² *Transactions of the Medical Society of New Jersey*, 1879, p. 211.

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of classics. Princeton University gave him an honorary degree of A.M. in 1858 and of Ph.D. in 1894. He died in Trenton September 1, 1910.

John Lambert Cadwalader was born in Trenton, November 17, 1836. He was the son of General Thomas McCall Cadwalader, the grandson of Colonel Lambert Cadwalader and the great-grandson of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader. His mother was Maria C. Gouverneur. He graduated from Princeton College in 1856, and took his Master's degree in 1859. In 1860 he graduated from the Harvard Law School. He then entered the practice of law in New York City. In 1874 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of State under Hamilton Fish in the second administration of President Grant. He was one of the founders of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and years afterward its president. He was chiefly instrumental in the consolidation of various New York libraries into the present New York Public Library, a tremendous task which President Taft said "required genius and statesmanship." At the time of his death Mr. Cadwalader was president of the board of trustees of the New York Public Library. He was also a trustee of numerous other public institutions, including Princeton University. He died in New York City, March 11, 1914.³³

Ebenezer Mackey was born in Butler, Pa., August 14, 1857. He graduated from Mercersburg College in 1878 and in June 1910 received the degree of Doctor of Pedagogy from Franklin and Marshall College. He taught for a while in the school of St. Paul's Orphan Home at Butler and in 1881 became the principal and first superintendent of schools in Butler. From 1889 to 1902 he was superintendent of schools in Reading, Pa. In 1902 he was appointed supervising principal of the public schools of Trenton. Dr. Mackey was active in church and public affairs and held several important offices in educational organizations. He died in Trenton, June 11, 1919.

William A. Wetzel was born at Ackermanville, Pa., July 30, 1869. He graduated from Lafayette College in 1891, following which he taught for a year at the Bordentown Military Institute. He then entered Johns Hopkins University from which he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1895. For the next few years he was superintendent of schools at Pen Argyl, Pa. Dr. Wetzel entered upon his duties as principal of the Trenton High School February 1, 1901.

*Adam Stroh*m was born at Venersborg, Sweden, February 16, 1870. He graduated from the University of Upsala, Sweden, in 1888 and came to America in 1892. He studied at the Library School of the University of Illinois, graduating in 1900 with the degree of Bachelor of Library Science. He had been librarian of the Armour Institute of Technology for about a year when he was appointed librarian of the Trenton Free Public Library. He resigned in 1911 to become assistant librarian of the Detroit Public Library. In 1913 he was made librarian. His administration of the Detroit Public Library has been highly successful, that institution ranking among the best in the United States.

³³ See *John Lambert Cadwalader, an appreciation*, by Henry W. Taft, 1915; and *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, March 18, 1914. An excellent sketch of the Cadwalader family in Trenton by Alexander McAlpin Phillips appeared in the *True American*, July 13, 1901.

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William J. Bickett was born in Drumnagoon, Ireland, December 23, 1880. The following year his family, which much earlier had lived in Parkesburg, Pa., returned to America. Mr. Bickett graduated from the Normal School at West Chester, Pa., and Grove City College. From the latter college he afterward received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. After several years' experience as a teacher and principal in Pennsylvania and Delaware he was appointed superintendent of schools in Salem, N.J., and he held a similar position successively in Rahway and Bernardsville, N.J. In 1920 Dr. Bickett became superintendent of schools in Trenton.

Frank Forrest Frederick was born at Methuen, Mass., October 21, 1866. He graduated from the Massachusetts State School of Art in 1890 and in the same year was appointed Professor of Art and Design at the University of Illinois. He took an active part in developing the study of art in the public schools of Illinois. Two of his sabbatical years were spent in study abroad, principally at the Royal College of Art in London. Mr. Frederick was appointed director of the Trenton School of Industrial Arts in 1906.

CHAPTER XV

Journalism and Literature in Trenton

BY JOHN J. CLEARY

I. Trenton Newspapers and Periodicals

FROM the day in 1839 when a local journalist aided in tearing down the town whipping-post in defiance of strong reactionary sentiment, the Trenton newspaper press has almost invariably been allied with progressive public policies. Indeed one may find at a still earlier period the proofs of courage, vision and loyalty on the part of the local publicist. It is recorded of Isaac Collins, pioneer printer and editor, that his *New Jersey Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in Trenton and in the State, devoted its columns to the support of the infant republic as against Tory propaganda issued from metropolitan print-shops; and yet, Quaker though he was, he valiantly asserted the freedom of the press by declining to supply to the Legislative Council the desired name of a political correspondent (1779).

"In any other case, not incompatible with good conscience or the welfare of my country, I shall think myself happy in having it in my power to oblige you," was his courteous but unyielding rejoinder to the legislative mandate.¹

A few words about the doughty Mr. Collins and his paper may well introduce what we have to say upon the subject of the local press. Less than two years after the Battle of Trenton the *New Jersey Gazette* which had been started at Burlington on December 5, 1777, was transferred to Trenton as a more central publication point (March 1778). The *Gazette* continued to be issued here up to November 1786, with the exception of a suspension of nearly five months in 1783. The State Library possesses one of the few files of the *Gazette* extant—a tiny sheet

¹ Sedgwick, *Life of Livingston*, chaps. VII and VIII. Quoted in Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton*, p. 329, ed. of 1859.

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of four pages, each nine by fourteen inches. It carried such news as could be had of the military movements of the day and some peppery political epistles, together with letters from abroad, but few purely local items.²

It is interesting to recall the admitted importance of newspaper publication even in the primitive days of the republic, for we read that the Legislature exempted the publisher and his four printers from military duty.³

Friend Collins⁴ having abandoned the newspaper field, the *Federal Post or Trenton Weekly Mercury* made its bow to the public in 1787, having an office nearly opposite St. Michael's Church on North Warren Street. Scarcity of paper and other causes put it out of business within two years.

There had been an *American Mercury*, 1719-47, but it was a

² Governor William Livingston is credited with encouraging the creation of the *New Jersey Gazette*. "In the establishment of a newspaper which should be at once a vehicle for the dissemination of military information and a tilting field where he could meet all contestants, he [Livingston] called to his aid a Burlington Quaker of ancient family, a strict non-combatant, but who, not fighting, would be willing to print. . . . For a year under the pen name of 'Hortentius,' Livingston [Governor of New Jersey 1776-90] slashed, bit, satirized and made himself so obnoxious [in the *Gazette*] that he himself said the King's party in New York would rather cut his throat for writing than for fighting." Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and a State*, Vol. II, pp. 279, 280.

The Colonial Legislature subsidized the *Gazette* to the extent of guaranteeing it seven hundred subscriptions within six months after its establishment.

³ Hall, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.*, p. 329, ed. of 1859.

⁴ Isaac Collins was born in Delaware in 1746, and died March 21, 1817.

Notable as he was in the newspaper field, Mr. Collins' fame extends more conspicuously still to his achievements as a book publisher. Dr. John Hall in his *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.*, gives on pages 198 and 199 a full and interesting narrative description of Collins' Bible (quarto edition in 984 pages) which, because of its accuracy no less than his triumph over difficulties of printing and marketing so formidable a job in 1791, has been highly and widely praised. His reputation as a printer was earned at an even earlier date. He had executed some excellent work at his Burlington office before coming to Trenton, but it was in his Trenton plant which he maintained after the suspension of his *Gazette* that he achieved the greatest results. Most of the early printers here, it is said, learned their trade in the Collins' printing shop. Without attempting to enumerate his publications, mention should be made of Ramsey's *History of the Revolution in South Carolina* (2 vols., Trenton 1787), a work unexcelled up to that time for the beauty of its typography.

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Philadelphia issue which covered Trenton and other New Jersey localities in the absence of any newspaper in this State.

After the *Trenton Mercury* came another local weekly, founded in 1791, which bore various titles successively—the *New Jersey State Gazette*, the *State Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser*, and again the *Federalist and New Jersey Gazette*. The present *State Gazette* is the outgrowth of this hybrid (see later in this chapter).

So much for eighteenth century local journalism.⁵

PROLIFIC PUBLICATION

The first half of the nineteenth century was prolific of newspaper life such as it was. But it is largely a story of many tiny sheets bravely started and incontinently snuffed out of existence. Not a few were electioneering issues and as such were characteristically full of political argument and personal laudation or abusive personalities, as served the purpose of the hour. Of news gathering as we understand it today, there was next to nothing. For the first forty years of the century, weekly publication, with here and there attempts at semi-weekly and tri-weekly issues, fully met the demands of the reading public. Indeed, a "long-felt want" was never invoked as the justification for a new-born paper; there was no profit worth mentioning either from circulation or advertising. A spirit of rivalry between printers or a desire to promote some particular interest was the real source of inspiration when a fresh sheet made its appearance. Monopoly and anti-monopoly had their organs which waged fierce war, incident to canal and railroad development. The movement for the erection of a new City Hall in the late '30's had a stimulating influence on newspaper-making as upon town progress generally. In 1839 Joseph Justice, Jr., and Franklin S. Mills started

⁵ Interesting is paragraph 98 from "Instructions from Queen Anne to Lord Cornbury as Governor of New Jersey, November 16th, 1702," copied from *New Jersey Archives*, first series, Vol. II, p. 534:

"Forasmuch as great inconveniences may arise by the liberty of printing in our said province, you are to provide by all necessary orders, that no person keep any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave and license first obtained."

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the *Trenton Daily*, from the *Emporium* office (the *Emporium* was a literary and religious journal) next door to Justice's home on North Warren Street, but this first experiment in daily publication lasted only a few months; the local population at the time, including both sides of the Assunpink, did not exceed 5,000 souls. The *Trenton Daily News* was launched in January 1846 and the story of its difficulties, as told subsequently by Franklin S. Mills, who was associated with Samuel R. Glen in the proprietorship, is worth repeating. Although these gentlemen were young, enthusiastic and capable and were able to build up a circulation of 1700 to 1800 (which was the largest attained by any local paper up to that time or for many years thereafter), the advertising patronage was so small and the rates paid were so pitiful that, as Mr. Mills naïvely confesses, the firm frequently labored under "severe pecuniary embarrassment." Many times the *News* was on the verge of suspension for want of white paper, which could be had only for cash, and the resources of the editors did not at best permit purchase of more than one day's supply at a time. An incident narrated long afterwards by one of the editors throws a light upon the resourcefulness of early journalism. On one occasion, after Mr. Glen had left the concern for the night, nine o'clock arrived without either paper or money and things began to look desperate. Mr. Mills, however, was equal to the occasion. He went out into the street and encountering the benignant Senator Wright (not otherwise known to fame) demanded and received the needful.

Mr. Mills blithely adds that this was certainly publishing a newspaper under difficulties. Mr. Glen retired, went to Boston and obtained an editorial position where the "ghost walked" with less provoking irregularity. Mr. Mills towards the end of 1846 sold out to Brittain and Jones, proprietors of the *Emporium*, and from them Joseph C. Potts took over the plant in 1847.

MILLS AND JAY

Franklin S. Mills deserves more than passing mention. He not only was associated with a variety of newspaper ventures in a proprietary capacity and as a salaried member of various staffs, but he also figured prominently and honorably in the public life of this city during the half century of his

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residence here. He was for forty years the local representative of the Associated Press and was the first reporter to have a seat as such in the New Jersey Legislature (1835). Mr. Mills came to Trenton after learning to set type on the *Village Record* of West Chester, Pa., where also Bayard Taylor, the eminent traveller, lecturer and writer was at one time apprenticed. Simon Cameron, who later served as Minister to Russia and was Secretary of War under Lincoln, was a graduate of the same humble school of journalism. Mr. Mills' courage and high purpose were indicated soon after his arrival here, when he joined three or four prominent Trentonians in organizing an attack on the whipping-post on Academy Street where men from time out of mind had been flogged for minor offenses, and laid it low, never to be reerected. Threats to invoke the law against so "high handed" a proceeding were indulged in but they came to naught.

Mr. Mills developed into an effective platform orator and won political success more than once on the Democratic ticket. He was elected mayor half a dozen times and held other offices, including that of justice of the peace when this position carried weight and dignity. When the City District Court was established in the '80's, he was made the court clerk and so served through a serene old age to a serene death in his Mill Hill home, November 25, 1885, seventy-one years of age.

Mention of Franklin S. Mills inevitably brings to mind a notable contemporary, Charles W. Jay. Mills and Jay were closely identified in journalism, at times as partners, but more frequently as reporters on opposition newspapers in which capacity, with the freedom of the period, they often used their columns for sallies of wit and sarcasm at each other's expense. Stories beyond number are told of their professional rivalries and of the practical jokes which they played upon each other in convivial hours. Jay possessed a lively imagination and a ruthless pen. His witticisms had often a distinctly bitter flavor; Mills' retorts, while effective, were mellowed with the milk of human kindness. Mills lasted better than Jay. The latter had a son, Hamilton Jay, who went to Florida in the carpet-bagging days after the Civil War and made a name as a poet and editorial writer in Jacksonville. Charlie Jay's was a checkered career. At times a publisher and editor, at others a reporter, he never failed to keep his readers awake either by the merciless virulence of his political attacks or the savage merriment evoked at the expense of whoever happened to be his target for the moment. He printed atrocious verses and appended the signature of some highly respectable citizen who vainly protested. He made a laughing stock of financial institutions which were churlish with their loans. In his final years, spent on a farm far from Trenton, the repentant scribe admitted that a vacillating character had led him to waste his talents. As an example of his versatility the *Clay Banner*, published by him in 1844, was a vigorous Whig campaign journal of the scalping-knife species and "lifted the hair" of some scores of Democratic journalists and politicians. It is quite refreshing reading of its kind even yet. In 1852 he published a Democratic campaign paper called the *Republican Privateer* which assaulted the Whigs very much as the *Clay Banner* did the Democrats.

On the political rostrum, his record was equally varied, for he appeared in 1840 as a Democratic speaker in the Harrison campaign and the following presidential year took the opposite side. He was a wayward genius who

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at ten worked in a brickyard but gradually forced his way to the front in politics and journalism. If the end crowns the work, all is well with Jay's memory for his final days were spent tilling the soil and hymn-writing. Among his effusions was the following confident apostrophe:

"To thee, O God, I lift my rescued soul
In holiest praise,
To bless thee for the saving hope vouchsafed
My later days."

In the West, whither his wife had accompanied him, he wrote in 1874 a slender volume entitled *My New Home in Northern Michigan*, which, by contrast with his earlier writings, is a model of restrained speech and moral sentiment. He returned to Trenton for a brief interval (1875-76) and edited the *Free Press*; then settled permanently in Michigan and died there December 9, 1884.

In the intervals of journalistic employment Jay held a political berth, by grace of the Democratic party, in the Philadelphia Custom House (1857). He served one term (1849-50) as city clerk in Trenton and he also enjoyed the small emoluments of a legislative clerkship.

TWO NOTEWORTHY PAPERS

While a number of shooting stars were hastily passing across the journalistic sky in the days when comparatively no money and little credit were required to start a paper, two newspapers destined to live and to exert a powerful influence came into being. The *State Gazette* was one; the other was the *True American*. The former claims a continued existence from September 4, 1792. It was first called the *State Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser* and its infant days began in modest quarters on Warren Street opposite the Indian Queen Hotel (now the Trent Theatre site). Tri-weekly issues began January 14, 1840, and the journal became a daily January 12, 1847. The *True American*, which of course also started as a weekly, was cradled on State Street about where the Katzenbach hardware store⁶ was later located. March 10, 1801, was the date of the *American's* first issue, Matthias Day and Jacob Mann being the publishers. James J. Wilson, prominent in the politics of the period, was an early editor.⁷ The *American* was discontinued for

⁶ After becoming dailies, the *True American* and the *State Gazette*, as did the *Trenton Times* subsequently, retained weekly issues, but this practice was discontinued some years ago.

⁷ James J. Wilson was editor from 1801 to his death in 1824. He held the local postmastership from 1821. Among his experiences was that of being cowhided, particulars of which appear in both the *Federalist* and *True American* of July and August 1803.

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a time but on November 13, 1849, it had a re-birth, when Morris R. Hamilton as editor and William Magill as publisher absorbed the *Daily News* and the *Emporium*, a literary and religious journal, and created out of them the *True American*, locating the plant on Broad Street just above the old City Hall. About this time a sharp controversy ensued between the *American* and the *Gazette* as to Colonel Hamilton's right to appropriate the name "True American," indicating the hazy condition of local newspaper properties seventy-five years ago. It was a case of scrambling and unscrambling titles. The controversy is scarcely of present-day interest but it can be followed in the newspaper files of the period by anyone curious enough to seek the information. Colonel Hamilton won the war of words and the *True American* retained its name.

For many years, the *Gazette* and *True American* maintained an easy local ascendancy, developing into staunch defenders of the Republican and Democratic parties respectively. Both by editorial ability and their location at the State capital, they received recognition as representative exponents of the policies of either political organization. Each bore the unmistakable stamp of partisanship. They were for many years four-page sheets and both conducted job printing plants, their prosperity resting in no small degree upon the official printing patronage which came to them from the State House, the county and the city, according to which party held control.

The *True American's* rise as an influential newspaper of state-wide reputation began with its purchase by David Naar in 1853. Judge Naar's career would supply enough material for a chapter by itself. He was one of the most forceful and dignified writers on public questions that Trenton journalism ever produced. He also was a stump-speaker of quality, becoming known by his virile campaign efforts throughout the State as "the warhorse of the Democracy." It was as an editor, however, that he exerted the widest influence. He wielded a trenchant pen but was strong without being abusive. Occasionally, however, he battled with a broadaxe after the fashion of his era. He was fearless in the expression of his opinion, as instanced by criticism of the government in the earlier stages of the Civil War, result-

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ing in the visit of a mob to his office (then adjoining his residence at the southwest corner of Warren and Front Streets) and the compulsory display of the American flag. For seven months (August 2 to October 7, 1861) issue of the paper was suspended.⁸

JUDGE NAAR AND THE NAAR FAMILY

Judge Naar was honored with public offices, local and State. He was a member of the State constitutional convention of 1844, served as State treasurer in 1865 and was for some years secretary of the State sinking fund. An oil portrait of Judge Naar (his judicial title was gained in Union County before he came to Trenton) hangs in the State House corridors, unusual distinction for a journalist. Having campaigned the entire State for Polk in 1844, he was appointed by the new President as United States consul at St. Thomas, W.I. (where he had been born November 10, 1800), and held the post for three years.

Locally he served in numerous official capacities. A man of erudition, speaking four languages, and personally of the highest integrity, he filled out a life of great usefulness and distinction, passing away February 24, 1880, in his eightieth year.

The Naar family, of whom the Judge was the pioneer here, contributed several notable citizens to Trenton. The family, by the way, traces its history back over four centuries to the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, an elaborately planned genealogical tree being extant which attests the lineage. Associated with Judge Naar were Moses D. Naar, his nephew, and later Joseph L. Naar, a son, both scholarly gentlemen but of dissimilar temperaments. Moses, the elder, was grave, serious, studious; of delicate physique, slender, with black hair and beard. Joseph L. was stout and ruddy, with reddish hair, of quick temper, and enjoying very much the contacts of public life. Upon Moses's death, January 10, 1885 (Joshua S. Day, business manager, also dying February 9, 1885), Joseph L. assumed editorial control of the *American*. Judge Naar had withdrawn from the publication and job departments in 1866. After a liberal education as a youth, Joseph L. Naar had learned the trade of printer on the *True American* while it was published by his father at Warren and Front Streets but this was only as a step in his training for future proprietorship. On assuming the editorship, he maintained the traditions of his father in making the paper an exponent of liberal Democratic thought. For over a quarter of a century, the *True American* columns scintillated with caustic, pungent comment upon current events. Ever courageous and resourceful in argument, he became a dangerous antagonist upon public questions. A close and intelligent student of the Constitution, he was equally at home in the use of the lighter weapons of the editorial armory, and his treatment of debated issues never failed to arrest attention throughout the city and State. He was private secretary to Governor Ludlow and had much to do with the successful establishment of the Trenton Public Library, serving several years at a trustee. His death occurred September 19, 1905, aged sixty-three.

⁸ For further treatment of this episode, see p. 663, Chap. XIII, above.

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DECLINE OF TRUE AMERICAN

During Joseph L. Naar's régime as editor and publisher, the *True American* plant was removed (January 1, 1893) to its own building on North Warren Street, from the leased quarters at the southeast corner of State and Broad Streets, which had been occupied since 1872. Simultaneously the paper in make-up and special features was brought up to modern standards, besides being enlarged. Political patronage, however, had fallen off, and it was difficult out of ordinary revenues to meet the expenses swollen by enterprising news policies. As a bid for wider circulation, the price of the paper was cut to one cent a copy, and as a further expedient the editor sold preferred stock to friends in the sum of nearly \$50,000. Then came Mr. Naar's death, following which the once powerful local *American* experienced a series of misfortunes, including various changes of proprietorship, reorganization as an afternoon issue, and two receiverships. It was estimated that within a comparatively few years \$350,000 had been sunk in the property, a large portion of which was in the shape of a subsidy from Woodrow Wilson supporters in his first campaign for the Presidency. Henry E. Alexander of Ohio, Professor Henry J. Ford of Princeton and William H. Gutelius, a New York publisher, were among those who tried to put the *American* on its feet again. On August 8, 1913, the property was disposed of at receiver's sale for \$47,000, including the real estate, and the *Trenton Times*, with which the *True American* had latterly competed for the local afternoon field, acquired control and suspended publication of the century-old sheet.

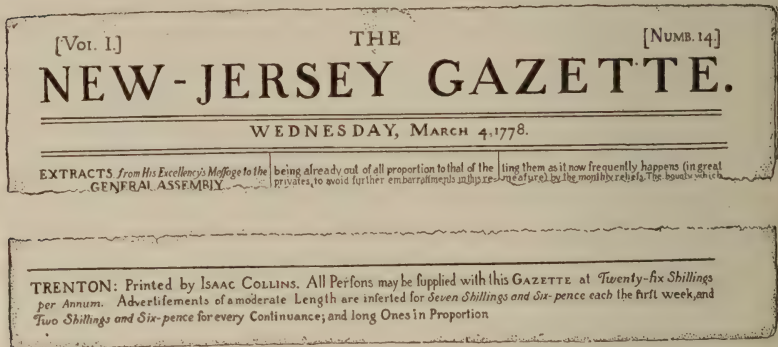
SKETCH OF THE GAZETTE

The *Gazette* too has had an eventful history. It has seen its ups and downs through a lengthy career, but on the whole it was more fortunate in its business management than its competitor. Able men guided its policies from the start, among them the Shermans, Matthias Day, Henry Harron, E. R. Borden, and others, the story of whose work is told exhaustively elsewhere.⁹

⁹ A detailed and illustrated history of the *Gazette* as a newspaper is given in Lee, *History of Trenton*, beginning p. 242.

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After a political somersault or two, the *Gazette* under J. L. Swayze settled down about 1857 into a thoroughgoing Republican organ. Jacob R. Freese, the next in control, was a kaleidoscopic figure in the community for twenty years. He was many things in turn—a physician, an editor, president of the board of trade, provost-marshal of the District of Columbia during



FACSIMILE OF HEADING OF TRENTON'S FIRST NEWSPAPER

the Civil War, a city booster, a platform orator and finally a banker, meeting his Waterloo in the latter capacity. Brooks and Vannote, one a hard-headed business man and the other first a printer and later a Methodist preacher, took over the *Gazette* in December 1865, but such a team did not promise well, and not until 1869 was the permanent success of the plant assured, with its purchase by Murphy and Bechtel. Both had been practical printers. Charles Bechtel retired after a few years and thenceforth John L. Murphy with his intimate knowledge of the printing trade and abundant native business capacity, accompanied with a delightful personality, proceeded to make of the *Gazette* a progressive, wideawake newspaper, equal to the best that a city of Trenton's standing could produce. The paper became noted for its excellent typography, in this respect setting an example for the general average of provincial newspapers of forty to fifty years ago.

Murphy and Bechtel were fortunate in finding on the *Gazette* staff at its purchase a former Freehold school teacher, William

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Cloke, who, after a short turn as reporter, was promoted and quickly gave the editorial page a reputation for distinction of style, a rich fund of humor and literary allusion and a breadth of information on national, state and local subjects. Between Cloke and Joseph L. Naar of the *True American* there ensued for years a series of passages at arms which were eagerly looked for in Trenton and were widely copied through the State. Naar was able and incisive, Cloke, more discursive but equally combative, possessed an exuberant fancy—each proved a foeman worthy of the other's blade.

In purely local matters, the *Gazette* almost invariably stood for progressive policies in public improvements, such as a public park, a sewerage system, etc., while the *True American* almost as certainly wanted the acid test applied before projects involving heavy financial burdens upon the taxpayer were adopted. Thus a wholesome threshing out of public questions was always insured.¹⁰

Messrs. Murphy and Cloke made an excellent combination. Both passed away some years ago, Mr. Murphy on May 4, 1900, and Mr. Cloke on February 5, 1909. Mr. Murphy had been honored with various federal positions of trust and emolument, and Mr. Cloke was officially and unofficially active in a number of directions looking to municipal advancement. Thomas Holmes succeeded Mr. Cloke as editor of the *Gazette* and after Mr. Holmes's decease, Forrest Dye filled the editorial chair. Henry C. Buchanan was for years in succession proofreader, news editor and confidential representative of Mr. Murphy. After Mr. Murphy's death, the State Gazette Publishing Company was formed with Henry W. Comfort president, Charles B. Case secretary and Charles H. Baker treasurer, and they assumed control December 26, 1900. In June 1908 the *Gazette* trans-

¹⁰ Up to 1872, the local dailies adhered to the printing of Monday morning's papers on Saturday. But on Sunday evening, January 21 of that year, the Trenton Bank was robbed and Monday local sheets appeared without a line on the sensational occurrence, while the New York and Philadelphia papers of the same day carried the news. The mortification of so pronounced a "beat" led to an immediate order from the *Gazette* and *American* publishers thereafter to go to press Sunday night, for the following day's issue.

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ferred its newspaper and job printing plant from its old stand, at the northwest corner of State and Broad Streets, to a handsome and commodious new structure on East Hanover Street, specially built for the purpose. This company on December 1, 1925, sold out to a new organization with Edward C. Rose president, Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., vice-president and Frank D. Schroth treasurer and publisher. These gentlemen introduced important improvements in the various departments.

Six months later, the *Gazette* was consolidated with the *Trenton Times*, James Kerney thus becoming editor and publisher of the *Times*, *Gazette* and *Sunday Times-Advertiser*. Mr. Schroth continued with the newly organized company in the capacity of assistant treasurer and general manager, and Messrs. Roebling and Rose remained as preferred stockholders. Its circulation is in excess of 16,000 daily.

JOHN BRIEST'S EMPORIUM

Coincident with the development of the *Gazette* and *True American* as two-cent morning papers, the *Emporium*, a smaller sheet at one cent a copy, was started August 5, 1867, by John Briest, who had been foreman of the *True American* composing room during the Civil War. Mr. Briest was a bright, talented, snappy writer and with the aid of his brother Charles as reporter and John B. Faussett as business manager kept the *Emporium* going for twenty-five years. It was first issued from the northeast corner of Warren and Hanover Streets but later from East State Street near Montgomery. John Briest, who had been mayor (1871-75) and had held various other municipal offices, was made city comptroller under the board of public works and in 1895 sold his paper which had a short life under the new owner, St. George Kempson, a Middlesex County publisher, who removed the plant to Perth Amboy about 1895. Mr. Briest died December 9, 1915, in his eightieth year.

Meanwhile there were various afternoon issues and weekly ventures, which failed to establish themselves as fixtures.¹¹

¹¹ For a list of various local newspapers, see Raum, *History of Trenton*, pp. 210-20, and the *City Directories*.

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THE TRENTON TIMES

One of the leading newspapers of New Jersey today, the *Trenton Times*, came into existence almost unheralded one October afternoon (October 12) in 1882. It exerted an instant appeal by its attractive make-up, the fresh sprightly manner in which the news was handled, and a certain dash and vigor of editorial expression. These were traits which up to that time had not distinguished the substantial plodding sheets of the town. The printing of more important occurrences of the day, without regard to whether they were local or general, upon the first page and under striking yet artistic headlines, was a new departure for Trenton, as was the absence from that page of all display advertising. The general appearance of the paper and its treatment of the news were closely modelled after Frank McLaughlin's *Philadelphia Times*, which indeed had set the pace for many other newspapers in typographical beauty and daring comment upon political happenings. Colonel A. K. McClure, Mr. McLaughlin's editor, rather gloried in the number of libel suits which he had to defend as the result of his outspoken policies.

The *Trenton Times* came naturally by the same characteristics, its founder, Lawrence S. Mott, having after his graduation from Princeton in 1877 joined the *Philadelphia Times* desk staff and having proved an apt student under Colonel McClure. Moreover, the men whose money supported Mr. Mott's local enterprise had as their motive a desire to smash certain political machinery in New Jersey. The Hon. Henry Stafford Little, long clerk in chancery and a power in Democratic politics, thought that the new newspaper might be useful in breaking the strength of United States Senator John R. McPherson, his political foe within the party lines. Others with various ambitions in public life rallied also to Mr. Mott's support, such as Garret D. W. Vroom, Judge Edward T. Green, and Mayor Frank A. Magowan, but none at the same financial risk as "Staff" Little. The *Trenton Times* accordingly proved a free lance in New Jersey journalism and before a great while had acquired some of the reputation of its big Philadelphia name-

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sake as a breeder of libel suits. The *Times* devoted a great deal of attention to politics, local and state, it developed the personal interview to an extent never before known in Trenton, and it introduced "picture" journalism here. Edward S. Ellis, the novelist, was clever in delineating faces, and drew a considerable number of rapid sketches of members and attachés of the Legislature during the session of 1883, which were reproduced in the *Times's* columns and made a hit by the novelty of this feature. But while the *Times* had created an impression in the news field, it had found difficulty in building up a paying advertising patronage. There was, forty-odd years ago, little of today's eagerness for publicity and even the more wideawake business men thought they were quite liberal in patronizing the *Gazette* and *True American*, without taking on additional advertising obligations. The financial backers of the *Times* meanwhile had scarcely obtained the results that they had expected and were tired of assessments too often repeated. The dashing, doughty Mott lost heart in the enterprise where he had sunk much of his own money and was ready to withdraw from the field. On May 12, 1885, the property passed into the hands of Edwin Fitzgeorge who had originally printed it in his job office. Dark days followed with occasional flashes of sunlight to encourage continued publication. There were many readers, but cultivating a paying clientèle of advertisers was slow work. The *Times* passed through the hands of various owners and had several changes of location. From Broad and State Streets (Fitzgeorge's corner) it went to 7 South Warren Street (November 11, 1884), where it shared quarters with the *Sunday Advertiser* until May 12, 1885, when Fitzgeorge took it back to its original site; a short time later it was published from offices over Washington Market. From here it was transferred in course of time to the Shreve Building on East State Street, whose site is now occupied by the Stacy Theater. For a time A. V. D. Honeyman of Somerville was its owner and later a Burlington County school principal named Walhradt purchased an interest. Charles W. Smith of Flushing, L.I., next made an aggressive effort to put the paper on its feet. However, the Smith régime ended in a receivership and Edmund C. Hill, who had advanced money at various times and

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in various sums, bid it in at the receiver's sale. Mr. Hill, who was one of Trenton's progressive citizens, deeply interested in every feature of municipal advancement, nailed to the editorial masthead the not original but quite effective slogan, "Keeping everlastingly at it brings success," and by playing up local news as never before, increased the circulation substantially. J. B. Shale, who had organized the Publishers' Press Association, acquired a half interest in order to have the paper subscribe for the Press dispatches. William O. Sproull, afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania, was interested in the *Times* for awhile. John A. Wallace and Charles R. Long, both of Chester, Pa., were respectively editor and business manager at one time.

Mr. Hill's connection with the paper lasted for about three years, until May 1901, when a new combination secured control, with A. Crozer Reeves as president, the Rev. A. W. Wishart vice-president, and Owen Moon, Jr., secretary and treasurer. Walter H. Savory, a journalist of reputation and unusual energy who had originally come from Rochester, N.Y., and later from Newark, N.J., became associated with the company also, having previously served as managing editor of the *True American*. Soon the *Times* began to attract attention, with Dr. Wishart serving as editor.

A reorganization of the company was effected February 1, 1903, through which Dr. Wishart and Mr. Savory dropped out and James Kerney acquired an interest. With Mr. Kerney's coming, the *Times* took on a livelier and more aggressive tone and began to wear the earmarks of unmistakable success. The purchase of its own building on South Stockton Street, the installation of every latest mechanical device and the gradual enrolment of an army of employees in the editorial, reportorial, business and mechanical departments have gone hand in hand in the development of a many-sided newspaper to meet the demands of an exacting public.

John M. Hodgson and John H. Sines later became stockholders. Thomas F. Waldron was taken into partnership in 1912. Mr. Kerney at present is in control, Mr. Moon having withdrawn in 1924. The present daily circulation is upwards of 44,000.

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The *Trenton Courier*, with offices at Clinton and Hamilton Avenues, began business early in 1928, first as a weekly and later as a semi-weekly, Rudolph J. Hiller managing editor and publisher.

THE SUNDAY ADVERTISER

The *Sunday Advertiser*, Trenton's first successful venture in Sunday journalism, was brought out by Andrew M. Clarke and William K. Devereux on January 7, 1883, a few months after the *Trenton Times* had been launched. It started modestly but found such favor through the exploiting of fields, practically uncultivated locally up to that time, such as sports in detail, secret-society doings, social events, industrial gossip, etc., that it grew in size and influence. Mr. Devereux having meantime disposed of his interest, Mr. Clarke, on February 19, 1888, sold out to Thomas F. Fitzgerald, Charles H. Levy and John J. Cleary, all seasoned reporters, who devoted themselves earnestly and enthusiastically to the work of developing a prosperous property. It was originally printed from the William S. Sharp's job-printing plant, West State Street, having editorial and typesetting rooms on the second floor of the Dippolt Building on South Broad Street. Within a couple of years, Mr. Clarke purchased a press of his own and located the entire quarters at 7 South Warren Street. It was the period when the Knights of Labor were flourishing and when under the leadership of President T. V. Powderly, American labor grew conscious of its power as never before. The *Sunday Advertiser* became a semi-official organ of the Knights in Trenton and for nearly a year ventured also into the daily field in that capacity. This was about 1884.

Soon after Messrs. Fitzgerald, Levy and Cleary became owners, they purchased the extensive three-story brick building at 33 West State Street which was the home of the *Sunday Advertiser* for the rest of the quarter of a century during which this firm held the reins; they brought the paper to a high journalistic level and established it in pronounced public favor. The circulation reached about 16,000, which was considered very large at the time.

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The *Trenton Times* desiring a Sunday edition, made a favorable offer for the consolidation of the *Advertiser* with the *Times* plant in December 1912, and it was accepted. Thomas F. Waldron, who had lately purchased a one-fourth interest in the Sunday issue, alone among the members of the old firm continued with the consolidated property in a proprietary capacity. As the *Sunday Times-Advertiser* the newspaper has a circulation of 32,000.

Several other Sunday publications have been started in Trenton but none of them secured more than a transient footing. The *Sunday News*, transferred from Newark by Thomas N. Barr, the trolley magnate, failed to make the grade, and the aggressive little *Sunday Press*, together with a daily issue, disappeared when Harrison was defeated for President, the sinews of war failing at that juncture. Harry C. Valentine, William H. Koons, Captain John Matheson, W. E. Pedrick, John P. Dullard and Lafayette S. Hooper were connected with the *Press* in editorial, artistic, business and mechanical capacities. It was a cooperative enterprise. John Briest of the *Emporium* published also the *Trenton Sunday Courier* for a few months in 1900.

NOTABLE FIGURES OF THE PAST

Various of the vanished Trenton newspapers recall more or less notable figures in local life. The *Daily Monitor* which after a short experience of one and one-half years under Dorsey Gardner was merged with the *State Gazette*, December 20, 1865, had as its first reporter St. Clair McKelway, who afterwards achieved a national reputation as leading editorial writer on the *Brooklyn Eagle* and as a felicitous after-dinner orator. His father and grandfather were practising physicians in Trenton.

William S. Sharp's *Public Opinion* was for a time edited by Edward S. Ellis, the subsequently famous author of boys' stories, school histories and other literary works. Sharp himself was one of the most interesting human types ever figuring in local newspaperdom. He came here from South Jersey, built up a book and job-printing plant that had few equals in the State in capacity and quality of output, tried newspaper publication for a time, worked for years without substantial result upon the assembling of valuable data and pictures for a New Jersey history and, for a considerable time before his death, seemed to have no occupation but to haunt the legislative halls at the State House, effusively greeting the politicians and officials with whom he had been intimate in prosperous days.

"Glad to see you! What can I do for you?" was his stereotyped salutation to all comers, when he had little means to do for himself.

When the Legislature was not in session, Mr. Sharp was a daily visitor

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to New York City on a Pennsylvania Railroad pass, going over about 11 a.m. and returning by an early afternoon train. In the black cape which he invariably wore, in place of an overcoat, he was daily familiar on State Street for years, radiating sunshine in spite of his own straitened circumstances, a pathetic, lovable figure.

Francis B. Lee, who for a time was on the editorial staff of the *True American* and contributed extensively to all the Trenton newspapers, also earned repute as a state historian of note, an important functionary at patriotic celebrations, a fluent speaker and an all-around popular citizen.¹²

Frank W. Potter, connected for a time with the *Monitor*, afterwards served as United States consul at Marseilles, his appointment dating March 14, 1873, and continuing until June 11, 1878, when ill-health compelled retirement. He was a native of Maine.

John Y. Foster, afterwards prominent in New Jersey politics as a Republican speaker and writer and successively editor of the *Newark Courier* and *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, was for a period on the *State Gazette* staff.

Captain Ernest C. Stahl, founder of the *Staats Journal* (William C. Zenzer now editor), was one of the most prominent spokesmen for the G.A.R. in New Jersey, was nationally popular as an after-dinner orator and did more than any one good citizen's share to add to the good humor, gayety and picturesqueness of his period which lasted, so far as Trenton was concerned, from Civil War days to the recent past. Much of his public service was without financial reward. Once, returning home in a drenching shower after a hard day devoted to G.A.R. work in a neighboring town, he was greeted by Mrs. Stahl with a look in which reproach, sympathy, and humor were mingled.

"Well, Ernest," she remarked, "you at least will have a big funeral—if it is a fine day!"

And truly there was universal regret when he passed away, June 24, 1921.

J. Madison Drake who started the *Mercer Standard* (a weekly) in 1854 enlisted in the Civil War and later organized Drake's Zouaves. Subsequently he took up his residence in Elizabeth but loved occasionally to return to the old home town and at the head of his colorful command, shaking his unshorn locks, parade Trenton's streets amid the admiring plaudits of a host of friends, including the printing fraternity. It was an interesting circumstance that Drake, his father, two brothers and a sister all "worked at the case" in this city at various times.

Henry B. Howell, who started the *Reformer and New Jersey Advocate* in 1852, was a philanthropic old gentleman of slender build with white hair and underchin beard who, apart from intense hatred of intoxicants, had no passion quite equal to that of maintaining in his popular toy store the best traditions of the old Kriss Kringle legend.

Colonel William H. Gilder, a star writer on the ephemeral *Trenton News* of twenty years ago, belonged to the celebrated Gilder family of Borden-

¹² Francis B. Lee died in 1914, aged forty-five. For an extended account of his life, see Lee, *History of Trenton*, p. 197.

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town which in both sexes produced a number of literary lights, who shone in the metropolitan firmament. The Colonel had served as the historian of the Schwatka expedition to the Arctic (1878-80), and his stories of strange adventures and peoples encountered in his travels made a delightful setting for many social gatherings at the Trenton Press Club. He published two books and died at Morristown in 1920.

Wallace M. Scudder, one of the founders and present proprietors of the *Newark News*, is a Trentonian by birth and received his early education here, studying law before embarking in journalism.

Frank A. Munsey, newspaper and magazine publisher of national reputation, attempted to establish a chain of weekly journals devoted to social, political, theatrical, and literary news and gossip, and interested Francis B. Lee to the extent of launching *Trenton Town Topics*, February 2, 1889. Only a few numbers were issued. Mr. Lee assisted in the production of Harry A. Donnelly's *Town Topics* two years later (see below).

In addition to the long roll of newspapers devoted to general journalistic purposes, a considerable number might be listed which appealed to some special interest. Of this type have been R. Henri Herbert's *Sentinel*, published in the '80's for the furtherance of the welfare of the Negro race;¹³ the *Potters' Journal*, founded by John D. McCormick and afterwards issued by Reuben Forker as the *Trades Union Advocate*; the *Catholic Journal*, with which at different periods beginning December 3, 1886, C. B. Cozzens, D. J. Wallace, Thomas Keating, John P. Dullard and the Right Rev. Thaddeus Hogan were identified; William Hy Beable's *Anglo-American*; John W. and E. G. Moody's *Mercer County News*, devoted chiefly to Chambersburg matters; *Town Topics*, a social, dramatic and political review of quality issued in 1891 by Harry A. Donnelly; *Town Talk* of the same general character, first published by George Holcomb and afterwards by C. M. Barcalow; and the *Acme* which Colonel William E. Pedrick, the artist, published. These were all weeklies and all have gone out of existence. *Beecher's Magazine*, an ambitious periodical, appeared as an illustrated and literary monthly in January 1870, its publisher being Joseph A. Beecher, who later became a member of the Bar. It at one time promised to take a place among the higher class of magazine publications but this hope was not

¹³ Herbert's *Sentinel* must not be confounded with the *Union Sentinel* (1866) nor the *Daily Sentinel* (1870), both of which were started by Charles W. Jay and were short lived.

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realized.¹⁴ The *Arena*, a Boston magazine of somewhat radical tendencies but ably edited by B. O. Flower, was transferred to this city, Albert Brandt continuing its publication for some years.

Following two earlier publications—*The Trenton Jewish World* (Budson, Miller and Firestein, 1909), and *The Trenton Jewish Weekly* (H. Waxler, 1916)—*The Community Messenger*, a monthly in magazine form, has made a favorable impression as the organ of local Jewry. Sidney Goldmann is the editor-in-chief with an extensive staff. Sidney Marcus founded the original *Messenger* in 1919, but later Dr. H. M. Chaseman reestablished the magazine (1924). Publication is under the auspices of the Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A.

Trenton, under the direction of the chamber of commerce, edited and issued by the Kenneth W. Moore Company, is "a constructive monthly review of people, facts and events which are making for a 'greater and better' Trenton." Additional strength is given to the publication by the fine finish of its illustrations.

The State Schools, the State School for the Deaf, and the Trenton High School have had publications. The *Signal* of the State Schools attained a reputation under Francis B. Lee's editorship. Special denominational, Sunday School and secret fraternity organs also have fostered the purposes of various organizations. To this formidable roll may also be added newspapers published for the several foreign colonies.

INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS

The influence of the local press from first to last has been of the first magnitude. No doubt Trenton's eminence as the State capital has aided in no small degree to establish it as a headquarters for public news of interest and importance. The state and federal courts located here have been the theaters of overshadowing events at times. Therein have been fought out many

¹⁴ Beecher, by the way, later published the *Essex County Press* and in 1876 was sentenced to thirty days in the county jail for libelling Henry S. Little, clerk in chancery, in connection with acceptance of certain official fees.

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famous litigations. Celebrated trials have taken place within their precincts involving life, liberty and large property interests. Aside from the tribunals of justice, the state conventions of the great political parties have been held in Trenton, and state fraternities and bodies of citizens, combining for various important ends, have usually come to the capital to enunciate their principles and transact vital business. The annual sessions of the Legislature of course have been prolific of news. All this has enhanced Trenton's value as a center of information of public interest and has fostered the enterprise of newspaper publication.

Much official patronage in the past aided liberal expenditures to produce good newspapers, before the era of large advertising and big circulation began to enable publishers to stand on their own feet without the need of subsidies.

A FAMOUS PRINTING NEIGHBORHOOD

The intersection of State and Broad Streets, by the way, was during a full century notable for its newspaper and literary associations. Besides the *Gazette* at the northwest corner, the *True American* had in its early days been printed from a building almost directly opposite on Broad Street, and after spending the Civil War years under Judge Naar at the southwest corner of Warren and Front Streets, returned to the old neighborhood April 1, 1872, occupying the southeast corner of State and Broad Streets and taking over the entire building, the first floor of which had been well established by Charles Scott as a book and stationery store since the early '40's. At this southeast corner, C. W. Jay, F. S. Mills and Joseph Justice had commenced the publication of the *Trentonian* in 1848. The *Trenton Daily News* (1849) had its office on Broad Street a few doors above the old City Hall, the same site as the early *True American* occupied.

There was also a bookstore for some time at the northwest corner, under what was later the *Gazette* printing office, the bookseller being John A. Howell. Again the *Trenton Times* was first printed at the southwest corner of this same literary mart. All three papers—*Gazette*, *True American* and *Times*—had flourishing weekly issues for a time, and at each of the three corners there was a large output of printed matter from job offices.

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It was at the southeast corner that Isaac Collins, famous printer of the Revolutionary period, had his plant.¹⁵ All in all, the junction of State and Broad Streets occupies a striking place in the literary annals of the town. Singular to relate, every vestige of its old character has disappeared within recent years.

II. Trenton Authors and Their Books

TRENTON has produced not only able journalists but men and women of distinction in the more permanent forms of literature. Having so many interesting associations with the past, it is not singular that works of history are conspicuous in the city's literary output. The standard works upon the important Revolutionary events which centered in Mercer and Monmouth Counties, are from the pen of the late General William S. Stryker, for over twenty years Adjutant General of New Jersey. General Stryker, with a military training gained in the Civil War and with a natural and scholarly bent for the study of military records, gave many years of his life to the preparation of his *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (1898). A posthumous work by the same author is *The Battle of Monmouth* (1927), which is equally authoritative and which was prepared for publication by William Starr Myers of the faculty of Princeton University.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Some New Jersey Printers and Printing in the Eighteenth Century" by William Nelson (on file in the State Library) contains many interesting details about Isaac Collins and his publications.

Like all early printers, Collins experienced difficulty in securing a sufficient supply of white paper. Notices like the following (*New Jersey Gazette*, December 24, 1777) are not infrequent: "A good price and ready money is given by the Printer hereof, for clean linen rags and hog bristles." Nor was scarcity of paper the only handicap. He had to eke out his scanty income by engaging in the sale of "a few chests of tea," "a quantity of capital medicines" and even "a Negro Boy nine years old, slim built but very active," all duly advertised. Books and stationery, tea, butter, cheese, Negro wenches, and a variety of other saleable articles were in Mr. Collins' line. (See page 39 of pamphlet named above.)

¹⁶ Gen. William Scudder Stryker was born in Trenton, June 6, 1838, and was graduated from Princeton in 1858. He enlisted on the first call for troops for the Civil War and had a creditable military career. He was Adjutant General of New Jersey from April 12, 1867, until his death,

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Another work highly regarded for its accurate reference to many secular incidents, as well as for its illuminating presentation of early church progress, is the *History of the Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.*, by the Rev. John Hall, D.D.,¹⁷ which was issued in 1859 and was revised in 1912 by Mary Anna Hall, his daughter.

John O. Raum (1871) published a *History of the City of Trenton*, containing general and statistical information of value.¹⁸ Mr. Raum to a certain extent ploughed virgin fields, gathering his material from original sources with great industry and producing the first comprehensive history of the city. Mr. Raum also published in two volumes (1877) *The History of New Jersey*. Francis B. Lee (1895) edited a *History of Trenton, N.J.* under the auspices of the *State Gazette*. It supplemented Mr. Raum's history by the variety and scope of its information and by the number of illustrations, scenic and personal, which brightened its pages.

The Genealogy of Early Settlers in Trenton and Ewing (1883) was written by the Rev. Dr. Eli F. Cooley, pastor of

October 25, 1900. He was president of the Trenton Battle Monument Association, and to him belongs much of the honor for erection of the shaft. He was also identified with numerous patriotic and historical societies. Besides his histories of the Battles of Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth, mentioned above, he wrote many valuable monographs, including *Trenton 100 Years Ago*, and compiled the New Jersey War Records of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars.

¹⁷ The Rev. John Hall, D.D., became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church on August 11, 1841; he resigned because of the infirmities of age, May 4, 1884. He died May 10, 1894, universally regretted by the citizens of Trenton because of his nobility of character, great scholarship and many services to the community no less than to his church.

¹⁸ John O. Raum, author of the first formal history of Trenton, was a native of Mill Hill, Trenton. He served the community in various positions,—city clerk (1857-59), city treasurer (1867-71), bookkeeper and accountant in the quartermaster general's office during the Civil War, and clerk in the office of the clerk of the Court of Chancery during his closing years. He was for sixteen years president of the Eagle Fire Company and always took a deep interest in the volunteer department, to which indeed he gave a rather generous share of the space in his history of Trenton. With Jesse M. Clark and Randolph H. Moore he issued in 1854 the first *City Directory* of Trenton, and he compiled a history of Trenton Lodge No. 5, F. and A.M. He was a contributor to various periodicals, lived a quiet, industrious life and died in his seventieth year, June 9, 1893.

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the historic Ewing Church; it is now a rare book and sells for from \$30 to \$50 a copy. Dr. Cooley also wrote a useful sketch of Mercer County with a description of war incidents here in 1776-77, in Barber and Howe's *Historical Collections* (1844).¹⁹ The *Genealogy* was prepared for the press by Miss Hannah L. Cooley. Dr. Cooley's narrative of the Crossing of the Delaware and the Battle of Trenton was first printed in a series of papers in the *State Gazette* (1843) and was based largely on conversations had with survivors from the Revolutionary period.²⁰

Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey has made many valuable contributions to the historical literature of the State and city, some of his publications being as follows:

The Commander-in-Chief's Guard, (1904, 302 pages); *Organization of the Provisional Army of the United States in the Anticipated War with France, 1798-1800*, (1914; originally printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*); *The Dutch Trading Post* (at Trenton), read before the Trenton Historical Society, March 20, 1919; *The Lenape Indians, their Origin and Migration to the Delaware*, (1919); *Sketch of Major Henry Washington Sawyer, First Regiment, Cavalry, New Jersey Volunteers; Locating the Exact Site where Congress met in Trenton, 1784; Washington's March to Trenton on Christmas Night in 1776*. All these are on file at the State Library, Trenton.

¹⁹ The Rev. Eli Field Cooley, D.D., was born at Sunderland, Mass., October 15, 1781, and was graduated from Princeton in 1806. He was pastor of Ewing Church, April 10, 1823, to July 19, 1857. He died April 22, 1860, and was buried in Ewing Cemetery.

²⁰ This latter fact is interesting because Dr. Cooley held to the theory that the Continentals divided at Birmingham (now Trenton Junction) and not at Bear Tavern. Had the latter theory been correct, General Greene's Division, which General Washington accompanied, would have passed Ewing Church and the argument is made that so memorable an event could not have escaped the vigilance of the studious Dr. Cooley, who became pastor of the church within fifty years after the famous march, and of old parishioners who would have treasured and proclaimed their knowledge. The whole matter was apparently settled in favor of Birmingham through the adoption of that route by General William S. Stryker in his *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* but Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, after painstaking researches, read a paper before the Trenton Historical Society, March 20, 1924, in which he contended for Bear Tavern as the dividing point. See also the chapter, "The Two Battles of Trenton," by Frederick L. Ferris, in this History.

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Among other contributions to local historical lore should be mentioned John F. Hageman's part in the preparation of the *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (1883). He wrote the chapters on Mercer County which include many facts of interest concerning Trenton and a number of illustrated sketches of early Trentonians.

Charles C. Haven wrote extensively upon the Second Battle of Trenton, or the Battle of the Assunpink, being the first to fix the real importance of that engagement. Several slender volumes like *Thirty Days in New Jersey*, *Annals of Trenton*, etc., present his narrative and argument.²¹

Historic Trenton by Louise Hewitt (1916) and *Trenton Old and New* by Harry J. Podmore (1928) consist of illustrated sketches dealing with outstanding phases of local history.



CHARLES CHAUNCEY HAVEN, THE VENERABLE EULOGIST OF THE SECOND BATTLE OF TRENTON, OCCUPIED ONE OF "THE COTTAGES," EAST STATE STREET, WHERE HE HELD NUMEROUS PATRIOTIC CELEBRATIONS.

In addition local history is covered by monographs upon various of our city churches, like General James F. Rusling's *State Street M.E. Church 1859-1886*, the Right Rev. Mon-

²¹ Charles Chauncey Haven was the son of the Rev. Samuel Haven, LL.D., of Portsmouth, N.H., who "made saltpetre out of the unsunned earth taken from beneath his own church and other old buildings with which powder was made" to do service against the British, Portsmouth,

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signor John H. Fox's *A Century of Catholicity in Trenton* (1900), the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler's *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church 1858-1910*, *The [Catholic] Diocese of Trenton*, by the Rev. Walter J. Leahy, and others of that nature; there is much interesting historical information also in publications devoted to fire and police departments, the post office, various fraternal lodges, to local industries and to our financial institutions. Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey has compiled separate bound volumes dealing with the Mechanics National Bank, the Trenton Banking Company, and the Trenton Savings Bank.

A work of genuine importance ranking with the Rev. Dr. John Hall's Presbyterian history is *A History of St. Michael's Church, Trenton, 1703-1926*, by the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler (1926). It is valuable not only as an ecclesiastical history but also because of its wealth of data upon civic affairs and its interesting sketches of numerous Trentonians who have bulked large in the public life of the remote and recent past.

Francis B. Lee wrote *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (1902), which was published in four large volumes by the Publishing Society of New Jersey. A genealogical and personal history entitled *Mercer County, N.J.*, was edited by Mr. Lee in two volumes for the Lewis Publishing Company in 1907. Mr. Lee's additional literary labors covered a wide field, including much in periodicals of standing. William E. Sackett, although not a Trentonian, may be mentioned for his *Modern Battles of Trenton* (1895), a political review of State House affairs from 1868 to 1894, with a second volume carrying the history to 1914.

it is said, having witnessed the first outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Charles Chauncey Haven, fired with patriotic impulses, took up early in life a study of such episodes as the Battles of Trenton. He settled in Trenton about the year 1846, being then sixty years of age, and he soon became prominent here. His historical studies led him to correspond with Daniel Webster, Mr. Adams, Mr. Choate, Mr. Clay, Bancroft, Lossing, Irving and others, all of whom professed a deep interest in his researches. He wrote freely to the newspapers on subjects of public interest and addressed numerous assemblages in support of patriotic causes, including the marking of the Trenton battlefield with a monument. The *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser* of November 11, 1923, has a lengthy sketch of Mr. Haven who died September 8, 1874, in his eighty-eighth year, universally regretted. A daughter became the wife of the late Chief Justice Mercer Beasley.

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One of Trenton's newer additions to the ranks of authorship is James Kerney, editor and publisher of the *Trenton Times* newspapers, who sprang into fame overnight, as it were, with his *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* (1926). Among the many books, partly biographical and partly critical, written about the War President, Mr. Kerney's has been accredited a particularly high rank, because it gave what all recognized as a faithful picture of a baffling personage in the public life of his time. *The Political Education* took the most interesting and most crucial period of Mr. Wilson's career and neither praising unduly nor setting down aught in malice, revealed the man and the official as his most intimate friends knew him. The fact that the Kerney work has been adopted as a text-book in Princeton University and other universities of the land is perhaps sufficient proof of the place it has been awarded in American political literature.

SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY

Trenton has supplied the ground for scientific inquiry touching prehistoric man, two of the ablest and most painstaking students upon that theme having been Dr. Charles C. Abbott and Ernest Volk. The former wrote voluminously and with a literary style of rare charm, treating the paleontology and archeology as well as the flora and fauna of this vicinity, particularly of the section south of Trenton, where he resided, and which was his "workshop" for many years. Always a welcome contributor to prominent newspapers and magazines, he also wrote a lengthy series of works on such subjects as *The Stone Age in New Jersey* (1875); *A Naturalist's Rambles about Home* (1884); *Waste Land Wanderings* (1887); *Recent Archaeological Explorations in the Valley of the Delaware* (1892); *Travels in a Tree-Top* (1894); *The Birds About Us* (1894); and *Ten Years in Lenape Land* (1901-11), with numerous illustrations demonstrating prehistoric settlement.

The most important achievement of Dr. Abbott's career, in his own judgment, was the "Abbott Collection" at the Peabody Institute, Harvard University. His later years were spent in bringing together an archeological collection at Princeton Uni-

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versity under the patronage of the late Moses Taylor Pyne. It may be worth while to quote some words from the distinguished student, fixing his creed with respect to primitive man. In his preface to *Ten Years in Lenape Land* (March 4, 1912), he referred to his declaration of 1877-78 when he "announced in most unequivocal terms that man's antiquity had been demonstrated by discoveries that associated him with at least the clos-



ERNEST VOLK AND DR. C. C. ABBOTT, EXPLORING FOR RELICS OF EARLY MAN
IN THE DELAWARE RIVER VALLEY.

ing activities of the glacial period last occurring and, inferentially, that he dwelt here previous to this physico-climatic condition; that man witnessed the retirement of the glacier from the valley of the Delaware and was familiar with an arctic

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fauna that roamed through the land and disported in the icy waters of the river, the mastodon, elephant, caribou, musk-ox, walrus and seal." This position was attacked and even ridiculed but the "most violent outbursts of protest have come from those who have never visited the locality."

Dr. Abbott's works possess an international reputation and his contributions in the nature of findings and reports are on file at several American museums. *His Colonial Wooing* has local historical interest.²²

Ernest Volk's fame rests chiefly on his printed report of 258 pages to Peabody Institute, Harvard University, entitled *The Archaeology of the Delaware Valley*, which embodies the results of years of indefatigable industry with the spade, and of intelligent and enthusiastic study. Accompanying the text are two maps, 126 original plates and 22 illustrations.²³

Among Trentonians who have produced notable books of a scientific nature is the late Professor Austin C. Apgar of the State Schools, whose *Trees in Northern United States* is the chief of his numerous writings upon botanical subjects.

Dr. Alfred C. Stokes was a lifelong student of microscopy

²² Dr. Charles Conrad Abbott was born in Trenton, June 6, 1843. He was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania as a physician in 1866, but quickly turned to archeology as his chief life work. Timothy Abbott of the same family was a naturalist and scientist of note, and Dr. Abbott's maternal grandfather was professor of mineralogy and botany in the University of Perma. Dr. Abbott began explorations along the Delaware in 1872, first representing the Peabody Academy, Salem, Mass., and in 1876 transferring to the Peabody Museum of Harvard. His *Primitive Industries* (1881) was accompanied by five hundred illustrations. In 1889 Dr. Abbott resigned from Harvard and devoted himself to work for his own pleasure and for private individuals. The destruction of "Three Beeches," his old family seat, associated with most of his nature studies, was a sad blow a few years before his death, which occurred in July 1919.

²³ Ernest Volk was born in Baden, Germany, August 25, 1845. He came to the United States in 1867 and served for twenty-two years under F. W. Putnam of the Peabody Museum, amassing an almost incredible number of specimens of man's antiquity in the vicinity of Trenton. While most of his work is represented in the collection at Peabody, there are specimens of his findings in the Field Museum, Chicago, the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, and at the Universities of Pennsylvania and California. He was curator of a separate collection assembled at the World's Fair in Chicago after two years' explorations. He came to an untimely end September 17, 1919, the result of an automobile accident at Tunkhannock, Pa.

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who pursued his labors with a zeal equalled only by his extreme modesty. The scholarly libraries of two continents contain his *Aquatic Microscopy* (324 pages) while in more general circulation is his *Aquatic Microscopy for Beginners, or Common Objects from the Ponds and Ditches*, with 198 illustrations. Of the latter work four editions have been issued.

W. Y. Evans-Wentz, whose father was a well-known Trenton merchant, attended Leland Stanford University, California, as a young man and brought home several degrees, after which he took up his residence at Jesus College, Oxford, and has alternated there and in travel in various parts of the world. His name with the titles "M.A., D.Litt and B.Sc." appended, has appeared recently on a recondite work, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, besides which he has written *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*. In preparation of the former book he spent five years of research in India, while the latter represents years of study and observation in Ireland and other places. *Tibet's Great Yogi* is a later work.

Besides his historical work, alluded to above, the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler has produced in addition to occasional verses a bound volume—*Within the Cloister's Shadow* (1915); *Liturgical Hymns for the Church's Seasons*; a patriotic hymn—*Lord God of Hosts*, set to music by Professor Paul Ambrose of this city, officially adopted by the General Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and included in the hymnbook used by the cadets in the West Point Military Academy; *The Battle of Trenton, An Historical Narrative in Verse* (reprinted in full, below); *The Incapable*, a poem which received a prize of \$200 in competition for the best poem antithetical to Edwin Markham's *Man with the Hoe*, the prize having been offered through the *New York Sun* by the late Collis P. Huntington in 1900.

Additional prose publications of Dr. Schuyler have been: *Studies in English Church History* (1897); *A Fisher of Men*, a biography of the late Churchill Satterlee, priest and missionary (1905); *The Intellectual Crises Confronting Christianity* (1911); *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, Trenton* (1910); *An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of New Jersey* (1928).

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WOMEN WRITERS

Several Trenton women have produced meritorious and noteworthy verse. Mrs. Ellen C. Howarth, under the nom de plume of "Clementine," attracted the attention of Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *The Century Magazine*, who thought so well of her work which had been appearing in a fragmentary way in the local press that he collected and published two volumes, *The Wind Harp and Other Poems* (1864), and *Mrs. Howarth's Poems* (1868), to which he wrote a eulogistic preface. During the Civil War period she wrote ringing lines that awoke patriotism, while in other efforts she gave voice to religious and tenderly sentimental emotions. Her *'Tis But a Little Faded Flower* was set to music and after fifty years is still a favorite selection. "Clementine's" delicacy of thought and refinement of expression won the admiration of Julia Ward Howe and other persons eminent in American letters, and her modest home, in consequence, often entertained distinguished visitors from distant points. The fact that she had received little early education added to the marvel of her unsophisticated genius.²⁴

"Amy Hamilton" was the pen name of Mrs. Charles B. Yard (later Mrs. Henry W. Dunn), who wrote acceptable prose and verse, the latter of soft, rhythmic quality, not infrequently touched with humor. Her short poems had a wide circulation through the press of the country, and in 1893 a number were compiled at the request of the New Jersey Women's Commission to the Columbian Exposition and were published in a volume representative of the finer work of New Jersey women.

Not because it is representative of her best literary power, but because of its historic association which affected Trenton profoundly at the time, the following spirited lines from Mrs. Dunn's pen are worthy of preservation:

²⁴ Theodore F. Wolf, M.D., a writer of much charm, had an article in *Lippincott's Magazine* of January 1900 (reprinted in part in the *Trenton Sunday Advertiser* of January 21, 1900) which, after a notice of Dr. C. C. Abbott, pays a beautiful tribute to Mrs. ("Clementine") Howarth. Her *Thou Wilt Never Grow Old* and *Watching the Stars* are singled out as poems of exquisite tenderness. She died in 1899, aged seventy-two.

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SAMOA²⁵

'Mid shrieks of storm and tempest
And whirlwind's fatal breath,
The heroes of the *Trenton*
Stood face to face with death.

"No storm-fiends' ghoulish laughter
Our funeral dirge shall be—
We'll drown their hellish chorus
With the 'Anthem of the Free.'

"Unfurl our starry standard,
Ring out 'Long may it wave'
O'er land and sea, in triumph
Above the true and brave.

"Back to your caves, ye demons!"
Cried every gleaming star;
No craven heart is beating
'Neath the jacket of a tar.

"We're sons of Dame Columbia,
And our mother won't deny
That when the worst comes to the worst,
Her sons know how to die."

* * *

Long live in song and story—
Proclaim it full and free—
Our country's flag and song
Have won another victory.

Mrs. Keturah (Bogart) Sansbury wrote occasionally in the '60's for the local press over the signature "Charity," and her verse was deemed worthy of a place in the magazines. It was sprightly or sentimental as befitted the occasion.

FICTION AND MISCELLANEOUS

Trenton's leading fictional writer was Edward S. Ellis, already alluded to in his local editorial capacity. His *Seth Jones*

²⁵ On March 16, 1889, a fierce typhoon found six American, English, and German warships in Apia Harbor. They were torn from their anchors and the *Calliope* of the British Navy alone was able to steam to the open sea, the others being dashed on the coral reef. As the Britisher passed Admiral Kimberly's sinking flagship, the *Trenton*, he led his sailors in three hearty cheers which were answered by the English seamen amid the shrieking of the storm, the band of the *Trenton* meanwhile playing the "Star-Spangled Banner."

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was the first of a long series of wholesome, entertaining "dime novels" for boys. He also wrote school histories.²⁶

Edward Ansley Stokes wrote *So Runs the World Away* and *A Sinner in Orders* (novels), and a book of poems, *Where Wild Birds Sing*. Mrs. Mary Manville Pope, besides serial fiction, published an amusing story in book form, *Up the Matterhorn in a Boat*; and Leon D. Hirsch wrote *The Man Who Won*, a political novel (1918). Other local works are John S. Merzbacher's *Trenton's Foreign Colonies*; J. Wallace Hoff's *Two Hundred Miles on the Delaware River* (a canoe cruise from its head-waters to Trenton); Frederick Lucas's *Barnegat Yarns*; Louis C. Gosson's *Post-Bellum Campaigns of 1881-82*; Dr. Charles Skelton's *Early History of the Public Schools of the City of Trenton* (1876), *Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul Sustained by Modern Scientific Discoveries* (1877), and other treatises; Charles W. Jay's *My Home in Michigan*; standard school books by Professor John S. Hart and Levi Seeley of the State Model Schools; General James F. Rusling's *Across the Continent*; and Mrs. Fisher-Andrews' *Around the World by Auto*.

Charles Burr Todd, originally a New England journalist, spent the last dozen years of his life in and about Trenton, and contributed many carefully prepared local historical sketches to the newspapers. *A Washington's Crossing Sketch Book* is a brief, readable work, descriptive and historical. He also wrote *Story of the City of New York*, *Story of Washington*, *True Aaron Burr*, *In Old Massachusetts*, and many other titles.

Joseph H. West deserves mention for the painstaking historical sketches which he produced, all remarkable for their

²⁶ Edward S. Ellis was born at Geneva, Ohio, April 11, 1840, and received the honorary degree of A.M. from Princeton in 1887. He came to Trenton as a young man to teach, and became principal of the Trenton High School; later trustee, and then superintendent of public schools. Besides his local newspaper work and his numerous juvenile stories (including the "Deer-foot" series), he wrote *Eclectic Primary History of the United States*, 1885; *Youth's History of the United States*, 1887; *History of Our Country*, 1896; *Standard History of the United States*, 1898; *The Story of the World's Greatest Nations*, 1908; and also a history of New York and a history of New Jersey. His later years were spent at Upper Montclair, N.J., where he died June 21, 1916, at the age of seventy-six.

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accuracy and original research. They unfortunately have never been assembled in book form. He merits special credit for establishing Washington's route to Princeton from Trenton January 2, 1777, a change of roads having obscured public knowledge on the subject. In Stryker's *The Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (page 279) Mr. West's map is printed with due credit.

Moses D. Naar wrote *Election and Suffrage*, a book recognized by the legal profession of his day as authoritative.

The Rev. Alfred Wesley Wishart, then pastor of the Central Baptist Church, wrote a *Short History of Monks and Monastery* (1900).

The Rev. Dr. John Hall, author of *The Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.* (see above), also wrote *Memoirs of Matthew Clarkson of Philadelphia, 1735-1880*, who was the author's great-grandfather.

Dr. James B. Coleman, Trenton's leading surgeon years ago, was a scholarly writer whose contributions to professional and general periodicals possessed literary value.

Hugh Williamson Kelly, a former Trenton journalist and now a manufacturer at Woodbridge, N.J., has written much humorous verse upon contemporary politics and society, which finds a place in the *Trenton Times* newspapers.

Other volumes that have conferred distinction on Trenton writers have been *Pastoral Letters* by the Right Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, and *Sermons, Doctrinal and Moral* (1915), by the Right Rev. Monsignor Thaddeus Hogan.

Sarah Byrd Askew, of the New Jersey Public Library Commission, has written *The Man, the Place and the Book*, and John J. Cleary, besides other historical monographs, has written "Catholic Pioneers of Trenton, N.J." in *Historical Record and Studies*.

Marvin A. Riley, Sr., has written magazine articles for *Recreation*, verses for *Ainslee's* and other magazines, and the play "Searchlight" in collaboration with Walter Fox Allen. Five musical books for the Trenton Y.M.H.A. and vaudeville sketches are also among his literary products.

B. B. McAvoy has written a number of classic plays in metered verse.

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Thomas B. Usher is the author of various books on the departments of municipal government and on taxation. He was for fourteen years secretary of the State board of taxes and assessment.

The late Thomas F. Fitzgerald edited for forty years that admirable compendium of statistical and general information, the *New Jersey Legislative Manual*, besides during the same period publishing annually the *Trenton City Directory*. John P. Dullard has continued the *Legislative Manual* with Mrs. Fitzgerald as proprietor.

CITY DIRECTORIES

The first city directory was published in 1854 by Jesse M. Clark, Randolph H. Moore and John O. Raum. It contained the names and locations of all streets and alleys, numbering eighty-seven, a short history of Trenton, the original Act of incorporation, and a description of the Delaware Bridge, the Assunpink Creek, and the Battle of Trenton. The boundaries of the city were given, the boundaries of the several wards, the State, County, and city officers, churches and hotels, as well as a general directory of the names, residences, and occupations of the inhabitants. It contained one hundred and thirty-six pages.

The second directory published in 1857 by William H. Boyd contained two hundred and seventy-eight pages, a business directory, a history of Trenton, and State, County and city matters.

The third directory, published in 1859 by William H. Boyd, contained two hundred and fifty-five pages and a business directory of Burlington and Mercer Counties.

The fourth directory was published in 1865 by J. H. Lant (Albany, N.Y.)—180 pages; in 1867 Webb and Fitzgerald of New York were the publishers, William T. Nicholson, local stationer, being their agent; in 1868 Lant figures again on the title page, and in 1869 William F. Crosley; in 1870 Webb Brothers were the publishers, continuing with an issue for 1871; Lant issued the directory for 1872; the Boyds resumed publication in 1873 and continued to and including 1876; Mains and Fitzgerald, both of Trenton, took up the work in 1877 and

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Thomas F. Fitzgerald became sole proprietor in 1880, from that time forward.

In some of the early directories colored residents were listed separately, and in at least one edition houses of ill fame were indicated.

AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE IN VERSE

The following narrative verses dealing with the most glorious episode in Trenton's history and inspired by a notable occasion are printed below, thus giving them the recognition which they are entitled to in the literary annals of the city.

"THE BATTLE OF TRENTON"

BY HAMILTON SCHUYLER

Recited by the author at the dinner given by the Trenton Historical Society in commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of the Battles of Trenton, December 29, 1926, and subsequently published in book form with illustrations by George A. Bradshaw.

Prologue

Listen, my masters! if indeed ye deign
To hear in verse the story once again
Of how the troops of Washington's command
From Pennsylvania crossed to Jersey land
Upon a wild and bitter Christmas night,
And marched to Trenton ere the morning's light,
And took the Hessians with complete surprise,
A victory winning, glorious in the eyes
Of all who know the worth of that event;
How to the failing patriot cause it lent
A hope renewed, and gained us fresh support,
As was admitted at the British Court.
*"All our hopes were blasted by that sad affair
Which occurred at Trenton"*—so they did declare.

The Crossing of the Delaware

The night is chill and dismal
With mingled snow and hail,
The bodies of the ragged troops
Are shivering in the gale,
The very ground is reddened
With the blood from shoeless feet,
But hearts are stout and steady
And high with courage beat.
The ice-floe on the Delaware
Is drifting fierce and strong,

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As company by company
The river-banks they throng.
All silently they load the boats,
Nor dare to show a light,
Lest Hessian scouts take warning
And thus forestall a fight.

The Midnight March to Trenton

Assembled on the further bank
They march through drifting snow,
All safely led by trusty guides
Who well the country know.
Dividing then in columns twain,
Where forked ways are seen,
By "River Road" goes Sullivan,
By "Pennington" goes Greene.
And Washington, himself the chief,
Elects with Greene to ride,
Together with his gallant aides
Attending by his side;
Sterling, Mercer, Hamilton;
They are a valiant band,
And Forrest, Fermoy, Stephen;
None braver in the land.
The Philadelphia Light Horse comes
To join the dangerous quest;
And sturdy Knox, whose bulky form
Now serves to point a jest.
With Sullivan rides Glover,
And St. Clair, Hugg and Neil,
With Sargeant too, and Moulder;
All hearts of tempered steel.
Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! The way
Is perilous and drear.
Patience is the watchword
And Hope the soldier's cheer.
The icy winds are chilling
The body, limb and brain;
Not long can human nature
Endure the awful strain.
Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! The roads
Are iron-hard with frost.
Tramp! Tramp! Tramp! The victory
Must be won at any cost.

The Attack on the Town at Dawn

But lo! the day is breaking,
Behold, the town is near,
The Hessian outposts challenge;
They fire and disappear.

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So, the alarm is sounded,
And now upon the run
The Continentals enter,
The battle has begun.
Hemmed in between two forces
The Hessians waver, break;
Confused and in disorder
Know not which way to take.
Some seek to make surrender,
While others strive to find
A refuge from the galling fire,
Before, between, behind.
The riflemen with steady aim
From sheltering fence and wall
Pour murderous fire upon the foe
And threaten one and all.
Artillery upon the heights,
Where Federals hold the hill
Above the town, take dreadful toll
And rake the streets at will.
Hasten, ye Hessians! All is lost!
Capture or death your fate!
If ye would save your wretched lives,
Surrender! ere too late.

Christmas Night at Trenton

With Christmas toasts and greetings duly drunk
The village folk are deep in slumber sunk,
Dreaming, it may be, of the coming day
When British rule shall cease its hated sway.
Along the silent streets no footfall sounds,
Save that of sentry passing on his rounds.
Four! five! and six! o'clock. "All's well!"
The watchman's voice drones out his hourly spell.
Though dawn approaches and the darkness wanes,
A dim light flickers still through barrack panes.
Some Hessian yagers, lingering yet, prolong
The festive hour with drinking bout and song.
One rises up alert, with listening ear;
"Harken!" he cries, "What's that I seem to hear?"
" 'Tis naught! 'Tis naught! Sit down and have a mug
Of this good ale; so tight we are and snug
On such a night. Let's take our well-earned ease,
While sentries go their rounds and numbly freeze,
And we, my mates, enjoy the warmth within
And by this cheery fireside toast our shin.
Come, Kamarad, calm thyself! Dost thou not think
The time has come to have another drink?"

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"*Mein Gott!*" Again—"But that's a musket shot!"
"*Du bist verrückt!*" 'Tis but some drunken sot
Of ours, just now, who's let his matchlock fall.
'Tis that ye heard. Our trusty Colonel Rall
He knows what's up. This very night he feasts
At Abram Hunt's. No fear those Yankee beasts
Will venture out and show themselves tonight;
Not they, *Nein! Nein!* They only know to fight
And run away. They never will attack,
They haven't got the spunk, besides they lack,
Those swine, the skill and arms to match our men.
If the 'Old Fox' doesn't quit his den
We'll dig him out some fine day soon
And make him caper to a Hessian tune."
"*Der Teufel! Donnerblitzen!* What was that?"
And now the musket shots ring out. Pat! Pat!
The bullets go. The buglers sound alarms—
"*Der Feind! Der Feind! Heraus!* To arms! To arms!"

The Hessian Commander Colonel Rall

At Abram Hunt's the Christmas cheer is spread
And Rall is feasted till the night is sped.
He lingers o'er the playing-cards and toasts.
Good easy man! He sees and fears no ghosts
A Tory spy, with message at the door—
"*The foe they cross this night to Jersey's shore!*"
Unread the warning till, alas! too late,
And Rall unheeding rushes on his fate.
Late to his quarters, in a tumbled heap
He lies upon his bed in heavy sleep;
But what is that assails his deadened ear?
A voice cries out—"The enemy is here
And now attacks us in the very town."
Rall rises up with muttered curse and frown
And hurriedly throws on his scattered clothes,
Not yet believing it can be his foes.
Mounting his horse, the "Hessian Lion" stands
At bay, and hoarsely issues his commands.
Too late! Too late! For with the morning sun
The day is lost—the victory is won.

The Death of Colonel Rall

Wounded to death, amid the din and shots
They bring his body back to Stacy Potts'.
Rall lies there speechless, gasps a while for breath;
A valiant man, but rash, he welcomes death,
And Washington, the chivalrous and bold,
Attends his beaten foe, will not withhold
His meed of sorrow for the grievous state
Of one who bravely meets a soldier's fate.
His tomb is here; we know its place today,

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Although no stone is set to mark the clay.²⁷
His epitaph—"*Here Colonel Rall lies dead;*
All's over with him"—so a comrade said.

L'Envoi

Ay! "All's over with him" and his hireling crew
Long years ago; King George, his soldiers too.
And Washington, with those who won the fight
At Trenton on that memorable night,
They too, have passed, but yet their memories stay
As we to them our grateful tributes pay.
There but remains the record of those years
Of blood and battles, terror, death and tears,
Of victory achieved, of freedom won,
Of all we are and all we since have done.
My story's finished; only this word more—
Keep ye the faith the Fathers kept of yore!

²⁷ Tradition says that Colonel Rall was buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church, but the exact spot is unknown.

CHAPTER XVI

Trenton's Recreations

BY JOHN J. CLEARY

I. Popular Picnic Groves and Washington Retreat

NO CITY has gone in for play more heartily than Trenton. If "the groves were God's first temples," so they afforded the earliest opportunity to our people for wholesome recreation, and though the picnic grounds of the nineteenth century are now no more, Trenton's present-day park system may be said to be continuing the tradition.

THE PICNIC GROVES

The first local picnic ground was Drum Darrach, owned by John Scully, where the local papers reported several outings, notably "a Fourth of July frolic" in 1827. Drum Darrach, it is said, was a fine demesne in Ireland near which Scully spent his youth and which lingered pleasantly in his memory as he acquired means in the New World. It was located opposite the Beakes homestead or a short distance above the present Junior High School No. 1, running from Princeton to Brunswick Avenues, eight acres in extent, and provided with abundant shade and a stream of water fed from natural springs. There was also a quarry on the property, which doubtless paid the proprietor better than did the picnic rentals. A feature of the Fourth of July frolic, above mentioned, was generous fare and a series of toasts dedicated to patriotic and sentimental thoughts.

We read subsequently that in 1847 the wooded spot was used as a recruiting camp for the Mexican War.

JACKSON'S WOODS

Jackson's Woods was a favorite resort for a number of years beginning in the '50's. Older citizens recall it with agreeable recollections. Situated to the south of Hamilton Avenue and east of what is now Chestnut Avenue, the location seems near today but before the era of improved roads it was quite a journey out Sandtown Road, which was appropriately named, a team of horses painfully pulling each omnibus, well filled, to the scene of festivities. Once arrived, however, a well-shaded grove, with a dancing platform, liquid refreshments, a flying circus and the other appurtenances of picnic pleasure fifty to seventy-five years ago were accounted well worth the difficulties of the journey. The local papers mention among the important gatherings at Jackson's Woods the first annual picnic of the Eagle Fire Company, July 4, 1860, a picnic of the Delaware Fire Company on August 6 of the

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same year, and on September 3 a picnic of the Goodwill Fire Company. The old volunteer firemen, by the way, were conspicuous in the organization of social functions, whether outdoors, or in the dancing halls of the city when the weather was unfavorable. Besides picnics and dances, they contributed not a little to public enjoyment by street parades in gorgeous equipment and by their exchanges of visits with out-of-town departments. Some of those excursions carried them as far as New England and constituted outstanding features of local recreational history until the advent of the paid department.

OTHER PICNIC GROVES

Other picnic groves of the period alluded to were Moses Woods, west of Calhoun Street and above the canal feeder, and Evans Woods, on Brunswick Avenue. It is not unlikely that the latter was an outgrowth of Drum Darrach. A "grand picnic of the Operative Potters Society" in the latter grove July 18, 1864, attracted special notice.

Two resorts that enjoyed much prestige were Morrisville Grove and Edge Hill Grove. The former possesses some historic interest since within its boundaries, just south of the main street in Morrisville, General Jean Victor Moreau lived in state while suffering exile from France (1805-13) because of his part in a conspiracy against Napoleon whom previously he had served with distinction at Hohenlinden and elsewhere. His elegant country seat was burned to the ground Christmas Day, 1811, and in after years the magnificent grove adjoining became a much admired picnic ground, patronized not alone by Trentonians but also by excursionists from Philadelphia and other cities. The annual picnic of the employees of the New Jersey Steel and Iron Companies used to draw immense crowds, a special attraction being a program of sports in which the bosses as well as the men participated. Edge Hill Grove, on the Pennsylvania side directly opposite the Trenton filtering plant, was picturesquely situated on elevated ground, not a few huge rocks marking the landscape, and many picnics were held there, especially during the proprietorship of John Thines, a popular Trenton saloon keeper. It was patronized through the '60's, '70's and '80's, but eventually real estate operators diverted the property from its original purpose, as they had done in the case of Morrisville Grove.

Hetzel's Grove, lying along the Assumpink east of Olden Avenue, probably enjoyed a longer reign of favor than any other local picnic haunt. During the Civil War, the property served as a barracks and Jacob Hetzel as early as 1854 established a brewery there. The shaded grounds adjoining later became a resort for parties, public and private. It was in particular favor with the German societies and their Canstatter Volks Fests especially stand out in happy recollection. Target shoots, local Grand Army encampments, demonstrations by political clubs and Labor Day celebrations supplied a few of the many notable occasions staged at Hetzel's. A number of athletic meets were held there, including some of the famous sprinting matches for which Trenton was noted years ago. Trenton produced world winners on the cinder path. Fred Rodgers,¹ Harry Huff, Mike

¹ Rodgers did 132½ yards in 12¼ seconds (flat start) over thirty-five competitors in the Manchester (England) handicaps. He and Harry Huff of Trenton took part in the races.

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Cody, Wesley Foster, "Chink" Davis and John Jamieson (a one-armed runner) all brought fame to the city, as did Pat Cavanagh, only a hod-carrier, but who figured in various six-day races and once won the belt as national champion, averaging over one hundred miles a day. John L. Sullivan was one of the kings of the fistic ring who boxed at Hetzel's and the occasion was made notable by the fact that Samuel K. Wilson, Trenton's millionaire woollen manufacturer whose life ordinarily was spent in his mills, drove out to feast his eyes on the mighty man of muscle. Other proprietors succeeded Hetzel after 1881 and for a time it was known as Hill's Grove; the ground is now part of a city playground.

Trenton has had various additional picnic groves, including one at Trenton Junction, and another at Broad Street Park, to say nothing of Cochran Park or Morris Island on the river within sight of Riverview. Cochran Park was a popular picnic resort for some years and it was the scene of numerous sporting events while it lasted. Its name is linked with a tragedy of July 4, 1879, when, the Consolloys then operating the place, the steamboat wharf gave way in the rush evening hour and numbers of excursionists were precipitated in the water. Three persons lost their lives and many narrowly escaped drowning.

Afterwards Andrew Cochran assumed the management and it was for some seasons a popular picnic and sporting resort. Sprinting, boxing and bicycling (then in its prime) were favorite diversions. All the local pugilists tried for purses and on one occasion "Snake" Vaughn and Charlie Moore fought on a barge anchored off the island. The crowning sporting event at Cochran Park was "Bob" Fitzsimmons' daily training there in preparation for one of his battles. It was also the training ground for Charley McKeever, a famous Philadelphia boxer in his day.

WASHINGTON RETREAT

Trenton's public park system, which had much to do with superseding the old picnic grounds of fragrant memory, had its start in the acquirement of Cadwalader Park (1888), following a lengthy agitation, newspaper discussion and finally a popular vote. The story of Trenton's public parks, including the joint development of Mahlon Stacy Park by the State and the city, is told elsewhere in this History. The city playgrounds are also sufficiently treated in another chapter.

It is interesting, however, to recall in this place the unique venture of Andrew Quintin, which was the forerunner of the entire local scheme of outdoor entertainment of the public park type, although privately owned.

In 1846, Mr. Quintin, one of the first railroad passenger conductors between Trenton and Philadelphia and very much devoted to patriotic projects, purchased practically all the land running from the Assunpink to Livingston Street and bounded east and west by Montgomery and Broad Streets respectively, laying the tract out as "Washington Retreat," the

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name recalling the masterly strategy of Washington's flank movement to escape the British Army, January 2, 1777, which ended in the victory at Princeton the following day.

There were three entrances to the Retreat, the main one being from Broad Street under an artistically designed wooden archway bearing in fancy letters the park's title. The grounds were attractively designed in terraced lawns with pretty gravelled walks, a handsome fountain for goldfish, antique benches, several flower beds and a broad flight of steps leading to the water's edge, where there was a boat landing. A fleet of row boats was in active demand, pleasure parties utilizing the creek which was then a broad stream held back by a dam, for a display of masculine skill at the oars and of feminine charm in the stern. In winter the broad expanse of ice afforded opportunity for skating. The park was supplied with rest pavilions and refreshment booths and local society turned out in force to patronize Mr. Quintin's enterprise. There was a bowling alley also. Washington Retreat lasted a score of years and lived much longer in the memories of those who had enjoyed its charms. Growing value of land in this central neighborhood led to real estate operations which eventually encroached upon the entire space at disposal. At one time there was agitation to place the Trenton Battle Monument in the Retreat, the material to be brownstone from our nearby quarries.

II. The Theatres of Trenton

THE story of Trenton's theatrical life, if treated with anything like fullness, would make an interesting chapter by itself, but there is space for only a hurried summary.

The old City Hall at State and Broad Streets, erected in 1837, offered our people their first opportunity to witness travelling shows. Performances began at 7:30 p.m. and the public was summoned by ringing of the town bell half an hour in advance. As only occasional programs were available, it is fair to believe that the little second-hand "saloon," as it was called, never lacked "a full house." Panoramas like "The Pilgrim's Progress" and "The Burial of De Soto," sleight-of-hand shows and "The Swiss Bell Ringers" were sample attractions, with a "variety" program once in a while, when some of the Philadelphia companies had an open night.

TEMPERANCE AND BECHTEL HALLS

An innovation was welcomed in 1852 when Temperance Hall was built with the primary purpose of discouraging the patronage of drinking places, then scandalously common, and of providing for young men, especially, entertainment of a less questionable type.² A stock company purchased the ground at the southeast corner of Broad and Front Streets and put up the building still standing there, though very greatly remodelled for its pres-

² In the building of Temperance Hall by Henry B. Howell and others to combat the rum evil, "a jug of rum" for the workmen figures in the items of construction. The hall cost \$10,000 to build and was dedicated January 28, 1852.

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ent mercantile ends. The first floor was cut up into stores and an apartment of large dimensions was fitted up on the second floor, which could be used for church bazaars or stage entertainments. Dramas of the period, Negro minstrels and other performances attracted patronage, but enterprising Trentonians began to wake up to the possibilities of a playhouse pure and simple. David S. Quintin had purchased from Henry McCall, Jr., on August 23, 1853, the land now occupied by the Ribsam floral and agricultural plant on East Front Street, and provided the necessary accommodation for an equestrian academy, which for some years was well patronized by Trenton ladies and gentlemen, but the fickleness of taste in these matters is proverbial and we later find Mr. Quintin abandoning horses for theatricals. The property was altered and now bore the dignified title of "The Atheneum." An experienced manager was engaged and visiting and local troupes offered dramas and farces, the latter being quite popular, but after two seasons the town apparently handed the management "a lemon," or, to be more exact, a vinegar factory succeeded the Thespians. In 1864, Valentine, John and George Bechtel bought the place at a sheriff's sale and soon thereafter "Bechtel Hall" was advertised as a playhouse with a bar on the side. Everything was billed, from firemen's balls and church fairs to prize fights, with a generous intermingling of such plays by touring stock companies as could be given without a surplusage of scenic effects. One of the pronounced dramatic successes was "The Fireman's Bride," indicating the strong hold of the Volunteers upon public sentiment in those far-off days. Showing the embarrassments which players had to contend with, the dressing rooms were located in the second story front and performers had to reach the stage through the basement. Tony Pastor, then a young man, was a favorite entertainer, and "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Carncross and Dixie's Minstrels and like shows also drew well.

That Bechtel Hall enjoyed not a little prestige is indicated by the fact that more than one gubernatorial convention was held there and that several of the receptions to our soldiers returning from the Civil War also took place within its walls.

TAYLOR OPERA HOUSE

The coming of Taylor Opera House (opened March 18, 1867) meant the eclipse of both Temperance and Bechtel Halls as theatrical show places. The former went on for many years as a resort for lectures, fairs, etc., but Bechtel Hall was less adapted for such occasions and was advertised for sale in 1870.

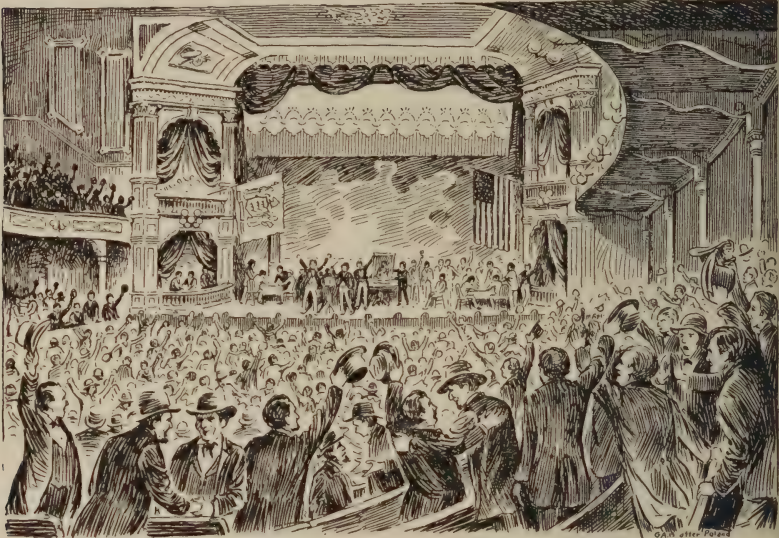
It is an interesting commentary on the state of mind of the "unco guid" at that period that John Taylor who was the chief promoter of the modern playhouse here did not dare to advertise it as a theatre but placated public feeling by calling it "Taylor Opera House." His fellow directors also yielded to public sentiment to the extent that a narrow twelve-foot stage was to be installed suitable only for concerts, lectures and other innocuous forms of entertainment, but Henry E. Finch, the architect, put in a stage 32½ feet wide and told the directors to place the blame on him for misunderstanding orders. A still more rigorous hewing of the line had attended Mr. Quintin's opening of The Atheneum in 1857.

"The influence of the theatre," commented the virtuous *State Gazette*, "is generally pernicious socially and morally. Nevertheless, we think a

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place of dramatic amusement can be maintained in this city without detriment, if it be carefully supervised."

Taylor Opera House, which had cost about \$110,000, was long the pride of local theatre-goers and not without reason, in view of the generous tributes paid to its modern construction, spacious auditorium and ample stage equipment. It was for a generation the home of the finest in dramatic performance that the country could offer. The greatest stars of the



FAMOUS SCENE IN OLD TAYLOR OPERA HOUSE, WHEN GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN AT THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF 1877 WAS NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR BY ACCLAMATION.

profession appeared here,³ tragedians, dramatic favorites, queens of the comic opera, with their perfectly trained, colorful supporting companies. To name them would mean merely a recital of the full roll of America's celebrated artists before the film seized popular favor.

OTHER THEATRES

Trenton was growing at such a rate that it became necessary in 1887 to raise the Opera House roof and put in a second gallery. After a few years, the pressure for room manifested itself again to such an extent that when a banner attraction was booked, lines of speculators stood all night awaiting the opening of the box-office in order to reserve seats. The result was the decision by a new corporation to erect a competing playhouse, the State Street Theatre, but the Taylor Hall Association, believing that if there was to be competition they had better control it themselves, purchased the old

³ Sir Henry Irving and Ellen Terry played in the old Opera House—possibly the most conspicuous visitors to act here. It is also worthy of note that Sarah Bernhardt played once in the Masonic Temple.

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United States Hotel property on North Warren Street and built the Trent Theatre for vaudeville purposes. The Trent opened December 7, 1903, and two days later the State Street Theatre had its première with Minnie Maddern Fiske and Tyrone Powers in "Mary of Magdala." The history of the two latter theatres is too familiar to necessitate lengthy chronicling here. Various ups and downs ensued, especially since the introduction of the movie. The Grand Theatre was erected on South Broad Street opposite Livingston, and later came the large South Broad Street Theatre below the Second Precinct Police Station. The Stacy and Orpheum Theatres on State Street between Broad and Montgomery Streets came along in due course, both designed for moving pictures, and now we have in addition very fine picture houses in every section of the city, including the Lincoln on North Warren Street, opened in 1928, which compares well with the handsomest of its kind in the country.

Meanwhile old Taylor's had become Keith's Capitol Theatre and has been remodelled into a gorgeous palace of amusement. The Grand has been renamed the Palace. It is only rarely that, in any of them, the spoken drama is billed, except by the Trent's occasional stock company. Trenton shares the fate of almost all American cities of its size in being transformed into a film town. In all we have now a score of playhouses, large and small.

In its long and interesting history, the Opera House, apart from theatricals, counted many notable gatherings like political state conventions of both parties, the inaugurations of New Jersey governors and mass meetings at which the cream of Republican and Democratic oratory was represented. Possibly the most historic political event enacted within its walls was the sensational nomination by acclaim of General George B. McClellan as the Democratic candidate for governor in 1877.⁴

Taylor Opera House and the Trent Theatre were sold to Frank V. Storrs of New York November 8, 1919, for the sum of \$440,000.

About 1886, William H. Lovett, a grocer at the southeast corner of Clinton Avenue and Jennie Street, made a bid for Chambersburg theatrical patronage by erecting the People's Theatre on that site, and for about a dozen years this amusement resort was maintained with more or less success. With a bar in front and an auditorium about seventy-five feet deep in the rear, vaudeville bills were offered, the house being subsequently enlarged by taking in two adjoining residences. A horseshoe gallery was added and in all nearly one thousand people could be crowded in. A. J. Walker and later Michael Murphy managed the house and Charles M. Blackford was treasurer. Lester Franklin, a Philadelphia theatrical manager, also tried to make a success by rechristening the house as the Novelty Theatre with admission fees of 6, 12, 18 and 24 cents. The successive managements included also C. Fred Ruhlman and James H. Romaine. Elmer Naylor, the one-legged acrobat, was stage manager. Years ago this theatrical venture ended in the conversion of the house into dwellings.

Other indoor amusement resorts of the long ago were Captain John

⁴ A pleasant feature at Taylor Opera House under the old régime was the presence from time to time of orators of national reputation. Among the best known were Bayard Taylor, Daniel Dougherty, "Bob" Ingersoll, Henry Ward Beecher, Dewitt Talmadge, Carl Schurz, John B. Gough, James B. Dolliver, Bret Harte and many others.

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Winter's Variety Theatre where Hoenig, Swern & Co. now have their stores; Patrick O'Neill's Varieties on Warren Street where Hooper's paint shop is located, Philion's Theatre in the Masonic Temple assembly room, Warren and State Streets; the Arcade on Hanover Street east of Broad; and the Eden Musee, under the management of Franklin & Dunn, at 133 North Broad Street. Lady sprinters, sword swallowers and various forms of human and animal freaks were shown in the Musee, as well as vaudeville—or variety, as it was then called.

AMATEUR THEATRICALS

Amateur theatricals have always engaged a large measure of interest in Trenton. Various fraternal bodies have developed talent that found expression in every form of stage representation. The drama has been a favorite vehicle, often in neighborhood halls, and not infrequently drawing large audiences to Taylor Opera House and the other regular theatres. Pleasing assistance in bringing these efforts to success has been given by the young ladies of the city. Minstrels also have been organized from season to season and musical comedy has afforded opportunities not only for capable comedians but also for soloists and choruses comprising both sexes. St. John's Hall, Lamberton Street, witnessed many popular productions and the school hall of the Immaculate Conception Church later became locally celebrated for its stage successes. To name the various groups, however, would be invidious since only a comparatively few persons at best could be cited over a long term of years.

SOME OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

Some of the organizations were induced to travel to a chain of towns within fifteen or twenty miles of Trenton and invariably they made an excellent impression. Fletcher's Minstrels, the Mercer County Wheelmen, Hills' Minstrels, Pullen's Minstrels, the Y.M.C.A. and Tindall's Ideals were in this class. Men like Thomas St. John, Reuben McDevitt, Marvin A. Riley, Sr., and Ex-Congressman Allan B. Walsh are examples of a considerable number that lent valuable aid in bringing the drama to high favor locally and thereby benefited churches, fraternal organizations and charities. As an instance, the Trenton Players over a period of five or six years, beginning in 1895, gave an annual benefit for St. Francis' Hospital. In that organization were William Rogers, Dr. F. F. C. Woodward, Clarence Morton, former Freeholder John J. Powers, John C. Hills, Frederick Fisher, Clarence Holl, August W. Endebrock, Andrew Holl, Sara Pollock, Sara Gilbert, Bessie Burns, Mrs. Minnie Beakes, Mrs. Ellis Pierson, Ray and May De Hahn.

In the '90's, Trenton enjoyed a brief but brilliant season of amateur light opera, in which a group of young musicians of decidedly superior ability

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participated. Those were the days when Carolyn Barber-Biddle, one of the best-loved musicians Trenton ever had, Ada Bonney Arrison, Annie Konover (later Mrs. B. C. Kuser), Louis Fischer, William T. Taylor and Ellwood Hutchinson, all local singers, were in their prime. It was this group, supported by a cast of close to sixty people, that staged some of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas in the old Taylor Opera House, for the benefit of the Trenton City Hospital, now McKinley Hospital.

Two performances of "Pinafore," put on May 20 and 21, 1891, met with such favor that a third had to be given by popular demand, and the theatre was again crowded. An old playbill of "Pinafore" reveals that the leading rôles were sung by the foregoing group, supported by Frank Roberts, Robert Howell, and Alex Turford, while the "sisters, cousins and aunts" included many of the socially and musically prominent young men and women of the city. Among the "sailors" were General Frederick Gilkyson, Dr. J. H. McCullough, Edward H. and Albert Manser, Gouverneur V. Packer, now a distinguished United States Army officer, A. W. McGuire, Chris B. Tunstall, Andrew Berrien, E. E. Tatler, J. S. Worthington and John Yard.

So successful were the productions and such attention did they attract that offers were made the performers to accept professional engagements.

In April of the same year, these men and women gave a production of "The Mikado," which was also tremendously popular. H. C. Taylor was the manager of this show, and Walter West was musical director. Mrs. Barber-Biddle sang "Yum-Yum," John Yard "The Mikado," William T. Taylor "Ko-Ko," Frank W. Bamford "Pooh Bah" and Harriet Dickinson "Katisha." Charles W. Pette was musical director for the "Pinafore" performance, H. C. Taylor stage manager, and John G. Muirhead and H. C. Taylor business managers.

Just before these Gilbert and Sullivan operas were staged, William Fletcher and George Stannard had put on "Fletcher's Minstrels," which, of a semi-professional character, was taken on tour of nearby territory.

Carolyn Barber-Biddle, who was a leading factor in the amateur operas, was for many years a prominent soloist, and besides her appearances in opera, she sang in the choirs of a number of Trenton churches. She was also instructor in vocal culture in Pennington Seminary, then a co-educational school. She was the daughter of Alderman John W. Barber and a niece of Walter Lenox, originator of the world-famous Lenox china.

Rose Stahl played in local amateur productions before she worked her way to the professional stage. She will always be remembered as the star of "The Chorus Girl." Mrs. O. D. Oliphant was an amateur player before she attracted professional attention. Her best work was done with Henry Miller in "The Devil's Disciple" and the Dillingham production of "A Fair Exchange." Ruth Donnelly on the stage and Betty Bronson on the screen are now making theatrical history for Trenton.

The number of young men and women, who have gone out of Trenton to win success in vaudeville in its variety of forms, is legion.

Walter Fox Allen, news editor of the *Trenton Times*, and Marvin A. Riley, Sr., also a journalist, some years ago wrote "The Searchlight," a comedy drama of American political life, which was played in many of the leading cities, scoring its greatest success in the West.

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III. *Sports and Athletics*

IT IS doubtful if any other city of its size in the United States has pursued sport in more varied forms than Trenton. Horse racing, baseball, water sports, basketball, football—the list is almost inexhaustible and it would be futile to attempt to write of them all in detail. We must therefore content ourselves with brief accounts of a few of the more prominent.

THE SPORT OF KINGS

The Eagle race course remains little more than a local tradition. The track, located in Chambersburg near the Roebling mills,⁵ was in the midst of open country but some of the finest running-horses in the United States fourscore years ago used to show splendid bursts of speed at the periodical exhibitions. Headquarters of the owners, while in town, is said to have been at the Eagle Hotel at Broad and Ferry Streets. David S. Quintin⁶ subsequently established a mile track and training stables on what is now Hamilton Avenue just beyond St. Francis' Hospital. Here all the trotters and pacers of reputation in this vicinity raced and Quintin's was well patronized for some years. A considerable colony of modern homes now covers the site.

"GOLDSMITH MAID'S TWO-FOURTEEN"

The Central Agricultural Society was active from 1866 to 1871 with an annual State fair and racing program on what in the latter year became H. N. Smith's Fashion Stud Farm, a short distance from the present Interstate or Trenton Fair grounds. Mr. Smith, who had become wealthy as the partner of Jay Gould in Wall Street, put up equine quarters for some of the most noted horses—stallions and brood mares—in the country and besides having his home near by, kept up a well-appointed clubhouse where the "swell" horse fanciers of the period were lavishly entertained. Gold-

⁵ Edward D. Boyd, long of Konover and Boyd's training farm, says the Eagle mile track covered ground westward from the present lines of Chestnut Avenue and south of Hamilton Avenue.

⁶ David S. Quintin was the father of four sons, three of whom became noted drivers and a fourth became a veterinary surgeon. Quintin, Sr., was one of the finest saddle riders in the United States, giving many public exhibitions, training horses for the ring and instructing two or three generations of Trenton youth in the equestrian art. He and his sons opened a high-class riding academy patronized by Trenton's leading young men and women in 1888, which deserved permanent success but lasted only a few seasons. It ran from Academy to Commerce Street, possessed a fine tanbark ring and maintained twenty or more well-trained saddlers. Quintin, Sr., was an inspiring influence and society flocked to the resort while equestrianism remained popular. Originally he was a lithographer and a number of lithographs of famous horses survive to attest his skill. Outdoor employment became necessary for his health and equestrianism was a notable gainer.

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smith Maid, with her then unsurpassed record of 2.14, lived as befitted a real queen of the turf.

"It's admitted that Lou Dillon,
Alix, Maud S. and Nancy Hanks
With Goldsmith Maid's two-fourteen
Played many kinds of pranks.
Sunol and scores of others
Make you think her star will fade,
But for all their speed they missed the fame
That came to Goldsmith Maid;
As turf lovers all remember
That from January to December
The mare that won the money was the Maid."

This great mare's winnings under several owners totalled \$364,200, said to be a record never equalled in the trotting world. She was foaled at Deckertown, N.J., May 1, 1857, raced eleven years (ten years driven by Budd Doble), and she died September 28, 1885, at the Fashion Farm.⁷ John L. Kuser erected a granite monument over the grave of Goldsmith Maid, October 26, 1926, Governor A. Harry Moore presiding at the ceremonies which were largely attended.

Mr. Smith in all had 130 head of stock, 90 of them belonging to himself. The farm of 365 acres was in every respect a model establishment, representing an investment of \$300,000. Besides the Maid, for whom Smith had paid \$40,000, the stables accommodated Jay Gould, once valued at \$50,000, General Knox, Socrates, Lucy and numerous others with records. The stock farm was eventually cut into building lots, the stock having been dispersed.

Other race tracks that encouraged raising of horses for speed have been the Ewing track and still later the Trenton Driving Park, both on the Pennington Road.⁸ With the advent of the automobile, interest in horse racing declined.

The Trenton Driving Park received its impetus largely from Joseph Martin, owner and admirer of fast horses. The track was laid out on Pennington Avenue and the Scotch Road in 1892, Chris Huber's 26-acre farm being bought by the association which included Colonel Anthony R. Kuser,

⁷ William H. Doble once kept the Eagle Hotel and had five sons who all became drivers and horsemen. Budd, the oldest, drove Goldsmith Maid in her record-breaking performance of 2.14 in the days of heavy, old-fashioned, high-wheeled sulkies, at Boston, Mass., September 28, 1874.

"Budd Doble whose catarrhal name
So fills the nasal trump of fame,"

is Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes' allusion to this Trenton driver in one of his poems of the period. Budd bought for H. N. Smith the farm which was developed as the famous Fashion Stud Farm. The father, William H., trained horses there and drove in many races on the Grand Circuit.

⁸ The Ewing track was owned by "Mine Host" Howell, of the Cross Keys Tavern at Ewingville, Scudder Phillips, Oliver Gray, Edward McGuire, George McKelway, Dr. Heston Bradshaw and Sheriff Charles H. Skirm. Another favorite track for some years was Henry's at Wheatsheaf, where, too, some excellent stock was quartered, including Anteo by Electioneer, for whom the proprietor paid \$60,000.

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Judge Robert S. Woodruff, Major Michael Hurley, Thomas J. Donaghue, Captain Lawrence Farrell, George Hildebrecht, John B. Fell and Al Worthington. For an account of various pleasurable events at this park, see the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser*, February 7, 1926. The park, which cost \$75,000 to purchase and equip, was finally sold for \$26,000.

The Pitmans also deserve a place in the niche of local horse fame. For three generations, the family have owned the Pitman farm in Hamilton Township, starting with Caleb Earl Pitman, passing to G. Rusling Pitman and now in the hands of Earl Pitman, a celebrated driver, still active in handling fast horses. He keeps up a training quarters with a half-mile track attached and has scored many victories on the turf, Fonda, a pacer (2.12¼), being his particular pride.

While driving for pleasure has ceased, a renewal of interest in horseback riding has become pronounced in and about Trenton in the recent past. Several riding academies are in existence which have the patronage of a large number of persons, notably young people and children. Periodical riding-shows take on a social as well as an equestrian character.

THE INTER-STATE FAIR ASSOCIATION

The Inter-State (or Trenton) Fair Association is the one agency that has kept up an interest in the horse to the present and continues to supply an annual event of the first importance in outdoor pleasure. Its exhibitions each autumn furnish a fine program of racing and a source of healthful recreation in the open. This association, succeeding the Mercer County Board of Agriculture's modest exhibition in lower Chambersburg,⁹ was set afoot in July 1888, a tract of 110 acres being purchased and subsequently enlarged, on which numerous exhibition buildings have been erected, modern roads laid out and an excellent half-mile track provided, together with an immense grandstand four hundred fifty feet long and large paddock. Products of the farm, agricultural implements, farm stock and many other objects of educational interest to the agriculturist and the urbanite are shown, besides which the amusements fronting the grandstand are manifold and varied. Besides horse racing, there are exhibitions of motor racing and the crowds which attend run well up to one hundred thousand daily, attesting the wide popularity of the concern. John Taylor, who led in the promotion of

⁹ The first show of the Mercer Board of Agriculture was held October 7, 8 and 9, 1885, on the former Trenton baseball grounds, South Broad Street, and later was transferred to ground at the southerly end of Clinton Avenue. There was no horse racing but a mechanical and agricultural display was made with various amusement features. Ralph Ege was the original president with Franklin DeCou as the general superintendent.



INTER-STATE FAIR GROUNDS, IN EARLY DAYS.

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Taylor Opera House and the abolition of the street markets, was also a prime factor in the organization of the Inter-State Fair, being its first president. John Guild Muirheid was the energetic first manager, succeeded at his death by Mahlon R. Margerum, now secretary, with J. Fred Margerum as active manager. The directors have always comprised a group of Trenton's most enterprising citizens.¹⁰

WATER PLEASURES

Among other outdoor pleasures of which we see less today than formerly was boating on the Delaware.¹¹ It was a pretty spectacle when dozens of trim craft with white sails spread lay off the Sixth Ward and there was stimulation in the sight when they set off in a regatta for speed records. Among the celebrated racers of the period, built also for pleasure yachting, were John A. Wilson's *John P. Stockton*, built in 1880, and his *Joel Parker*; the *Minerva*, owned by Frank P. Ferry and James H. Wilson; the *Nellie*, of Fred Weise; and different craft belonging to the John W. Stokes Yacht Club. Motor yachting introduced by the Throppes gradually supplanted sailing and now the river misses its spread of white canvas but witnesses marvellous feats of speed by steam and gasoline-propelled boats.¹²

Rowing added to the pleasures of our local waterfront years ago.¹³ The proper holiday diversion was to take one's best girl rowing either on the Delaware or on the Assumpink. Canoeing also had its devotees as detailed in Chap. XVII, below.¹⁴

¹⁰ R. Baxter Konover, for years prominently connected with the Trenton Fair, was superintendent of the Fashion Farm (1873-76) and had much to do with its early success. Later he conducted with Ed. Boyd a stock farm with a half-mile track for training. The property was absorbed in the De Laval Steam Turbine enterprise about 1896. About sixty head of brood mares and colts usually occupied the Konover and Boyd place.

¹¹ The *Edwin Forrest* began to run between Trenton and Philadelphia May 8, 1849. It and its successor of the same name were in service for forty-five years (until 1894). At least one steamboat ride to Philadelphia and back was one of the indispensable joys of juvenile life every summer. Over half a century ago, also, the *William C. McCall*, a flat-bottomed excursion steamer, plied between Trenton and White's Island, carrying passengers in the hope of creating a public picnic ground there. The smoke-stack was in sections permitting it to be lowered in passing under bridges.

¹² Nor was the sport of sailing confined exclusively to summer. At different times, notably during the extremely cold winters of the early '80's, there was ice-yachting on the Delaware in which hardy sportsmen indulged. Captain John A. Wilson and his son Alfred entertained many visitors on a cat-rigged craft with iron runners, which they had constructed.

¹³ Henry S. Little, clerk in Chancery, was president of the Trenton Boat Club in 1872; its headquarters were at Calhoun Street bridge, and rowing was the pastime of many well-known citizens.

¹⁴ Among prominent early canoeists were Arthur H. Wood of the First-

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BICYCLING, SLEIGHING AND SKATING

No city became more enthusiastic over bicycling in its palmy days than Trenton. Century runs were participated in by men and women. The Mercer County Wheelmen, organized in 1889, and the Trenton Bicycle Club (1884) were two of the most prosperous organizations.¹⁵ Among notable race riders here were Jack Colgan, Josh Lindley, Hamilton Crisp and Harvey Rogers.

Of course sleighing is one of the forms of pleasure that have vanished, too. Time was when Broad Street, from the prison bridge to State Street, was a speedway after every heavy fall of snow. There were no street-car tracks, but the street markets above State Street presented a barrier. In the bunch of racers were magnificent turnouts in which citizens of means held the reins over fast-steppers. Animated crowds lined the sidewalks and cheered the contestants. In later years, the sport was transferred to Greenwood Avenue and South Warren Street with equally stimulating scenes. The automobile sounded the death knell of snow racing.

A winter sport which was exceedingly popular fifty to sixty years ago was skating. The Assunpink, east of Broad Street, was perhaps the most popular



SKATING ON THE ASSUNPINK, SEEN FROM SOUTH BROAD STREET, 1868

spot of all for an exhibition of skill in speed and in graceful figure skating. Crowds stood along the Broad Street bridge to view what was indeed a rarely beautiful spectacle and the young men and women of the town, with the glow of health upon their cheeks, did their utmost to excel. The Lady Pond back of the State House was patronized by the less venturesome, and the canal and canal feeder offered opportunity for the long-distance skaters,

Mechanics National Bank, Newton A. K. Bugbee, Edmund C. Hill, and Harry C. Allen who once won the national championship. John Boyle O'Reilly, the famous Boston poet and orator who cruised the Delaware from its source, camped over night on the river bank at Trenton.

¹⁵ See Chap. XVII, "Social and Fraternal Organizations."

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who thought little of doing the stunt to Princeton or other points and return. Spring Lake Park below Chambersburg, and a city-managed pond in front of Cadwalader Park, also live in the memory of those who liked an ice carnival.

The most ambitious effort to make this winter pastime a permanent sport took place in 1867 when the Trenton Skating Park was opened by Isaac Weatherby, D. Cooper Allison, J. Beatty Lalor and other prominent citizens. The park, properly enclosed and appointed, was located just north of Bellevue Avenue at Calhoun, where a large low field 225 by 600 feet was flooded and where, when the ice-king favored, there was daily a gathering of Trenton's most representative young people of both sexes. Championships were contested for and out-of-town experts gave exhibitions. Moonlight night events were particularly popular. It proved a profitable venture for several seasons but the uncertainties of the weather gave the park its final quietus.

Indoor roller skating also had its day as a sport sanctioned and patronized by the best society.

BASEBALL'S LENGTHY RECORD

Horse racing may be the sport of kings but the king of all sports for Americans is baseball. In its day, dating back to the period immediately following the Civil War, Trenton has had professional, semi-professional and no end of amateur clubs.

As early as 1867, we find different sections of the city competing against each other on the diamond, with out-of-town visitors occasionally accepting an invitation to Trenton. The earliest semi-professional games were played on the Commons east of the canal, between Hamilton and Greenwood Avenues. On that diamond the first recorded game of consequence in this city occurred, July 4, 1867, between the Atlantics of Trenton and the Athletics of Philadelphia. The visitors administered a crushing defeat 66 to 8, but no bad blood resulted. In fact, the occasion possessed as much of a social as a sporting character. Leading citizens of Trenton joined in a formal welcome to the guests, who brought with them a number of prominent Philadelphians. Randolph H. Moore, afterwards county clerk, entertained the party at his home on their arrival, a well-filled punch bowl figuring in the ceremonies. Later there was a complimentary dinner in the finest restaurant in town at which Mayor Alfred Reed presided and toasts were answered by Counsellor William H. Barton and others. After the game, following a pretty practice of the day, Edward T. Green, later judge of the United States District Court, handed the ball to the victors and Colonel D. D. Moore, president of the Athletics, accepted it in a flowery speech. It is of historic interest to preserve the names of Trenton's representative team on this signal occasion: Colwell, catcher; Treadwell, pitcher; Laing, first base; Beasley, second base; Headley, third base; Lear, short stop; Lawton, John May and Dumont in the outfield.

Later on, grounds were found on Chestnut Avenue about where the Immaculate Conception parish buildings now stand. These grounds were enclosed.¹⁶ A feature of early baseball was that some of Trenton's most

¹⁶ The Chestnut Avenue grounds were advertised for sale in 1872, but may have been used a while longer.

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prominent families were represented in the local team. An incident still recalled is that of a violent collision between two Trenton players while pursuing a fly ball, one of them toppling over as if seriously injured. The game was stopped and an anxious father, accompanied by a couple of physicians, hastened from the grandstand to the youth's side. Fortunately the young man recovered consciousness and next day was little the worse for his injury. That youth of nearly sixty years ago is the present Chief Justice William S. Gummere of the New Jersey Supreme Court.¹⁷ Others who played on the Trenton team with the future jurist were the late Assistant Attorney-General William Y. Johnston, who also umpired many games, Mercer Beasley, Jr., James J. Wilson, still living, the late Charles A. May, manufacturing potter, J. Herbert Potts, John Dumont, one of Trenton's earliest and most consistent enthusiasts in the sport, Frank A. Magowan, afterwards mayor of Trenton, John Moore and Jack Bradley, a notable figure on the diamond for many years. Lovett, pitcher, and Fackler, catcher, were a famous battery, the former imported from Philadelphia and planted in a State House job to hold his services.

BASEBALL IN THE '70'S AND '80'S

This carries the game into the early '70's. In 1871, it was said that out of fifty-four games played in and out of town, the Trentons won fifty-one victories. Less activity was noticeable from 1873 to 1875, but in 1876 there was a revival of interest, resulting in numerous excellent local clubs, the Red Stockings, Marions and Resolutes among the number. Thomas Scullin, still on the payroll at the Trenton pump house, was a marvel of speedy pitching and Thomas Marion, still active at the pottery trade, was able, although young and slight, to catch him. Former Chief of Police Judson Hiner was also one of the members of the teams. Others included Howell Quigley and J. Henry Martinette, prominent business men later in life. The Webb family of North Trenton contributed several fine players.

About that time began the rivalry which lasted for a number of years between Burlington and Trenton with honors pretty well divided, although it used to be a claim that Trenton's team was made up of native Trenton players while Burlington strengthened its line with "talent" from out-of-town leagues. It all tended, however, to develop enthusiasm in the sport and at times feeling reached fever heat.

Early in the '80's the Catholic Young Men's Association of South Trenton¹⁸ assumed local leadership and from the Association team the Trenton Club, a professional nine, had its rise with membership in the Eastern League in which Harrisburg, Reading, Richmond, Wilmington, Allentown and other cities held charters. This Trenton team played on grounds just above Greenwood Avenue and west of Chambers Street, later removing to a more central location on South Broad Street, below Cass. J. Henry Klein

¹⁷ William S. Gummere was one of the best players on the Princeton college nine while an undergraduate (class of 1870).

¹⁸ John Smith and Peter J. Smith, brothers, were catcher and pitcher respectively in the Association club of South Trenton for a time—a powerful battery. They played professionally afterwards. Other outstanding names in the period of the Association baseball club were Douress, McGurk, Harkens and Donohue (a crack battery from New Brunswick), and Frank Parker.

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was secretary and treasurer. It proved too expensive a proposition for Trenton and the entire team, including Manager Patrick T. Powers, was sold to Jersey City. It was in this era of the '80's that Mike Tiernan came to the front, achieving a national reputation which he upheld for a dozen years with the New York Giants. As a batter, base runner and fielder, he was unexcelled. William O. Gilbert, also of Trenton, became a member of the Giants and had the highest batting average in a World Series played against the Athletics.

THE TRADES LEAGUE

There were more pretentious baseball associations but none was ever better managed nor more prolific of enjoyment for a large class of the population than the Trades League (1887 to 1895). It developed from casual competition on the diamond among our industrial plants and finally a formal organization was effected with these teams, all subjected to close discipline: Cook's East Trenton pottery, the Equitable, the Delaware, the Enterprise and Ott & Brewer's potteries, Wilson's woollen mill, Peter Fell's brickyard and the Walton brickyard. (The Pottery League had existed previously.) Only bona-fide workmen of the respective establishments might play, but a quality of skill scarcely to be expected, came to the surface. Enclosed grounds with a grandstand and bleachers were provided on land on East State Street where the Kennedy lumber yard was later established. No intoxicants were sold, and no salaries were paid but a division of the net gate receipts brought pocket money to all the players. At first, games took place on Saturdays only when the works shut down at 4 p.m., but subsequently three games a week were played. Because the teams were well matched, because there was no professionalism and because the players were well-known fellow-townsmen, great crowds usually attended the sport and much excitement attended the results.

The John A. Roebling's Sons Company also put a team in the field and it proved one of the strongest amateur combinations in the records of local baseball. Among the star players in the Trades League were "Mickey" McLaughlin, "Jimmie" Maguire, and one or two others later regarded as fit for Big League positions. Maguire, in fact, eventually became a member of the Cleveland American League Club. Much of the successful management of the Trades League was attributed to James H. Tallon, Charles E. Hayes and Michael Fitzgerald, officers of the organization.

One of the finest combinations of purely local baseball players ever brought together was the team fostered by the Young Men's Christian Association which for most of its history (1895-1905) gave exhibitions on enclosed grounds on West State Street at Parkside Avenue. John D. Faussett, now law librarian at the State House, was the first manager, upon whose resignation in 1900 Richard S. Smith, manager of the telegraph office at the State House, took up the reins. It was a very popular management from first to last and resulted in the development of one of the strongest semi-professional teams in the United States, according to the judgment of visiting experts. It began with one game a week which gradually grew to three games a week, but this rather took it away from the amateur scope originally intended by the Y.M.C.A. and hence its final disbandment. Besides a warm competition between local teams, there were frequent visitors from out of town, including an occasional game with

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members of the National and American Leagues. The Cuban Giants and Cuban Stars, colored champions of national reputation, supplied some of the best matches ever held on the local grounds. Among the best-remembered of the "Y.M." players are Charlie Klein and Ray Egner, crack pitchers; Hugh McCune, William A. Ross and George Vandegrift, catchers; Charlie Hanford, Gilbert, "Kid" Young, Andy Boswell, Edgar Maitland, Walter Horton and Al Bratton. Several of these went into the major professional leagues and attained notable records.

THE DELAWARE VALLEY LEAGUE AND THE TRI-STATE

Next came what many regarded as the greatest of all Trenton Leagues—the Delaware Valley League of which Thomas F. Waldron was president and Marvin A. Riley, Sr., was secretary. In this combination were the Y.M.C.A., Waldrons, Bowmans, American Bridge Co., Morrisville, Lambertville and others.

Through the work of the Delaware Valley League the popularity of baseball grew to such a magnitude that Colonel Lewis Perrine was led to apply for and secure a franchise in the Tri-State League which had been an outlaw organization up to that time. Some of the stars on the Trenton Tri-State League club were Gilbert, who came direct from the Giants, Dick Harley, who had been with Philadelphia, Harry Barton, from the Philadelphia Nationals, Pitcher Leo Hafford, from Boston, Pitcher Poole from Brooklyn, and Brodie, who had been with Baltimore. It was practically a team of stars.

Colonel Perrine, who was president of the local trolley lines, fitted up first-class grounds with a superior grandstand, a little west of the old Y.M.C.A. field, and a season or two of first-class baseball was served to the public. The Tri-State League included Trenton, Lancaster, Reading, Williamsport, Harrisburg, Wilmington, York and Johnstown. As with previous ambitious efforts locally, the Tri-State failed to make the grade on West State Street and was transferred to the Morris grounds just east of Montgomery Street and above the canal feeder, a group of sport-loving Trenton men of means with James H. Letts as president attempting to keep the game alive. They did so for several seasons, carrying off the League pennant one year, but at a financial loss.

After the Tri-State came the New Jersey League, comprising half a dozen cities with "Ted" Sullivan, a professional promoter, managing the Trenton end. Later still, Trenton tried out a semi-professional league composed of local teams. There is still plenty of baseball here, but not of the professional class.

OTHER RECREATIONAL PURSUITS

Trenton was one of the first localities to take up the modern game of basketball, the Y.M.C.A. assembling the original team for work in its own gym.¹⁹ A little later, we had several lively seasons at Masonic Hall, when

¹⁹ According to Marvin A. Reilly, the veteran sporting writer, basketball was first introduced locally in the old Y.M.C.A. building, the site now occupied by the Nevius store and Orpheum Theatre. The first game was played in the Y.M.C.A. gym with fifty or more on a side. After that it became normal and the Y.M.C.A. was represented by a nine-man team; later the rules called for seven men to a team and still later to five-man teams. Frank Buckley

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Trenton put up a splendid game in what was known as the National League. The Eastern League period was possibly the most prosperous in the history of the sport locally, Adam Exton and Kendrick C. Hill being the Trenton managers. The Armory was the scene of conflict. Fast sport was the order of the day. Since then we have had excellent seasons at the Arena and in the public school courts. Among the names that old patrons recall as stars here are those of "Newt" Bugbee, Al Bratton, the two Coopers, William Harrison, Al Mellick, Charles Klein, Harry Stout, Harry Hough, A. W. Enderbrock, "Pete" Riley, George Cartlidge, "Chris" Stinger, and others too numerous to mention.

Football also has had its devotees, the most notable annual events of late years having been the Thanksgiving Day contests between St. Mary's and St. John's teams, which drew thousands of spectators in the crisp fall air. This sport is now played chiefly by the schools. Soccer football, in recent years, has been played much more extensively in Trenton than the rugby game. Trenton's greatest activity in intercollegiate football came when William J. Davidson was brought to Trenton as the physical director of the Y.M.C.A. A team was organized that made Trenton famous in football. It defeated crack athletic clubs, many college teams and rival Y.M.C.A. contestants. It played Princeton at the Trenton Fair grounds and lost by the close score of 16 to 0. Among the football stars were William P. Conard, former freeholder, State Comptroller Newton A. K. Bugbee, John Conard, a lawyer, William Foster, Albert E. Bratton, Willard S. Konover, Dr. David F. Weeks, later the All-American quarterback playing with the University of Pennsylvania, "Ned" Bray, Counsellor John H. Kafes, Walter Titus, Gouverneur Packer, now a Colonel in the United States regular army, Walter Olden, assemblyman for Mercer County, and many others.

Boxing has been a virile sport that always has had a large following. "Joe" Gaffney's North Willow Street school for boxers (afterwards "Spot" Cobine's) was a favorite in its day. The Trenton Athletic Club in East Trenton witnessed many hard-fought battles through several seasons, and the bouts staged at the Arena are within easy memory.

Crack shots were plentiful years ago when pigeon shooting was legal, men like Miles Johnson, James Sampson, Charles Holt and others pursuing it year after year and scoring fancy records. Quoit pitching has developed its own champions. We have cultivated tennis and golf with fine sporting spirit, the latter at the country clubs, and Trenton has captured national honors at croquet. Bowling, pool and billiards have enjoyed the interest of some of championship class. Even fox-hunting has been indulged in by a select few in recent years and once upon a time we had a Fox Chase Tavern, which leads to the belief that it was in early days a favorite sport.

Cricket was introduced as a local sport by a number of citizens of English birth and descent and it was followed with interest for a number of years. George Fitzgeorge, John S. Wright and Charles Lockwood organized the first Trenton Cricket Club in 1860. Among the players at different times were several of our manufacturing potters. The Hon. A. S. Livingston, Mercer Beasley, Jr., Edward T. Green, Charles Ewing and F. S. Katzen-

and Frederick Padderatz were the first promoters of basketball in Trenton and they were followed by Frank Smith, the printer, and the late Robert Bonham, in the days of the first professional basketball organization back in

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bach also figured in the local team. A number of out-of-town organizations competed against the Trenton aggregation.

IV. Miscellany

ONE could scarcely cover the ground of old-fashioned recreational events without at least an allusion to our sham battles. Dr. John Hall says that the first celebration of the kind occurred in 1806 with a parade, a dinner and a sermon. Not every year but at frequent intervals December 26 has witnessed a re-enactment of the surprise of the Hessians. The Battle of Trenton was reproduced with attention to every detail, leading citizens personating the parts of Generals Washington, Greene, Sullivan and others of the Colonial Army and no difficulty was found to secure representatives of Colonel Rall and others of the red-coated enemy. Crowds of patriots assembled in Trenton from far and near and, despite the coldest weather, sometimes with snow on the ground, stood by the hour watching a stirring spectacle of flying Hessians and pursuing Continentals from the Five Points to the Assunpink. There was a great discharge of artillery and a rattle of guns, amid which the spirit of '76 was revived. Only in the Centennial year, however, was the whole scene repeated. In that year a party of "ragamuffins," as they were affectionately called, effected a way to Washington Crossing on Christmas night, made the passage of the Delaware and paraded towards Trenton. Truth to tell, this particular venture was so full of painful memories for its footsore, weary participants that nobody afterwards proposed a repetition of the feat which Washington and his army accomplished before the real engagement took place.

After each sham battle, the leading hotels were thrown open to the participants in the spectacle and there was eating and drinking galore. On the occasion of the 150th anniversary in 1926, Trenton did herself proud with a magnificent military display in which Governor A. Harry Moore and many officers and men of the New Jersey National Guard together with the City Troop of Philadelphia and other representatives of the

the '90's. Trenton is conceded to have produced more basketball stars than any other municipality in the United States.

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historic fighting divisions of the Revolutionary warriors, mounted or afoot, all bore an honored and spectacular part. Reference is made elsewhere in this work to further features of the demonstration, including President Coolidge's address to the Trenton Historical Society.

Fourth of July has always brought to Trenton a whole-hearted celebration, but in the days preceding the "safe and sane" method, the observance was of a more clamorous character than of late. The most noteworthy observance was that of 1876; after a cannonade at sunrise, an imposing parade was made through the streets, cavalry, infantry and civic bodies taking part and a conspicuous feature being the Centennial wagon in which Miss Sarah Smith Stafford, in the midst of thirteen young girls appropriately costumed, rode in state and dignity. The whole town was *en fête*, public and private buildings being gorgeously decorated. The procession closed at the Court House where before an immense multitude a program of patriotic speeches, music and recitations was rendered. Daniel Lodor was marshal of the parade, and participants in the Court House exercises included the Rev. Dr. John Hall, the Hon. William L. Dayton, the Hon. Edward T. Green, Mayor Creveling, Edward S. Ellis and Professor Thomas J. Stewart. Miss Stafford was the daughter of Lieutenant James Bayard Stafford, of *Bonne Homme Richard* fame. She proudly waved the "first American flag" on every possible occasion and no patriotic celebration was complete without her presence.

Naturally the laying of the cornerstone of the Trenton Battle Monument, December 26, 1891, and the dedicatory ceremonies, October 19, 1893, were great events in local history and each supplied a chapter of magnificent oratory, notable military display and patriotic expression which can well be set down as among red-letter occasions in this narrative of Trenton's recreational side.

Spelling bees, not for school children but public exhibitions of the orthographical capacity and incapacity of lawyers, doctors, clergymen, editors and preachers, were once all the rage, often to the disillusionment of the participants and the profit of deserving charities. Possibly the most important of these old-

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fashioned social gatherings took place in Taylor Opera House on the evening of April 27, 1875, for the benefit of the Children's Home. General James F. Rusling and Robert C. Belville headed the opposing forces of a score of leading citizens on each side and there was great fun as one by one the mighty fell down and left the stage to the trombone notes of a mischievous orchestra player. In the *Sunday Times-Advertiser* of March 16, 1913, Edward S. Ellis who won "the bee" printed an account of it all in a style worthy of the great writer that he was, but the best sentence in his narrative is the following: "In recalling that memorable evening the picture which awakens the tenderest chords in my recollection is that of my daughter, a child of ten years, who when she saw me standing alone, sprang from her seat, clapped her hands and with her chubby face aglow with pleasure, called out so that everyone could hear her, 'Oh, that's my papa!'"

Favorite social resorts for patrons of dancing in the older days were Taylor Hall (over the theatre), Washington Hall, St. Mary's Cathedral Hall, Turner Hall (the great resort for all important German-American events), Liederkrantz Hall, St. John's Hall and various other assembly rooms of lesser note. The annual Liedertafel Masquerade Balls were heavily patronized and the military companies drew large crowds to their social pastimes. Possibly the most notable public occasion of the sort ever held in Trenton was the reception extended by the Grand Army Posts in honor of members of the old Virginia Infantry, Otey Battery and the Richmond Howitzers—all late of the Confederate Army,—the event being given in 1881 in the Opera House which was specially floored over for dancing. It was a brilliant spectacle and marked the first formal exchange of fraternal greetings to Southerners since the Civil War.

Many other events²⁰ might be cited, such as gubernatorial

²⁰ A memorable outing by reason of its purpose and its social prominence took place in 1875, in preparation for Trenton's part in the Centennial observance. It was held on "the grounds of H. McCall, Esq., near Trenton" (now Cadwalader Park). There was train and stage service from the city. "Lady Washington" presided in the main tent, 46 by 70 feet, and received callers in stately grandeur. Two bands of music, a "flying circus," a gipsy camp, a Swiss Dairy, and other picturesque features were enjoyed by the local swelldom of the period.

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inaugurations, church pageants and the like, in testimony of the city's high rank as a pleasant place to live.

V. Music and Musicians

BY ELMA LAWSON JOHNSTON

IT HAS often unjustly been remarked that Trenton is not a musical city. Yet for close to one hundred years there has never been a time when Trenton has not had two or three active societies, whose members could make and enjoy their own music. Some of these have been factors in the cultural life of the city, and have achieved considerable reputation.

The most successful musical groups have been the singing societies. The first one of these of which much is known is the old Saengerbund. Indeed the German singing societies were for years outstanding among the musical clubs, and some of them are flourishing yet today. There have also been orchestral societies, and even clubs for organists.

SAENGERBUND AND LIEDERTAFEL

Musical history in Trenton apparently begins with the Saengerbund, a society organized in 1847 and composed of some of the best-known Germans then living in Trenton. It continued to function until the Civil War, when like so many other organizations, its activities came to an end.

Among those who were influential in the Saengerbund was Karl Langlotz, known to thousands of graduates of Princeton University the world over, as the composer of "Old Nassau." There were also Karl Seitz, conductor of the singing society for many years, Theodore Lechner and John Glatz.

After the close of the Civil War, in February 1867, music-loving Teutons revived the Saengerbund, and renamed it the Liedertafel Singing Society. Professor John Henry Petermann, whose band was famous here at one time, seems to have been the organizer and first conductor. Later conductors included Christian Hartmann, Edward Knapp and August Schmitt, all of Philadelphia.

Meetings of the Liedertafel were first held in the old Charles Hauser Hotel, 24 South Warren Street, later in a building on North Clinton Avenue, and for a long time in Turner Hall, South Broad Street.

Louis Brandt was the society's first president. Officers serving with him

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were Leopold Lener, vice-president; Phillip Mathen, secretary; and Charles Hauser, treasurer.

After a long and interesting career, the Liedertafel was discontinued in 1925. The society in 1921 bought a home of its own at North Clinton and Grant Avenues. Due perhaps to post-war conditions and other circumstances, the purchase proved too big a project for the society, and it was forced to disband.

During the many years it existed, the Liedertafel gave annual concerts that were largely attended, especially by the German population. Some of these were held in Washington Hall, the auditorium above Washington Market, at South Broad and Front Streets, but generally they took place in Turner Hall. The programs consisted of songs by German composers, sung in German, with Winkler's Band providing the accompaniments. The Liedertafel often took part in the Saengerfests of the Northeast Saengerbund, held every three years in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newark or Brooklyn. The society competed in the prize singing contests, and sometimes won.

LIEDERKRANZ

When the Liedertafel disbanded, many of its members went into the Liederkrantz Singing Society. This club, still in existence, was formed in 1882-83, by Christian Guenther, who appears to have been its first president.

The Liederkrantz was first conducted by a Professor Lipp, and those who followed him were Christopher Messerschmitt, Professor Kemme, Edward Trossbach, August Buchse and William Laufenberg.

When the Liedertafel was at its height, in the years before there were so many other forms of entertainment, the society had as many as three hundred eighty-five members, and even when it disbanded its membership was about one hundred twenty. The Liederkrantz now numbers one hundred sixty.

The practice of giving annual concerts is continued by the Liederkrantz, which of recent years has staged its events in the Palace and Trent Theatres, and in the new Junior School No. 4.

CECILIA

Another of the popular German musical clubs is the Cecilia Singing Society, founded June 6, 1889, and incorporated August 2, 1890. Henry Kuhn was the first president.

The Cecilia has the added attraction of being a beneficial society, and pays sick and death benefits. The present officers are: John L. Westemburger, Jr., president; George Fechter, vice-president; David Volz, treasurer; Fred Fechter, recording secretary and collector; Aloysius Buske, marshal; August Ptschyody, messenger; and Anthony J. Westemburger, Joseph Meunel and Frank J. Unsinger, trustees.

The society first met in the People's Theatre, at Hudson and South Clinton Avenues, afterward on South Broad Street near Dye Street, and

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now at Hudson and Genesee Streets. Edmund Trossbach, Sr., and Fred Sutterlin have been the conductors of the society. As with the other singing clubs, it has been the custom for the Cecilia members to hold concerts, socials, dances and outings, and to visit various cities to participate in Saengerfests.

TRENTON BANDS

For many years Trenton boasted several brass bands and orchestras. These flourished as far back as the '50's and '60's, and the old directories in 1857 list a Trenton Cornet and Quadrille Band, at 20 Warren Street. A year or so later there is listed the Trenton Cornet and Cotillion Band, at the same address, with Benjamin K. McClurg as the leader. He was also the founder of the organization. Mr. McClurg is remembered particularly for having brought to Trenton from Philadelphia Gottwald Winkler, father of Albert Winkler, founder and for many years conductor of the noted Winkler's Band.

PETERMANN BAND

Some time later the Petermann Band came into prominence. This was founded by Professor John H. Petermann, a gifted musician. He had come to Trenton at the urging of Albert Winkler, who had heard him play the cornet one summer at Long Branch, then one of the most fashionable watering places in the eastern United States. Previously Petermann had been a bandmaster in the German Army.

Some difference of opinion between Professor Albert Winkler, his brothers and Professor Petermann was the occasion for the formation of Petermann's Band. The musicians were all playing in the Taylor Opera House orchestra, conducted by Rudolph Ruhlman, when the disagreement arose. The new band proved to be quite popular, and played at some of the most select society functions and on many important public occasions, including State political conventions.

Professor Petermann later left Trenton to become leader of a government band at Fort Snelling. He afterward gave up that post, and returned to Trenton for a brief time, finally settling in Brooklyn.

RUHLMAN ORCHESTRA

The Ruhlman Orchestra, organized by Rudolph Ruhlman, was popular for a number of years at the Taylor Opera House. Its founder was an able clarinet player and violinist, who had come to Trenton from Easton, Pa., in 1864. His sons, John S. and Fred Ruhlman, were both expert musicians. Cassel Ruhlman, the young Trenton lawyer, is his grandson. Professor Ruhlman, gifted as he was, preferred to organize rather than conduct, and frequently Albert Winkler wielded the baton for him. It was Professor Winkler's own orchestra which later succeeded Ruhlman's at the Opera House.

Among the local bands of that period was the amateur organization

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formed by Edward Fischer, which afterward became the Wilkes Post Band.

Of all the orchestras which ever played at the Taylor Opera House none it seems, enjoyed such a glorious but brief career as that conducted by Professor Langlotz. This organization included not less than forty men and on special occasions the players numbered sixty.

Professor Langlotz had been educated in Germany, and in early life he manifested unusual ability. He was a finished player on the violin, piano and organ, and soon after coming to this country he was appointed to an instructorship at Princeton University.

WINKLER'S BAND

Winkler's Band, which made the Sunday concerts at Cadwalader Park an institution in Trenton, was the outgrowth of the musical interest and civic pride of Albert Winkler. He founded it in 1874. Although it was not the first one in Trenton, it has long outlived any of its contemporaries.

Formed in January 1874, Winkler's Band made its first public appearance on St. Patrick's Day of that year, when it had a membership of twenty. Professor Winkler's announced intention of forming a band was skeptically received, for it was believed that there was neither enough musical interest in the city nor enough financial support to maintain one. To these objections, Professor Winkler replied that he would give the citizens a musical education, and that as for finances, engagements could be found outside the city, and both of his assertions proved to be true.

Very soon after it was organized, the band was in demand in New York, Philadelphia and other nearby cities for celebrations of all kinds. It was one time the chief attraction at Neshaminy Falls, a favorite amusement resort for both Trentonians and Philadelphians.

G.A.R. posts always sought the services of Winkler's Band for public occasions, and once the musical organization accompanied the Trenton veterans to a national convention at Baltimore. There it won the praise of President Arthur, who was in attendance, and was accordingly designated as the official concert band for the rest of the session. To be thus singled out was regarded by Professor Winkler and his men as a great distinction.

Other outstanding engagements were those in New York, when the band played at the laying of the cornerstone and dedication of Grant's Tomb and at the interment of the great General. One of its early engagements was at the Centennial in Philadelphia in 1876.

The volunteer fire companies, in their prime in the late 1800's, also made use of Winkler's Band. The volunteers indulged in parades and similar festivities on every possible occasion and Winkler's Band was always in the line of march. It even travelled with the companies when they visited other cities. For the residents of that day, it was a common sight to see the musicians, at the head of the firemen in their picturesque uniforms, swinging up Warren Street, where two of the companies were located.

In his efforts to provide good music for the education and entertainment of his fellow citizens, Professor Winkler conceived the idea of Sunday afternoon concerts at Cadwalader Park, which should be free to the public. To carry out his idea, Professor Winkler rejected a profitable engagement at Neshaminy. These musical events had to be met by subscriptions from public-spirited men and by the sale of program advertisements. The first park concert for which the band was paid was given July 11, 1888,

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and General Richard A. Donnelly, father of Mayor Donnelly, financed it. During that summer other Trentonians contributed the expenses of the concerts, among them being Owen Locke, North Broad Street shoe-dealer, who paid for the second Sunday concert; George Farlee, Scudder & Dunham, South Trenton Lodge No. 36, I.O.O.F., and the Trenton Street Railway Company.

Although the Sunday concerts were long established and popular events, it was not until commission government was adopted in Trenton that the city appropriated money to meet the expenses. But despite the financial struggle, thousands of Trentonians were given a wholesome and educational Sunday recreation by Professor Winkler and his musicians.

After the death of the band's founder-conductor in 1922, Martin Mayer became director. He had been a member of the band for more than twenty-five years, having joined as a student musician and advanced himself through his own studious efforts. He continued the traditions of Professor Winkler, and increased the size of the band, which now includes some of the finest instrumentalists in the city.

The National Guard units, with headquarters in this city, selected Winkler's as their official band, and as such it accompanied the members to Sea Girt annually. It attended the inaugurations of both President McKinley and President Wilson. Year after year, the band has entertained thousands of persons who attend the Trenton Fair.

MENDELSSOHN CHORAL UNION

One of the earliest choral societies in Trenton was the Mendelssohn Choral Union which came into existence November 20, 1882. A group of earnest young musicians, some professional and some amateur, interested in advancing musical art in Trenton and developing a taste for music of a high type, organized themselves into a miniature choral society. It was their aim to start a club on such a plan, and with such governing principles as would insure its existence for many years.

Membership in the Mendelssohn Choral Union was limited to one hundred forty, and was open to singers with sufficient musical ability to be acceptable to the membership committee. Those who were among the first members, and whose names appear on the program of the Union's initial concert, were some of the best-known singers of the city in that day.

For a number of years, the Mendelssohn was a musical institution in Trenton, and a great deal of its success was due to the personality and musical ability of its first conductor, George R. Ewan, who served until 1889, when he resigned to go to New York City. He must have resumed his duties later, however, for programs of 1893 and 1894 list him as conducting the society in the concerts of those years.

Under his direction, the Mendelssohn Choral Union gave its first concert January 24, 1884, in Taylor Opera House, singing Mendelssohn's "Hymn of Praise." Miss Jennie Hatton was the accompanist and Mrs. Clementine Lasar-Studwell, soprano, and Fred W. Jameson, tenor, were the assisting artists.

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After Mr. Ewan left Trenton, Charles W. Pette, the club's accompanist, was elected to serve a brief period as leader, and then B. C. Gregory, for many years superintendent of the Trenton public schools, became the Choral Union's conductor, and proved a most able director.

Under the leadership of Messrs. Ewan and Gregory, the old Mendelssohn sang such notable works as Mendelssohn's "Saint Paul," Haydn's "Creation," Handel's "Elijah," Rossini's "Stabat Mater," Mendelssohn's "First Walpurgis Night," and "The Seasons," Sir Arthur Sullivan's "The Prodigal Son" and Mendelssohn's "Rose Maiden." For many seasons the concerts were held in the Taylor Opera House, and were attended by the music lovers of the city. The last concerts were staged at the State Schools auditorium.

Men and women who have been prominent in the life of the city were members of the Mendelssohn, and notable names appear among its officers. Old programs of the first concert in 1884 list Judge Edward W. Scudder as president of the organization; William Burgess, vice-president; Clayton L. Traver, secretary; S. Butler Murray, treasurer; and Harrison W. Stout, librarian. Other presidents, whose names are taken from programs, included: the Rev. Dr. Samuel Studdiford, for many years pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church (of whose choir Mr. Ewan was at the time conductor); Alfred C. Foster, who served from 1887 to 1893; and John L. Parsons.

The executive committee serving at the time of the first concert was composed of E. V. Richards, Alfred Foster and E. T. Hutchinson, while the membership committee was composed of Miss Jennie Earley, Miss Sallie Poland, John Hulse, William H. Cauldwell and Mr. Ewan.

EIGHT O'CLOCK CLUB

Perhaps the most exclusive of the older musical groups of the city was the Eight O'Clock Club, formed by Thomas J. Macpherson, gifted member of the Macpherson family so long identified with Trenton. In 1882, while in business in New York, Mr. Macpherson was coming to Trenton several times a week to continue his musical teaching and his duties as director of the choir of the Third Presbyterian Church. It was the custom for his students to give rather frequent recitals, and out of these grew the Eight O'Clock Club.

The society was formed in May 1883, in the old Macpherson home on Mercer Street, and rehearsals were also held there until the club became too large. They were then transferred to the Joseph Wood School.

Members of the Eight O'Clock Club were some of the leaders of the then younger set of the city.

Barker Gummere, Jr., who was a pupil of Mr. Macpherson's, was the club's first president and FitzJohn Porter was treasurer.

During the three years of the club's life it was the custom to give a spring and fall concert, and these were largely patronized by the socially elect of the city. Excellent programs of classical music were given, and the club even sang oratorios and similar works.

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Mr. Macpherson, the club's conductor, was unusually talented. He was born in Trenton, and while still in his teens went abroad to study music. He received most of his musical education in New York, London, Paris and Dresden. Before he was twenty years old he had organized vocal classes for men in Trenton. He was a singer of ability and during the years he directed the Third Church choir, that church was noted for its music. Later Mr. Macpherson moved to Poughkeepsie, N.Y., where he became choirmaster of the Washington Street M.E. Church. Shortly after his removal from the city, the Eight O'Clock Club disbanded, and many of the members went into the Mendelssohn Choral Union.

HARMONIE CLUB

The Harmonie Club was organized September 24, 1887, by Godfrey W. Schroth, then twenty-two years of age, with twenty-five members. The organization was purely amateur in personnel.

The first officers were Joseph B. Kessler, president; Charles Wittman, vice-president; Louis J. Wagner, secretary and treasurer; and John L. Paffe, librarian. Mr. Schroth was named musical director and Miss Bridget Wilson piano accompanist. Miss Wilson was later succeeded by Miss Madge W. Mershon.

Within a few months, the membership grew to fifty mixed voices, which included some of the best-known non-professional singers in the city.

The first concert was given in the old Taylor Opera House May 10, 1888, when the society, assisted by Winkler's orchestra, made an auspicious debut under the direction of Mr. Schroth.

The occasion also marked the first performance of Mr. Schroth's orchestral composition, "Harmonie Waltzes," dedicated to the club, and his four-part lullaby, "Rock Me to Sleep."

The patron list contained the names of many of the then leading citizens of the city.

The second concert of the organization was given in the Taylor Opera House January 17, 1889, by fifty-five mixed voices, with orchestral accompaniment, under the direction of Mr. Schroth. According to the old press reports available, the chorus rendered a difficult program with distinction, showing artistic improvement. During the first two years of its existence the Harmonie Club made a number of other successful public appearances.

In 1889, Mr. Schroth resigned as musical director of the Club. Mr. Joseph Allen was chosen as his temporary successor; under him the society is known to have given at least one concert. Shortly thereafter, a reorganization took place, with the return of Mr. Schroth as musical conductor, and with a membership increased to eighty voices; but after about a year of apparently considerable activity, the society permanently dissolved.

ARION GLEE CLUB

There were many persons, singers as well as patrons, who regretted the passing of the Mendelssohn, leaving no organization to carry on its traditions. In response to the general senti-

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ment, Mr. Gregory and a few of his singers determined to form some sort of a club for choral work, and accordingly the Arion Glee Club was organized. Its first rehearsal was held February 25, 1896, with Mr. Gregory conducting.

Its objects appear to have been to promote the love of music, and to do so at the least possible cost to concert-goers. Its first concerts were subscription affairs, although the seats not thus taken were disposed of to the general public.

Mr. Gregory continued as the Arion's conductor for four years, and at the end of that time William Woodhouse, Jr., who had been a member of the club, was elected to succeed him. Mr. Woodhouse is still holding that position. Otto Polemann was also director of the Arions in 1911, the club's fifteenth season.

The Arion's first concert, December 14, 1897, was held, like so many of its subsequent events, in the old Association Hall, East State Street. Mr. Gregory conducted; Charles W. Pette was the accompanist; and the assisting artists were Mrs. A. Douglas Brownlie, soprano; Hugo Wittgenstein, flutist; Henry Moorhouse, violinist; and George Stannard, banjoist.

Membership in the Arion was limited to fifty, and these met for rehearsal Tuesday nights in the Y.M.C.A.

Hugh H. Hamill was president that first year, and for many years after, for as late as 1908 his name appears on the programs in that capacity. Others who have served are Edward W. Dunham, Harry A. Hill, Charles E. Sommers and A. B. Kaufman.

The Arion Glee Club was one of the first to bring noted musicians to Trenton either as assisting artists or to appear in concerts. John Barnes Wells, Maude Powell, and Erwin Nyiregyhazi are among the stars whom the Arions have presented to Trenton audiences.

AURORA

One of the most flourishing of the foreign singing societies at the present time is the Aurora. This was organized as the German-Hungarian Singing Society May 17, 1905, in Paderatz Hall. The founders were Otto Breyer, John Fisher, Peter Hill, Joseph Kestner, Joseph Majofsky, Martin Schmidt, Adam Slovenyak and Peter Wilwol.

John Merkel was the first president; Joseph Kestner, vice-president; Joseph Majofsky, secretary; and Peter Wilwol, treasurer.

In 1912 the society bought its present headquarters, the building at Morris and Division Streets. At the same time, the members changed the name of their organization to the Aurora. In 1925 the building was enlarged and is now valued at \$20,000.

At the present time, the Aurora has three hundred eighty-five members. Rudolph Huebner, of Philadelphia, is the director. Philip Kramer is the president and the other officers are: Martin Mayer, vice-president; Anthony Schmeltz, secretary; and Nicholas Bohn, treasurer.

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TRENTON QUARTETTE CLUB

Another group which, during its brief career, contributed much pleasure to the music lovers of Trenton was the Trenton Quartette Club. This club was organized some time late in 1907, and it gave its first concert February 27, 1908, in the auditorium of the State Schools.

Otto Polemann, at one time a member of the Music Department of the State Schools, later director of the Trenton Music Festivals, conductor of the Trenton Male Chorus, and now chairman of the Trenton Music Week Committee, and for many years a leading figure in musical events in Trenton, was the conductor of the Quartette. C. Dudley Wilson was its accompanist.

The club disbanded in May 1912, and its last act, an expression of its respect and admiration of Mr. Polemann, was to send him to the May Festival in Cincinnati.

MONDAY MUSICAL CLUB

To the Monday Musical Club belongs the distinction of being the first musical society of the city composed exclusively of women. Before its advent there had been singing clubs for mixed voices, but none just for women.

Professor Charles S. Skilton, of the piano department of the State Schools, now head of the music department of the University of Kansas and a widely known composer, originated the idea of a women's chorus. It met with general approval and in February 1901, at a meeting held in his studio on North Clinton Avenue, the club was organized. There were fifty-two members enrolled, and many of these had been members of the old Eight O'Clock Club and of the Mendelssohn Choral Union.

It was the object of the organizers to develop artistic part-singing by women's voices, and in connection with this to bring to Trenton distinguished soloists. When it was felt that the club had fulfilled its purpose, and was no longer needed, it was disbanded.

Immediately after the club was formed, rehearsals were begun. These were held each Monday night, a custom from which the club took its name. For a number of years the rehearsals took place in a little back room in the Barlow Music Store, East State Street, but when the store was remodelled, the rehearsals were held in Library Hall. Its first concert was given April 25, 1901, in Association Hall, where all the society's events were staged for twenty years. After the first year, the club gave a May and a December concert.

Professor Skilton conducted all of the concerts until 1903, when he left Trenton to go to the West. Professor Paul Ambrose, who succeeded him at the State Schools, was promptly and unanimously elected as the club's new conductor. He assumed his duties February 1904, and held that post as long as the club continued. His first concert was given in conjunction with the

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Arion Glee Club, when under the leadership of William Woodhouse, Jr., the two clubs sang Handel's "Messiah."

Miss Laura C. Johnson, of West State Street, was the club's first and only president. She was chosen at the organization meeting, and so ably filled her post that each year she was unanimously reelected. Miss Johnson has for many years been a patron of musical art in this city.

Miss Clara Stelle was the first accompanist of the Monday Musical, acting for three years, when she was followed by Miss Elizabeth Thomas, who served eight years. She was in turn succeeded by Miss Stella Eccles (Mrs. Lowell Emerson), who was followed afterwards by Miss Alma Warren and then Mrs. J. Milnor Dorey.

The first secretary was Miss Ada Apgar.

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY CHAPTER, N.A.O.

On October 7, 1919, a meeting of organists from Trenton and this vicinity was held at the residence of Paul Ambrose, organist of the First Presbyterian Church, for the purpose of forming the local chapter of the National Association of Organists.

It was decided to invite the organists of Trenton and this district to meet at Rutgers College, November 20, 1919. At that session, the local chapter of the N.A.O. was formed and adopted the name of the Central New Jersey Chapter. The first officers chosen were Norman Landis, Flemington, president; Paul Ambrose, Trenton, secretary; and Edward A. Mueller, Trenton, treasurer.

Presidents of the chapter since Mr. Landis have been Mr. Mueller, Charles Ford Wilson, Mrs. Kendrick C. Hill, George I. Tilton and Paul Ambrose.

Among the chief aims of the Central New Jersey Chapter has been the raising of the standard of music in church services, to make them in greater conformity with the church atmosphere and to arouse public interest in the organ as a solo instrument. To this end, recitalists of national repute have played here annually, and there has been each year a Members' Recital, at which members of the society play. Through meetings a closer cooperation has been created between the clergy and the organists, and also between the organists and the Sunday school officials.

Not the least important project of the chapter has been the conduct at the Trenton School of Religious Education of classes in "Music in the Church School." The aim of this has been to acquaint those in charge of music in Sunday schools with the finest ecclesiastical music and with the best ways of getting this into use.

Another undertaking, which is likely to be far-reaching in its effect in bringing children into close contact with the church, has been the establishment of children's choirs. While this has in several cases been done in Trenton by individual organists, members of the chapter, the chapter has endorsed such activity and fostered its development.

TRENTON MALE CHORUS

During the half-dozen years of its existence, the Trenton Male Chorus was one of the leading musical organizations of

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the city, and its concerts were delightful affairs. In addition to its pleasing programs, the club was noted for its excellent assisting artists.

The first concert of the Trenton Male Chorus was given January 18, 1915, at the Trent Theatre. Otto Polemann, who was conductor of the club during its entire career, directed that first event. Madame Alma Gluck was the soloist, and Charles W. Pette was the club's accompanist.

Fred W. Mathews was the first president; Harry A. Hill, vice-president; Charles M. Titus, secretary; James E. Wassel, assistant secretary; Ambrose H. Allen, treasurer; and Daniel J. Henry, librarian.

Concerts were given annually until 1920, and among the soloists were Anna Case, Mabel Garrison and Sophie Braslau.

ST. GEORGE'S GLEE CLUB

The St. George's Glee Club, a male chorus, comprising members of the three Trenton lodges of the American Order of the Sons of St. George—Chatham, Sir Charles Napier and Royal Oak—was formed to provide entertainment for the delegates to a Grand Lodge convention of the order held in Trenton, Labor Day 1918. The success of the club was assured from its inception, and this was contributed to by the fact that many of its members and its conductor, Leonard Moreton, had been associated with some of the widely renowned English choral organizations before coming to this country.

Following its first appearance, the club rapidly gained in popularity and for several years made many appearances at local functions and in concert. It donated its services to many charitable organizations and churches, and assisted them to benefit financially by these concerts. The club also entered the Welsh Eisteddfod competitions held in Philadelphia on New Year's Day 1920, 1921 and 1922.

In 1920, the St. George's Glee Club was formally organized, with Frank W. Thropp as president; the Rev. W. B. Rogers, George Ellis, Albert Cooper, Arthur J. Cartledge, Alfred Croot, Arthur F. Wildblood and William Jarvis, vice-presidents; and Frederick J. Stephenson, secretary and treasurer. Constantine Diamond and Herbert Nicholls were the accompanists, and Professor Leonard Moreton, organist and choirmaster of St. Michael's Episcopal Church, was the conductor.

Because of the death of some of the most prominent members and the removal of others from the city, the club has not made many public appearances in the last few years, confining its work to smaller group-singing in lodge functions of the Order.

TRENTON TEACHERS' CHORUS

Women teachers of the Trenton public schools interested in music organized in 1919, for the purpose of presenting works

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adapted to women's voices and of advancing the cause of music in the city. Membership in the organization, known as the Trenton Teachers' Chorus, has been kept open to all teachers, and many of those identified with the cultural arts have belonged to the society.

From 1920 to 1924, the Trenton Teachers' Chorus staged at least one concert annually. At these events they had as assisting artists some of the world's most famous musicians, and Mme. Schumann-Heink, Frieda Hempel, Pasquale Amato, Kathryn Meisle and Efreim Zimbalist are some that have been heard under their auspices.

Miss Catherine M. Zisgen, long supervisor of music in the Trenton public schools, was active in the organization of the Teachers' Chorus, and has been its only conductor.

Miss Anne V. Dickinson was the club's first president; Miss Mary B. Rathbun, vice-president; Miss Emma G. Taylor, secretary; Miss Mary C. Dorety, treasurer; and Miss Lucy Bird, librarian. Miss Dickinson, Miss Rathbun and Miss Taylor are still serving; Miss Florence Ditmars has succeeded as treasurer and Miss Sadie M. Coombs as librarian.

MUSIC MAKERS

Through the efforts of Harry Colin Thorpe and Muriel Tilden Eldridge (Mrs. R. B. Eldridge), a mixed chorus known as the Music Makers was organized in 1924. Its purpose was the study of modern choral music, and its first program presented to the public was Elgar's "Music Makers," from which the club took its name.

In its earliest days, when it was a mixed chorus, Dr. Milton F. Graver was the president. About a year after its formation, the club was reorganized as a women's chorus and Mrs. J. S. Wright was elected president. Its most ambitious undertaking after the reorganization was the presentation of Deems Taylor's "The Highwayman," in The Contemporary club house.

The Music Makers is now a study club, the aim being to provide for the artistic growth of the club by aiding individuals to develop their talent. Miss Isabel Goulding is the president; Muriel Tilden Eldridge, accompanist; and Harry Colin Thorpe, director.

FRIDAY CHAMBER MUSIC SOCIETY

Trenton's first chamber music society was organized in 1925, largely through the efforts of Miss Jean Haverstick, a gifted young organist. The purpose was to present before Trenton audiences, each year, some of the most delightful music written for chamber music groups. From a small beginning the society has grown until it now includes about two hundred members, who support the ensemble through an annual membership fee.

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The ensemble is composed of young Trenton women, all of them professionally trained in music. They are Rosalind Porter, violinist; Lou Sutphin Lawshe, cellist; Marion Bloor Compton, harpist; and Miss Haverstick, pianist and organist. S. Wesley Sears, organist and choirmaster of St. James Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, is the director.

The society began its career in a modest way, the artist members giving chamber music concerts Friday afternoons that first season in the Bowen School, West State Street. As the audience grew in numbers, the concerts were taken to the ballroom of the Stacy-Trent.

UNITED CHOIRS' ASSOCIATION

In October 1925 a group of organists and choirmasters of the various Trenton churches formed the United Choirs' Association for the development of ecclesiastical music among church groups. George I. Tilton, then president of the Central New Jersey Chapter, N.A.O., was the leader in the movement to establish the association.

George H. Zimmerman was the first president; Wilfred Andrews, vice-president; and William James, secretary and treasurer. These officers have been reelected and still hold office.

The chorus of the association made its debut at a recital Sunday evening, May 9, 1926, when it presented a program of sacred choral music in Keith's Capitol Theatre. A similar program was given May 8, 1927, and May 6, 1928.

TRENTON MUSIC COMMITTEE

Numerous attempts have been made through the years to give Trenton musical opportunities but, as in the case of many other cities, these attempts have not always been successful. The result of the last unsuccessful efforts in 1926 was the formation of a Trenton Music Committee, composed of about twenty influential members.

Considerable regret was felt throughout the city when in 1926 a civic course of concerts was cancelled because of insufficient support. It was recognized that to permit the failure of such courses was to deprive the citizens of Trenton, and especially the youth of the community, of an important cultural experience. Consequently, at a meeting in January 1927 a Music Committee was formed for the purpose of sponsoring an annual course of concerts. Miss Frances M. Dickinson was chosen as chairman.

The committee has staged successfully two courses and is planning for future series.

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TRENTON CHORAL ART SOCIETY

The most recent musical group formed in Trenton is the Trenton Choral Art Society, which resulted from a volunteer chorus that sang in the autumn of 1927 in the Y.M.C.A. auditorium, with the ensemble of the Friday Chamber Music Society. So successful was the joint appearance of the two musical units, that the singers then decided to organize themselves into a choral society.

The detail of organization was carried out by Miss Jean Haverstick, organist of the Clinton Avenue Baptist Church, and pianist and organist for the Chamber Music Society. Through her efforts, Judge Joseph L. Bodine became president of the society, and a group of men and women interested in developing musical appreciation in the city became the other officers and directors. Miss Mildred Apgar was named honorary vice-president; Miss Haverstick, secretary and business manager; Miss Elma Lawson Johnston, publicity manager; Mrs. Gertrude Schultz, concert manager; and Mrs. Charles H. Waters and Raymond Michael, representatives of the chorus. Mr. S. Wesley Sears, organist and choirmaster of St. James Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, was chosen as the conductor.

The society made its first appearance after its organization in Philadelphia, when it sang in March 1928, in St. James Episcopal Church, assisting the choir of that church in a presentation of Dvorak's "Stabat Mater." The first Trenton appearance was April 2, the Monday of Holy Week, when the same oratorio was given in Crescent Temple.

TRENTON MUSIC FESTIVAL ASSOCIATION

No account of musical clubs and societies in Trenton would be complete without some mention of the Trenton Music Festival Association under whose auspices three May festivals were given here. The association eventually met disaster on financial reefs, the cause of similar troubles in cities throughout the world.

The first festival was a direct outgrowth of the Trenton Quartette Club, which in 1908-11 gave oratorios with steadily increasing interest on the part of the public. So widespread was this interest and so generous was the support accorded The Contemporary when it gave a music festival in May 1910, that it seemed to be a logical time to give Trenton a musical festival with choruses and noted artists.

In The Contemporary festival, the Monday Musical Club, the Arion Glee Club, Trenton Quartette Club and the Philharmonic Orchestra, of which Albert T. Stretch was conductor, all participated. In the autumn of 1911, at a meeting in Mr. Polemann's apartment, it was decided that the Arions and the Quartette Club would combine for a festival and form the largest chorus available.

These two groups staged the first May festival held in this city, in April 1912, at the Trent Theatre. The New York Symphony Orchestra, with

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Walter Damrosch conducting, and a quartet composed of Paul Althouse, Arthur Middleton, Pauline Welch and Gertrude Rennyson, were the assisting artists. The local chorus numbered one hundred thirty-five voices. This festival was a great success both financially and artistically.

A second festival followed in 1913 at the Armory, and in 1914 the last one was held. This was also staged at the Armory. This last festival left a deficit of \$3,255.78. It was felt that much of this had been unwisely expended, and the festival sentiment waned. Six guarantors assumed the unpaid balance.

Officers of the Trenton Music Festival Association were: Mrs. Otto Polemann, president; Harry A. Hill, vice-president; Elizabeth MacCrellish, secretary; and Edward W. Dunham, treasurer.

SOME PROMINENT TRENTON MUSICIANS

Of Trenton's many highly gifted musicians, a few have sought and found recognition in the wider musical fields in the United States and Europe. Chief among these are Emma Thurston Whitehead, Richard Crooks and George Antheil.

Emma Thurston (now Mrs. C. Louis Whitehead) studied in New York City, where she was born, and while still very young sang in schools and churches there. Later she became prominently identified with the famous Beethoven Society of Chicago, of which Carl Wolfson was the leader. As the Society's soloist, Mrs. Whitehead, a mezzo-soprano with a legato voice of two and one-half octaves range, sang the most famous oratorios, an experience which was of great value to her later. Mrs. Whitehead also was soprano soloist in Trinity Episcopal Church, Chicago, for about five years. It was then that she became a member of the Remenyi Concert Company, organized by Edward Remenyi, the famous Hungarian violinist. The other artist in the company was Ferdinand Dulken, pianist, a pupil of Mendelssohn. Occasionally Teresa Carreño, the great American woman pianist, was soloist with the Remenyi Company. The trio toured the entire country for four years, playing in three hundred concerts in one year, and appearing in all the biggest cities. Connection with the Remenyi group was severed because of a serious illness, but immediately upon her recovery Mrs. Whitehead was offered a position as director of music and soloist in St. George's Church, Montreal, Canada. Incidentally she sang in the principal cities of eastern Canada.

Going to Europe she met Dame Albany, one of London's greatest singers, who was responsible for Mrs. Whitehead going to Milan, Italy, to study for nine months with the famous teacher Lamperti, who had been Mme. Albany's master. Worried over the illness of her mother in Chicago, Mrs. Whitehead broke a contract that she had made for singing Italian opera in Italy and returned to the States. Trinity Church, Chicago, asked her to come back with that choir and as an inducement offered to pay her salary for the time she had been away. It was about this time that the then Emma Thurston met and fell in love with C. Louis Whitehead, married him and came to Trenton to make her home.

Richard Crooks, who is affectionately remembered by hundreds of music-

Trenton's Recreations

loving Trentonians as "Alex" Crooks, the boy soprano of Trinity Episcopal Church, is achieving unusual distinction in the musical world here and abroad. As a little lad, Crooks was often heard in solo work in the downtown church, under the direction of Sidney Bourne, organist and choir-master of Trinity. He also sang in the Auditorium in Ocean Grove, where he was heard by the choirmaster of All Angels' Church, New York City, who promptly engaged him for that church where he sang as a soprano soloist for two years, later going back as a tenor soloist.

While still a young boy, Crooks sang at one of the local music festivals at which Mme. Schumann-Heink was soloist. Dr. Walter Damrosch, then conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, also heard Crooks about this time and the two great artists became interested in him and encouraged him to study. To them much of the young man's success is due. Their advice was accepted, and Crooks devoted himself seriously to study until the World War, when he enlisted in the air service and won many honors as an aviator.

Returning from the service, with a finely matured voice, Crooks competed with forty-five other candidates for the position of tenor soloist of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, and won the appointment.

Soon after, the young tenor was engaged by Dr. Damrosch as soloist with the New York Symphony, and he was started on his way to fame. Since then Crooks has sung with practically all the great orchestras of America, has made his operatic debut in Berlin with astonishing success, and has sung with popular approval in Vienna, Munich and London. He has been one of the most popular concert artists in the American musical world today, singing in all the leading cities. Mr. Crooks married a native Trenton girl, Miss Mildred Pine, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Harry S. Pine.

In a different field *George Antheil*, eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Antheil, of this city, is achieving remarkable success. Antheil, although not yet thirty years of age, has composed some of the most spectacular modern music, which has been the subject of intense controversy both in Europe and America.

Young Antheil, of German extraction, was born in the Sixth Ward, Trenton, July 8, 1900. He got his education in the Trenton public schools, and early manifested a tendency toward music. His first acquaintance with this art came through his mother, who sang the little lad to sleep to the melodies of the old German hymns and folk tunes. At nine years of age, Antheil began to study with local teachers, but it was soon evident that he knew more than they did, and he was finally placed under the instruction of Mae Messerschmidt, now Mrs. Alfred G. Franz. After studying with her some years, George's father placed him with Mercedes O'Leary Tucker, the brilliantly gifted musician who resided in this city several years.

Both Miss Messerschmidt and Mrs. Tucker recognized the boy's great ability, and encouraged him in his musical work. In 1919 his father took him to the famous Constantine von Sternburg, who was then conducting his school of music in Philadelphia. Von Sternburg, the teacher of some of the world's great artists, was impressed with the lad's gift and outlined for him a four-year course of study in harmony, counterpoint, technique and composition. The last two subjects von Sternburg was to teach the boy himself, and the first two he was to receive from Uselma Smith, of Philadelphia. Smith after a short time declared that he could teach the boy

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nothing more and he completed the entire course with von Sternburg in a few months. After that he studied with Ernest Bloch, the now noted Jewish composer.

His great chance for fame came in 1922 when he was invited by Martin H. Hanson to go abroad to play a scheduled series of concerts that were to have been given by Leo Ornstein. The boy played Chopin to rather cold audiences, and pricked by his reception and at once realizing his weakness as a performer, he stayed abroad to study with Schnable in Berlin.

After that he toured the cities up and down the Rhine, until he found himself dead broke financially. With a young American newspaper man, named McDonald, Antheil formed an informal sort of partnership, which resulted in a spectacular concert in Budapest. Antheil was the artist and McDonald the business manager. Just after that, in Paris, Antheil played his much derided "Ballet Mécanique," a glorification of noise, which drove critics to despair. Antheil had discarded the composition until 1927 when he was persuaded to bring it to America. He played it in Carnegie Hall to a crowded house. Then the storm broke, and the critics of New York joined those of Europe in ridiculing and abusing the young composer.

Antheil, a product in art of the world unrest following the war, is now passing into another phase of composition and is writing operas. Three of these have been contracted for by one of the great musical publishing houses of Europe. His opera "Glare," written on an American theme, with a libretto by himself, is the first one scheduled for production.

Mr. Antheil married abroad, and his wife is the former Mlle. Boska Marcus, niece of Arthur Schnitzler, Austrian playwright. The young Trentonian is now living abroad.

CHAPTER XVII

Social and Fraternal Organizations

BY ELMA LAWSON JOHNSTON

I. Introduction

ORGANIZED fraternal bodies have long been an important factor in the social life of Trenton. The first of them dates back to before the Revolution, when some of the city's most distinguished men united to establish the Grand Lodge of Masons in New Jersey. Informal fraternal groups apparently predominated in the early days, and the reason for this is clear. There were numerous taverns existing here during the years when Trenton was growing from just a small-sized village into a larger town, and in their public rooms the men of that day assembled for recreation and the exchange of political, financial and social news of the day. Consequently there was little need at that time for the formation of clubs or societies.

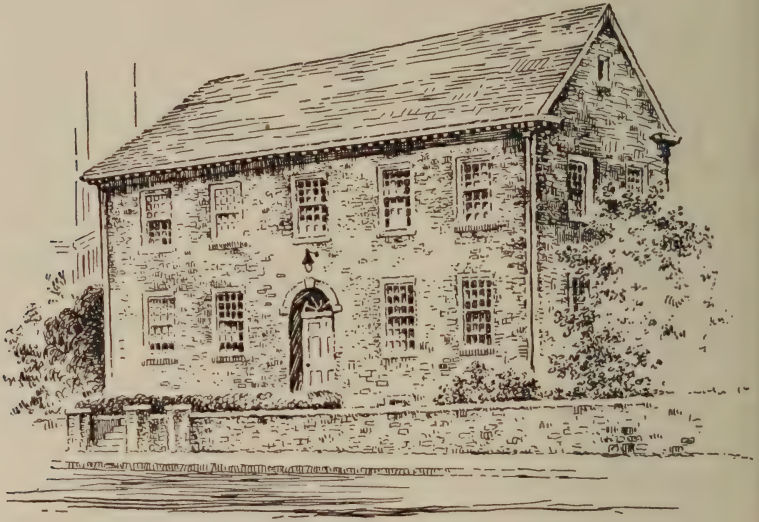
As the town grew, however, and the population increased, activities became more varied and extensive. Then men of similar tastes and interests began to draw together into regular organizations. Earliest among these of which there seems to be any record, apart from the Masonic body, were the singing societies, organized by the music-loving German citizens. Since then, Trenton has had many clubs,—social, fraternal, patriotic, civic and, not least in importance, the women's cultural, social and service organizations.

II. The Masonic Order

MASONIC history, not merely in New Jersey, but in America, appears to have had its beginnings in Trenton. When, in 1730, upon the request of Masons living in the Provinces of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Grand

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Lodge of England granted a deputation for the first provincial grand master of Masons in America, it was upon a Trentonian, Colonel Daniel Coxe, that the honor was conferred. Again, in 1786, when the Grand Lodge of New Jersey was formed, it was one of Trenton's most distinguished citizens, Chief Justice David Brearley, who was selected as grand master. Since then,



FIRST MASONIC TEMPLE, BUILT 1793, SOUTH WILLOW STREET.

through all the years to the present time, residents of New Jersey's capital have had an important part in the affairs of the order.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, grand master of Masons in England, in 1730, in acceding to the request of the New World Masons for a provincial grand master, had selected for this high office Daniel Coxe, son of Dr. Daniel Coxe, one of the proprietors of West Jersey, a medical man and physician to Charles II. The deputation to Coxe was given at London, June 5, 1730. According to Masonic antiquarians, this deputation, of which the original record is in England, and a copy in this country, establishes the fact that Daniel Coxe was really the first appointed provincial grand master of Masons in the New

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World. Henry Price, provincial grand master of Massachusetts, did not receive his deputation until three years later, it is contended,—in April 1733. Furthermore Coxe is referred to in the records of the Grand Lodge of England in 1731 as the "Provincial Grand Master of North America."

No records have been found either in England or America of any exercise of authority by Coxe, nor of anyone acting under his authority. It is believed that he simply did not make any report of the appointment of a deputy grand master or grand wardens, nor of the congregating of Masons into lodges. This was not an unusual circumstance, for it was not until 1768 that names of members of lodges abroad were sent to England.

The New Jersey Grand Lodge was established at a meeting held December 1786, in New Brunswick, and David Brearley was elected right worshipful grand master. Chosen at the same time as deputy grand master was Robert Lettis Hooper, also of Trenton, vice-president of the Legislative Council of New Jersey. Both served the ancient order in these capacities for several years, Brearley until 1790 and Hooper until 1792. Maskell Ewing, of Trenton, then clerk of the General Assembly of New Jersey, was elected deputy grand secretary.

TRENTON LODGE NO. 5

During the grand mastership of David Brearley, the first lodge in Trenton was formed and Justice Brearley was himself a member. The early records of this lodge, known then and now as Trenton Lodge No. 5, are replete with information of interest to all students of local and Masonic history.

Grand Master Brearley, on July 4, 1787, issued a dispensation for the lodge, which was the fifth in the State. The dispensation was directed to Aaron Dickinson Woodruff. According to a minute of the lodge David Brearley, grand master, William Liddell, senior grand warden, Aaron Dickinson Woodruff and Anthony Reckless, master masons, assembled August 3, 1787, and a "Master Mason's Lodge was opened in due form." At a meeting ten days later, officers were appointed. They were: Aaron Dickinson Woodruff, worshipful master; Robert Lettis Hooper, senior warden; Thomas Bullman, junior warden; Hezekiah Stites Woodruff, Anthony Reckless and Maskell Ewing, secretary. The lodge continued under dispensation until December 20, 1787, when the Grand Lodge, meeting at New Brunswick, issued a warrant for the lodge to Aaron D. Woodruff, master, Thomas Bullman, senior warden and Anthony Reckless, junior warden.

The one hundredth anniversary of Trenton Lodge was observed December 27, 1887. The Grand Lodge members attended, and Grand Master Robert M. Moore, Most Worshipful Past Grand Master Henry R. Cannon,

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historian of Grand Lodge, Past Master Lewis Parker, Past Master Barton B. Hutchinson and Right Worshipful Senior Grand Warden Jonathan M. Harris gave addresses. A banquet at the American House concluded the ceremonies.

On April 3, 1924, the Grand Lodge met at Trenton, for the purpose of unveiling a tablet in memory of Most Worshipful Brother David Brearley. The members proceeded to St. Michael's Episcopal Church where the Bishop-Coadjutor the Right Rev. Albion W. Knight, the Rev. Samuel Steinmetz, rector of the Church and David McGregor, of Union Lodge No. 11, gave addresses.

OTHER LODGES INSTITUTED

Application for the second lodge in Trenton was presented January 4, 1858, by Edward W. Scudder, to whom the privilege of withdrawing from Trenton Lodge No. 5, to form the new lodge, was granted. Mr. Scudder became worshipful master of the new body, known as *Mercer Lodge No. 50*. Egbert H. Grandin was elected senior warden and John R. S. Barnes, junior warden. Its warrant was issued January 13, 1858.

The third lodge instituted in Trenton was *Ashlar Lodge No. 76*, which received its warrant January 18, 1866. The first officers were: James S. Aitkin, worshipful master; Dr. W. W. L. Phillips, senior warden; and Edward T. Green, junior warden.

The warrant of *Column Lodge No. 120* is dated January 18, 1872, and its first officers were James Nicklin, worshipful master; Levi I. Bibbins, senior warden; and Lewis C. Wooley, junior warden.

Fraternal Lodge No. 139, whose warrant was granted January 21, 1875, had as its first officers: John G. Box, worshipful master; Robert Stewart, senior warden; and George W. Thomas, junior warden.

The warrant for *Loyal Lodge No. 181* was issued March 23, 1905. Its first officers were: Richard C. Chamberlain, worshipful master; John E. Gill, senior warden; and John R. Summerfeldt, junior warden.

The latest lodge instituted is the *True Craftsman No. 202*, which received its warrant April 20, 1916. Edmund J. Levy was worshipful master; Norval H. Miller, senior warden; and Evin J. Green, junior warden.

PAST MASTERS' ASSOCIATION

The Past Masters' Association of Trenton Lodge No. 5 is composed of former presiding officers of the lodge. As soon as they have completed their terms of office, the past masters automatically become members of the Association.

This organization was formed for social purposes November 16, 1891, with twenty-five charter members. Among them were Jacob B. Hartpence, then the oldest past master of the lodge, City Commissioner J. Ridgway Fell, Judge George W. Macpherson, Counsellor W. Holt Apgar, William A. MacCrellish, John F. L. Thompson, former Senator B. B. Hutchinson, William D. Sinclair, Charles Bechtel, William H. Brace, Lewis Parker, Edward S. Ellis, Samuel Brackett, Henry C. Case, George F. Butterworth, Samuel W. Thropp, Joseph T. Ridgway, James McCann, John L. Lindsay, Edwin F. Reppart, J. E. Stevenson, John G. Box, W. W. Stelle and Andrew Dutcher.

It is the custom of the association to hold one meeting a year, which takes the form of a dinner. This is generally held on St. John's Day.

Social and Fraternal Organizations

YORK RITE MASONRY

York Rite Masonry in Trenton has the following units: Three Times Three Chapter, Royal Arch Masons; Gebal Council No. 3, Royal and Select Masters; Palestine Commandery No. 4, Knights Templar; New Jersey Grand Council, Royal and Select Masters; and Grand Commandery, Knights Templar.

THREE TIMES THREE CHAPTER NO. 5, R.A.M.

The Three Times Three Chapter No. 5, Royal Arch Masons, had its beginning in 1858, when the Most Excellent Grand High Priest William H. Doggett granted a dispensation to James N. Van Antwerp, Charles H. Higginson and Thomas J. Corson. Work was begun on this and continued until the meeting of the Grand Chapter at Burlington, September 8, 1858. At that time a warrant was granted to Mr. Higginson, Mr. Corson and John Woolverton.

Members of the chapter at its organization were James N. Van Antwerp, most excellent high priest; Charles H. Higginson, excellent king; Thomas J. Corson, scribe; Charles L. Pearson, secretary; William R. Clapp, treasurer; John Woolverton, John F. Houdayer, John P. Nelson, William Eccles and Harper Crozer.

GEBAL COUNCIL NO. 3, R.A.M.

Records of the Grand Council of Pennsylvania, under date of March 16, 1860, show that Alfred Creigh, grand master, granted a dispensation to constitute Gebal Council No. 14, of this city. He appointed Thomas J. Corson as thrice illustrious grand master; Joseph H. Hough as deputy illustrious grand master; William R. Clapp as principal conductor of the work; Harper Crozer as treasurer; and John O. Raum as recorder.

In 1862, Gebal Council began to hold meetings in rooms of Trenton Lodge No. 5, F. and A.M. Later, in 1866, meetings were held in rooms of the Three Times Three Chapter.

Interest lagged for several years. In 1877, a resolution was presented before the Grand Council of New Jersey to consider the question of disbanding this body as a distinct Masonic organization. A motion was also made to have Gebal Council surrender its charter, but through the opposition of a few members, this was indefinitely postponed.

In 1881 and 1882 drastic steps were taken to revive Gebal Council, and this movement resulted in new applications for membership and later in a revision of the by-laws.

In July 1885, Gebal Council moved to the then new Masonic Temple, and conducted its meetings in the rooms of the Three Times Three Chapter and Palestine Commandery, K.T. From 1891 to 1900, the council declined once more, but from then until now the organization has recovered itself and has steadily prospered.

Increasing membership brought up questions of enlarged quarters, and in 1911 a committee was appointed to confer with committees of other Masonic bodies on the matter of a new temple for the sole use of the Masonic organizations in Trenton. Out of this movement and similar action

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on the part of other Masonic groups resulted the present temple at Willow and Front Streets.

THE PALESTINE COMMANDERY NO. 4

The Palestine Commandery No. 4 was organized under dispensation January 6, 1862, and instituted September 11, 1862. Joseph H. Hough was eminent commander; William R. Clapp, generalissimo; John Woolverton, captain general.

NEW JERSEY GRAND COUNCIL, ROYAL AND SELECT MASTERS

Cryptic Masonry in New Jersey seems to have begun with the establishment of three subordinate Councils, Kane No. 11, of Newark, New Brunswick No. 12, of New Brunswick, and Gebal No. 14, of Trenton. These, chartered by the jurisdictions of New York and Pennsylvania, united to form the Grand Council of New Jersey.

Trentonians who have been among the grand masters of the Grand Council, Royal and Select Masters of New Jersey, are:

Thomas J. Corson, 1861; John P. Nelson, 1864; Charles Bechtel, 1866; Joseph W. Pressy, 1874; Gilbert B. Slack, 1888; Linsley Rowe, 1890; Joseph Ashton, Jr., 1892; Isaac Lowenstein, 1895; David H. Lukens, 1899; Richard C. Chamberlain, 1906; Oscar F. Niedt, 1911; Harry Ames Putnam, 1914; John G. Brian, 1915 and William B. Thines, 1921.

Grand recorders from Trenton were: Joseph H. Hough, 1860-62; Thomas J. Corson, 1863-79; Charles Bechtel, 1880-1902; and Harry A. Putnam, 1915 to the present time. Trentonians who served as grand treasurers were: William R. Clapp 1860-62; Charles Bechtel, 1874; John Woolverton, 1875-87; Gilbert B. Slack, 1888-1913; R. C. Chamberlain, 1914 to the present time. Of the correspondents, those who served from Trenton were: Joseph H. Hough, 1860-62; Thomas J. Corson, 1863-79; Charles Bechtel, 1880-93 and 1897-99; and Harry A. Putnam, 1917-22.

THE GRAND COMMANDERY

Since its organization five Trentonians have been head of the Grand Commandery, which was formed February 14, 1860, at Burlington, N.J. William H. Doggett was the first grand commander, and the Trentonians who have succeeded to this post are: T. J. Corson, 1861; Dr. John Woolverton, 1868; James McCain, 1895; William P. Hayes, 1915; and William M. Muschert, 1923.

Residents of Trenton who have been chosen to the post of grand recorders of the Commandery are: C. G. Milnor, who served 1860-62; T. J. Corson, 1862-78; G. B. Edwards, 1879; Charles Bechtel, 1880-1903; T. H. R. Redway, 1904-08; and John M. Wright, 1909 and still serving.

ANCIENT ACCEPTED SCOTTISH RITE

The Scottish Rite branch of the Masonic order in Trenton consists of Mercer Grand Lodge of Perfection; Mercer Council, Princes of Jerusalem; Trenton Chapter of Rose Croix; and the Trenton Consistory.

Mercer Grand Lodge of Perfection was formed April 21, 1863, with

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Joseph H. Hough as thrice potent master. Other officers were: Mr. Clapp, deputy illustrious master; William T. Nicholson, senior warden; David Naar, Jr., junior warden; John F. Houdayer, treasurer; and M. Robert Hough, secretary.

William R. Clapp was the first sovereign prince of the *Mercer Council, Princes of Jerusalem*, organized May 19, 1864. The other original officers were: David Naar, deputy master; William T. Nicholson, senior warden; John F. Houdayer, junior warden; and Joseph H. Hough, secretary.

Trenton Chapter of Rose Croix was formed April 17, 1868, with Charles Bechtel as most wise master. Those who served with him were: William T. Nicholson, senior warden; William R. Clapp, junior warden; Thomas J. Corson, orator; John O. Raum, treasurer; and Joseph H. Hough, secretary.

The *Trenton Consistory* came into being September 20, 1906, when the Supreme Council meeting in Boston granted a charter for the local consistory. David H. Lukens was chosen commander-in-chief; Dr. Elmer Barwis, first lieutenant; Howard N. Richards, second lieutenant commander; John M. Wright, secretary; Richard C. Chamberlain, treasurer; Dr. E. H. Ginnelley, orator; Thomas W. Obert, chancellor; A. K. Leuckel, master of ceremonies; George A. Katzenbach, hospitaller; Ira C. Leedom, engineer and seneschal; Harry F. Smith, standard bearer; Peter McGill, guard; and Lawrence J. Ayres, sentinel.

ANCIENT ARABIC ORDER, NOBLES OF THE MYSTIC SHRINE

The idea of the formation of Crescent Temple originated with an enthusiastic group of Shriners, mostly members of Lu Lu Temple, of Philadelphia, who had formed a Shrine Club in this city before there was a temple in New Jersey.

CRESCENT TEMPLE

In 1902 Salaam Temple was formed at Newark and given jurisdiction over the entire State. All candidates were required to go there for initiation. In December 1903 a meeting of the Trenton Shrine Club was called by Dr. Charles P. Britton, the president, for the purpose of making application for a charter for a temple to be located at Trenton, to be known as Crescent Temple. A petition was presented to the Imperial Council meeting held in Atlantic City July 14, 1904, at which time a dispensation was granted for the formation of the temple. Dr. Edwin H. Ginnelley was designated as the first illustrious potentate. On November 14, a meeting was held to select officers for the institution of the temple which resulted in the following elections:

Illustrious potentate, Edwin H. Ginnelley; chief rabban, Charles G. Cook; assistant rabban, Paul L. Cort; high priest and prophet, John W. Jones; oriental guide, George A. Katzenbach; treasurer, J. Allen Southwick; recorder, Linford D. Closson.

The temple was instituted under dispensation November 17, 1904, by George W. Weidenmayer, of Salaam Temple and the first class of candidates, seventy-eight in number, was initiated.

On June 23, 1905, the dispensation was surrendered and a regular charter granted. The following September 14, the temple was fully constituted, Potentate George Weidenmayer again acting as special deputy for the

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imperial potentate. At this time there were 332 charter members. Meetings were held in the Masonic Temple at State and Warren Streets until June 24, 1916, when the present Crescent Temple Mosque was completed and dedicated. At this time there were 1405 members and the building was considered large enough for all time to come.

The growth of the organization has been remarkable and for several years the officers have realized that a larger mosque must be provided. As a result a new mosque is now in the course of construction, which will be one of the largest for strictly Shrine purposes in North America, with a seating capacity for approximately four thousand persons, a banquet hall which will seat two thousand six hundred at one time, a stage 60 x 75 feet and other facilities in proportion. There are at the present time about seven thousand five hundred members on the roster.

The potentates of Crescent Temple, with their terms of office are: Dr. Ginnelley, 1904-10; Harry E. Evans, 1911-12; Peter A. Caughell, 1913-14; J. Blair Cuthbert, 1915-16; Newton A. K. Bugbee, 1917-18; Alfred K. Leuckel, 1919-20; Howard J. Dudley, 1921-22; Barton T. Fell, 1923-24; Frederick P. Rees, 1925-26. Earl E. Jeffries, the present potentate, is now serving his second year. Linford D. Closson, who assumed office as recorder during the formation of the temple in 1904, has served in that capacity ever since.

TALL CEDARS OF LEBANON

From an old custom of Masons of New Jersey, who were members of the Grand Lodge, the Tall Cedars of Lebanon originated.

David H. Lukens was the founder of the order in Trenton, having suggested that a Trenton Forest be established here, after he had been given the degree elsewhere. The Supreme Forest of Tall Cedars was incorporated March 18, 1902, and the first session was held in this city, February 6, 1903.

The Tall Cedars is composed exclusively of Blue Lodge Masons.

MASONIC TEMPLES

Trenton has had three Masonic Temples. The latest one dedicated March 1, 1927, stands on the site of the first temple, erected in 1793 at Front and Willow Streets, by Trenton Lodge No. 5. Much of the history of the Masonic temples in Trenton is inseparably linked up with this lodge.

THE FIRST TEMPLE

Minutes of the old lodge reveal that for some time after organization meetings apparently were held at the homes of the various members, but in 1789 it was felt that the lodge was growing to such a size that suitable quarters should be obtained for it.

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In 1792 a committee composed of Aaron D. Woodruff, Richard Howell, Isaac DeCou and Bernard Hanlon was appointed to report on the expediency of building a hall or lodge room for use of the organization, together with an estimate of its cost. The committee reported favorably April 2, and another committee was appointed to devise means of raising funds to pay for the new building.

In 1793, Mark Thompson, of Harmony Lodge No. 8, Newton, Sussex County, gave to Trenton Lodge No. 5 a plot of ground in Barrack Street, now known as Willow Street. Mr. Thompson was father-in-law of Mr. Woodruff, first master of Trenton Lodge. In view of this gift, plans were prepared for the proposed building, and Mr. Woodruff, with Messrs. Richard Howell, Stockton, Ewing and DeKlyn, was named as a committee for this purpose. The committee reported plans for a building costing approximately £376, 15s, 10d, or about \$1,900.

The lodge was, it seems, financially able to appropriate £100 toward the building, and the Grand Lodge appropriated £75. Subscriptions had been pledged amounting to £185 15s., making a total of £364 15s. It was decided that with this amount available, the work on the building should proceed.

On August 19, 1793, the committee announced that everything was in readiness for the laying of the cornerstone which occurred at "high twelve," August 26.

Nineteen years later, Trenton Lodge felt the need for larger quarters, and inquiry was made as to the feasibility of enlarging the hall, but nothing apparently was done at that time.

In January 1827 the matter of the lodge building was once more before the organization, and consideration was given to the purchase of a lot on which to erect a Masonic Temple, but nothing definite was done until many years had elapsed.

In 1842 a tract of land in the rear of the hall was bought for \$207.90, presumably for an addition, but no progress was made evidently because of financial difficulties.

At its April meeting 1860, Trenton Lodge No. 5 unanimously resolved that the worshipful master, on behalf of the trustees of the lodge, should subscribe \$2,000 to the Masonic Hall Association for one hundred shares of stock, for the construction of a new building. The only result, however, was the building of a brick addition on the side of the old building.

At the meeting May 6, 1867, a committee was again named to seek more suitable quarters, and John Taylor, a member, offered a long lease for the third floor of Taylor Hall, later known as Taylor Opera House. The lease was taken for five years, and the new rooms were dedicated December 9, 1867, by Most Worshipful Grand Master Silas Whitehead.

The committee reported January 6, 1868, that the old lodge property had been sold. The ancient building passed into friendly hands, and one of the best-known free schools was established there. Thomas J. Macpherson, father of Judge George W. Macpherson, was master of the school, which he conducted in this building for five years.

THE SECOND TEMPLE

Some years after Trenton Lodge had located in the Taylor Opera House, a committee, composed of William D. Sinclair and Charles Bechtel, was appointed to investigate the possibility of erecting a new temple. The corner-

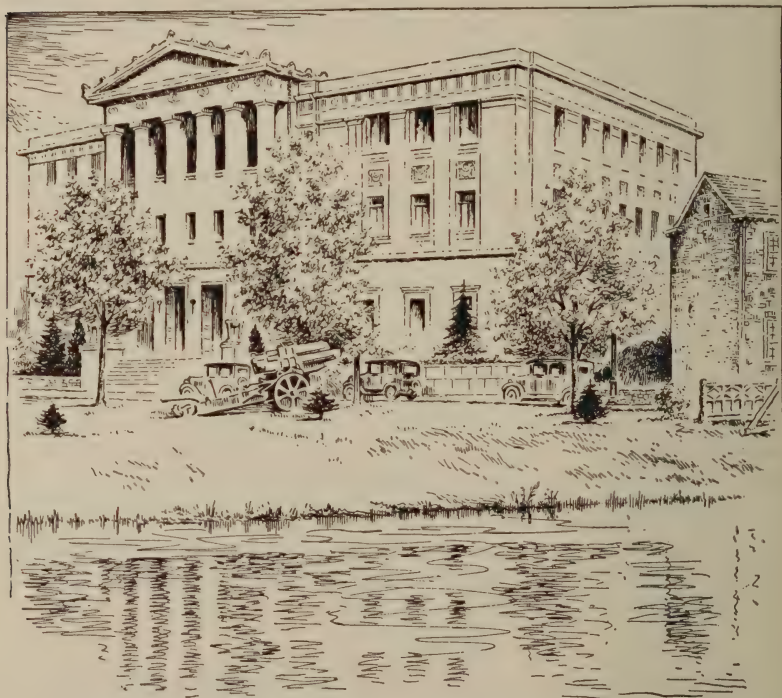
A History of Trenton

stone of this second temple, at State and Warren Streets, was laid July 13, 1884, with the Grand Lodge, Trenton lodges, and various other Masonic organizations in this section of the country in attendance. The building was finished in 1885, when the local lodges took possession of it.

When the second temple was built, a stock company had been organized and shares were sold to members. This proved to be a fatal mistake, for through this very arrangement the fraternity was practically turned out of its home. It was not realized when the stock in the building was sold originally that, as the holders died, the stocks which did not pay any dividends might be sold and thus the control of the property would pass from the hands of the Masonic organizations. This is exactly what happened, for the Trenton Banking Company had been quietly buying up these shares until it had a controlling interest. The purpose was of course to acquire the property as the site for the new home of the banking company.

THE NEW TEMPLE

When the temple thus passed from the Masons, City Commissioner J. Ridgway Fell led the movement for a new building. He obtained options on the Willow and Front Street site and, with these options, one on the old First Masonic Hall, then being used as an upholstering shop. The



PRESENT MASONIC TEMPLE, BUILT 1928, SOUTH WILLOW STREET.

Social and Fraternal Organizations

original temple was bought in 1915 by a group of Masons, led by General W. F. Sadler, Jr., and presented to Grand Lodge.

In 1916 S. E. Kaufman, J. Henry Fell and Edgar D. Coleman were named as a committee to call all the Trenton Masonic bodies together for a discussion of a new building. The committee met with representatives of all the Masonic groups, and from these sessions a Trenton Masonic Temple Association was formed. The Association was incorporated April 25, 1917, and the incorporators were: Alfred K. Leuckel, Trenton No. 5; Charles H. Crozier, Mercer No. 50; Thomas E. Raub, Ashlar No. 76; W. J. B. Stokes, Column No. 120; S. E. Kaufman, Fraternal No. 139; Absalom E. Clark, Loyal No. 181; and Samuel Freeman, True Craftsman No. 202.

Each of the incorporators held one share of Founders' Preferred Stock for \$2,000 in perpetuity for his lodge, so that the new temple will never pass from the lodges represented without dissolution of the Association and without the consent of these organizations.

Subscriptions were being successfully obtained for the new temple when the World War intervened, and nothing more was done until June 4, 1921, when at a meeting of all the representatives of the Masonic groups it was decided to resume activities. In successive campaigns the sum of \$800,000 was raised to meet the cost of the temple. The cornerstone was laid October 9, 1926. Governor A. Harry Moore, of New Jersey, gave the main address. The building was finished and formally opened February 28, 1928.

THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR

The Order of the Eastern Star is composed of women whose male relatives are members of the Masonic order, and there are five chapters in Trenton.

The oldest of these is the *Morning Star Chapter No. 22*, organized July 19, 1898. Its first officers were: George W. Thomas, Sr., worthy patron; Mrs. Eva A. Wyckoff, worthy matron; Miss Virginia W. Houghtaling, assistant matron; Miss Kate Houghtaling, secretary.

Fidelity Chapter No. 89 was instituted June 12, 1917. Its first officers were: Albert Rogowski, worthy patron; Miriam Eckstein, worthy matron; Fannie F. Freeman, associate matron; Rose Millner, secretary; Dorothy Goldman, treasurer.

Victory Chapter No. 96 was instituted May 31, 1918, with Charles C. Brooks, worthy patron; Mrs. Kate E. Bozarth, worthy matron; Mrs. Stella S. Applegate, associate matron; Mrs. Ethel L. Brook, treasurer; Mrs. Stella E. Homan, secretary.

There is also an *Ashlar* and a *Trenton Chapter*.

III. Other Fraternal Organizations

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS

THE Independent Order of Odd Fellows was formed in this country in 1819, under the leadership of Thomas Wildey, the first lodge being self-instituted by five men who

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held membership in the parent body in England. On April 26, 1819, they formed Washington Lodge No. 1, at Baltimore, Md., and this lodge is still flourishing. The order is not an insurance society; it is not primarily a beneficial society. Its primary object is and always has been of a fraternal nature, with particular attention paid to the care of its sick and distressed members and their families.

Application being made to open a Grand Lodge in this State and there being some rivalry between lodges, at the suggestion of Thomas Wildey, *Trenton Lodge No. 3* was formed August 3, 1833, the same day the Grand Lodge of New Jersey was instituted in this city.

Only a year after the institution of Trenton Lodge No. 3, *Concordia Lodge No. 4* was organized in Trenton September 29, 1834, and it continued up to a few years ago when it was merged with one of the other lodges.

At the present time there are six lodges in Trenton, with a membership of 1,847 and with invested funds of more than \$130,000. These lodges are: *Trenton No. 3*; *Mercer No. 34*; *Garibaldi No. 102*; *Fred D. Stuart No. 154*; *Home No. 211*; and *Meni Lodge No. 217*.

Trentonians who have been grand master of the order in New Jersey are: William C. Branin, 1836-37; Sylvester van Syckel, 1838; John McCully, 1839; Samuel B. Scattergood, 1840; Henry C. Boswell, 1841; Marshall C. Holmes, 1842; Edward D. Weld, 1843; Joseph Wood, 1851; Robert W. Mull, 1867; James S. Kiger, 1877; George W. Hammell, Jr., 1885; Harry E. Jones, 1906; William T. Robbins, 1910.

The Rebekah Branch of the Order, being composed mainly of the female relatives of members, and single women, was established in 1850.

Concordia Rebekah Lodge No. 4 was organized at Trenton in 1868. It, however, shortly became defunct and the Rebekah Degree in Trenton is now represented by *Ruth Rebekah Lodge No. 9*, which was instituted January 7, 1890, and is an active working lodge.

No recital of Odd Fellowship would be complete without special reference to its provision for the care of its aged members, their wives, widows and orphans.

In Trenton there is a Home for the Aged, established in 1885, in which seventy old folks are being sheltered and looked after.

JUNIOR ORDER OF UNITED AMERICAN MECHANICS

The Junior Order of United American Mechanics, a patriotic, fraternal and beneficial organization was introduced into New Jersey by the institution of Lincoln Council No. 1, at Camden, January 1866. The State Council of New Jersey was organized at Camden, July 12, 1869, with nine councils, the total number at that time in New Jersey. Among them was Enterprise No. 6 of Trenton, which was instituted in October 1868. The first

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annual session of the State Council was held October 21, 1869, in the rooms of Enterprise Council in this city.

The Councils which have been instituted in Trenton are: *Enterprise No. 6*, instituted in 1868 by Ogden Lanning, G. Kafer, J. Letterer and J. Van Horn. These men were identified with the creation of the order, and Mr. Lanning was the first duly elected secretary of the State Council; *Liberty Council No. 18*, instituted September 1870; *Alert No. 45*, instituted January 20, 1874; *Mercer No. 50*, March 25, 1890; *Commodore Perry No. 80*, November 24, 1890; *Nathan Hale No. 89*, February 25, 1891; *Trenton No. 90*, March 5, 1891; *Century No. 100*, May 29, 1891; and *Rutherford B. Hayes No. 143*, February 3, 1893.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS

The Ancient Order of Hibernians, the outstanding organization in this country whose members are Roman Catholics of Irish birth or descent, had its origin in Ireland in the sixteenth century. It was first established in the United States in 1836, and in Trenton in 1871 when a few Irishmen gathered at the home of Christopher McCann in South Trenton. The prime movers were William Reilly and James Sharkey, who had come to Trenton from the coal mining region. An organization was effected with the election of William Reilly as president, James Sharkey as vice-president, Edward McKeever as secretary and Christopher McCann as treasurer.

Division No. 1, the Mother Division, was formally organized March 22, 1872. This division eventually located in St. Mary's Cathedral parish, and *Division No. 2* was organized in South Trenton, January 23, 1882, with William F. Grenan as president, John Waldron as vice-president, John J. Mullen as recording secretary, John Landerkin as financial secretary and John Haggerty as treasurer.

Division No. 3 was organized in the Chambersburg section in October 1888, with John P. Casey as president, Peter Doyle as vice-president, Michael Callery as recording secretary and William Cantwell as treasurer. *Division No. 4* of St. Joseph's parish was organized in 1890 with James E. Clinton as president, Hugh Kennedy as vice-president, Andrew McDonough as recording secretary, Michael M. McDonough as financial secretary and Henry Brown as treasurer. *Division No. 5*, embracing largely the Swamp Angel section, was organized in 1893 with Thomas P. Burns as president, Patrick Martin as vice-president, Joseph Higgins as recording secretary, Joseph McDonough as financial secretary and Roger Henry as treasurer. *Division No. 6*, which was a reorganization of Division No. 3, came into existence in 1898 and later on *Divisions 7, 8 and 9* were organized.

The officers of the different divisions constitute the County Board, through which the present A.O.H. building on North Warren Street was acquired as headquarters for the entire order of the city, and since then a

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movement has been on foot for the consolidation of all the divisions with Division No. 1 having within its ranks the larger part of the nearly one thousand members of the order in this city. The only remaining separate divisions of the order at this time are Division No. 2 and Division No. 7.

The A.O.H. in this city has paid out many thousands of dollars in sick and death benefits, and has taken an active part in all Catholic movements as well as in Irish movements.

ST. PATRICK'S ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

Men of Irish birth and descent, living in the United States, formed the St. Patrick's Alliance of America, as a non-sectarian organization to promote better feeling among the sects. Membership is open to any one who believes in freedom for Ireland and is of Irish blood.

There are two units in Trenton, *Branch No. 1*, organized September 1887, and *Branch No. 4*, organized September 6, 1891, with *District No. 7*, established March 27, 1889.

TRENTON LODGE NO. 105, B.P.O.E.

Under a dispensation granted by Hamilton E. Leach, grand exalted ruler, Trenton Lodge No. 105, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, was formed October 24, 1888. It had about fifty members, among them some of the best-known men of the city. General Richard A. Donnelly, father of Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly, was the lodge's first exalted ruler.

The first meeting of the new lodge was held November 22, 1888, in Temperance Hall at South Broad and Front Streets, where the Goldberg department store is now located. The December meeting was held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, North Broad and Hanover Streets, and it was not until April 1, 1889, that the lodge moved into its own quarters at 23 and 25 North Warren Street.

The lodge was very prosperous at this time, and had in its membership men who were outstanding in many walks of life.

In the spring of 1894 the lodge again moved, going this time to 38 West State Street. The entire dwelling was used by the order and fitted up as an Elks' home, but in October 1895, for some reason, the organization went back to its location at 23-25 North Warren Street, this time occupying the second floor.

From 1895 to 1900 Trenton Lodge No. 105 was inactive, but from the beginning of the century until 1909 it had rapid growth. It was then proposed that the lodge should have its own home. This suggestion proved a popular one, and soon \$35,000 was guaranteed for the project. The committee appointed selected the present site, 120-122 North Warren Street, and under proper authority issued twenty-year bonds of \$25 denomination,

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which were purchased by the members. The new building was begun in 1910, completed the following year and formally opened January 1, 1912.

The new home was dedicated May 21, 1913, with District Deputy Grand Exalted Ruler Alexander W. Mack, of Somerville Lodge No. 1068, as master of ceremonies.

The lodge now has a membership of about 1,600.

In 1922 a movement was started under the leadership of Past Exalted Ruler Joseph G. Buch to aid crippled children, which soon spread all over New Jersey and the nation.

Trenton Lodge was so fortunate in its activities after 1913, that in 1925 it paid off the twenty-year bonds which were not due until 1930. The organization is now entirely clear of debt.

PATRIOTIC ORDER, SONS OF AMERICA

The Patriotic Order, Sons of America, has seven camps in Trenton and the Mercer Commandery. The oldest camp, No. 7, was the first one instituted in New Jersey.

The Trenton *Camp No. 7* was sponsored by Camp No. 7 of Philadelphia and was organized in 1888. After two rather difficult years, it relinquished its charter. On January 8, 1891, it was reorganized, and now has grown to be one of the strongest in the State. The old records have been lost, but it is known that A. L. Updyke was the first president.

Camp No. 14 was organized February 17, 1892, and its first officers were W. Penn Walters, president; John Robbins, recording secretary; John Caldwell, financial secretary; and T. D. Terhune, treasurer.

Camp No. 17 was instituted March 1892 by Past State President Samuel L. Davis. It had twenty-six charter members. Fred Wildrick was the first president; Thomas W. Cubberly, vice-president; and William Hutchinson, treasurer. This camp owns its own home on North Montgomery Street.

Camp No. 20 was instituted in Broad Street Park, May 7, 1903, with William R. Galbraith as president.

Camp No. 192, organized January 3, 1916, with twenty-five members, and Robert Scott as president. There is also a *Camp No. 6*.

The *Mercer Commandery No. 25* was organized November 11, 1904, with William H. Tilton as commander.

PATRIOTIC ORDER OF AMERICANS

The Patriotic Order of Americans has three units in Trenton, Camp No. 37, Camp No. 7 and Camp No. 6.

LOYAL ORDER OF MOOSE

The purpose of the organization is to provide sick and death benefits along the regular lodge plan, and also to promote social activity and friendly intercourse among its members.

Trenton Lodge No. 164, Loyal Order of Moose, was organized October 21, 1909, by James J. Davis, now United States Secretary of Labor. He was

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assisted in the preliminary work by William J. Bennett and John H. Nichols.

In June 1910 the members purchased the building at 121 East Hanover Street. After spending considerable money to renovate it, the organization, during a dispensation of open charter, increased its membership to two thousand seven hundred members. With the increase of members it was finally decided that the quarters were too small and a committee was appointed to select a desirable location on which to build. After three months' time the committee recommended the purchase of the old Woolverton estate at East State and Canal Streets for \$30,000.

Building operations were begun in May 1914 and the home was turned over to the lodge October 16, 1915. It was designed exclusively for social and club quarters and contains lodge rooms and a spacious auditorium which may be rented for public occasions.

WOODMEN OF THE WORLD

The Woodmen of the World is represented in Trenton by several very successful camps and groves. They are:

Trenton Camp No. 33, organized May 1904, which now has 2,475 members.

Wilbur Camp No. 45, organized May 1907, which now has 1,867 members.

Kent Camp No. 49, organized January 1908, which has a present membership of 127.

Expraxion Grove No. 12, formed April 1911, and now having 1,432 members.

Laurel Grove No. 21, formed April 1915, and now having 765 members.

All these were organized under the supervision of present District Manager Peter B. Tilton who has served in that capacity since 1906. District Manager Edna V. Tilton supervises the Groves, the women's organization.

NATIONAL UNION

Trenton now has four councils of the National Union. The first one, Trenton No. 346, was organized by B. F. Morrell, July 23, 1889. The others are:

Monument Council No. 550, organized April 1, 1892, by Harry E. Evans;

Mercer Council No. 404, organized by C. F. Fenn, November 15, 1894;

Vigilant No. 1039, formed February 18, 1904, by Harry E. Evans.

ORDER OF ST. GEORGE

The American Order, Sons of St. George, has three lodges and two auxiliaries in Trenton.

The lodges are *Sir Charles Napier No. 33*, organized March 5, 1878; *Royal Oak No. 36*, organized September 5, 1878; and *Chatham No. 136*, formed November 28, 1883.

The *Auxiliary* of Royal Oak Lodge was formed February 8, 1917, and that of Chatham was formed in 1927.

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Trenton Lodge No. 270, Order of Daughters of St. George, was instituted April 8, 1926. There were sixty-nine charter members.

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS

The Knights of Pythias Order is represented in Trenton by Spartacus Lodge No. 10, organized April 9, 1868; Trenton Lodge No. 60; Pythias No. 61; Hamilton No. 91; and a women's branch, Sicilian Temple No. 17, Pythian Sisters, organized November 29, 1909.

KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN EAGLE

Two camps and one temple constitute the units of the Knights of the Golden Eagle in Trenton. They are Mercer Castle No. 23, Capital Castle No. 28, and Laurel Temple No. 3.

ORDER OF THE WHITE SHRINE OF JERUSALEM

Bethlehem Shrine No. 6, Order of the White Shrine of Jerusalem, was organized in this city, April 22, 1922.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY

Sons and Daughters of Liberty Order has the following units in Trenton: Pride of Trenton Council No. 4; Capital City No. 20; Mizpah No. 26; Betsy Ross No. 101; and the District Council No. 1.

UNITED AMERICANS

George Washington Temple No. 1 and Liberty Bell Temple No. 3 constitute the United Americans organizations in Trenton.

SHEPHERDS OF BETHLEHEM

The Order of the Shepherds of Bethlehem have the following Trenton units: Star of the East Lodge No. 4; Evening Star Lodge No. 7; and Star of Trenton Lodge No. 22.

IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN

Tribes of the Improved Order of Red Men in this city are: Moax Tribe No. 5; Assunpink No. 86; Iroquois No. 93; Uncas No. 102; Iska Council No. 33; and Mercer County Tribe.

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IV. War Veterans' Organizations

VETERANS' organizations have been organized in Trenton by men who fought in the Civil, Spanish-American and World Wars. The first of these goes back to two years after the close of the Civil War, and the latest was organized in 1920. Several of them have their women's auxiliaries, which assist in their social and patriotic activities.

G.A.R. POSTS

Bayard Post No. 8, of the Grand Army of the Republic, is the oldest veterans' organization in Trenton. It was chartered November 5, 1867, and named for George D. Bayard of Princeton, a General in the Union Army, who was killed in action December 13, 1862, at Fredericksburg, Va.

Aaron Wilkes Post No. 23, named for Adjutant Aaron Wilkes, a Trenton youth killed in action May 5, 1862, at Williamsburg, Va., and buried in Riverview Cemetery, this city, was chartered July 1, 1879.

The third post, *Thomas Hamilton Post No. 56*, is composed of Negro soldiers of the Union Army. It received its charter August 18, 1881.

Both the Bayard Post and the Aaron Wilkes Posts have their women's auxiliaries.

There is also a unit of the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, which was chartered November 18, 1887.

SONS OF VETERANS OF THE CIVIL WAR

The sons of Union Army veterans formed a society in 1881 for the purpose of perpetuating the memory, sacrifices and services of the veterans in preserving the Union. Other purposes were to inculcate patriotism, honor the dead through historical exercises and the proper observances of Memorial Day, and to assist the Grand Army men and extend aid to their widows and orphans.

The *General James A. Garfield Camp No. 4*, Sons of Veterans of the Civil War of Trenton, was organized January 9, 1896, and incorporated March 20, 1902. Its first captain was Herbert D. Williams.

The second unit of the Sons of Veterans is the *Ferd V. Dayton Camp No. 5*, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. It was organized May 10, 1883.

The *William J. Sewell Camp No. 22* is the Negro camp of the Sons of Veterans, and was organized May 28, 1895. The first commander was Robert J. Kinney and the present one is Samuel C. Harmon.

The James A. Garfield Camp has a woman's auxiliary *No. 18*, for which a charter was issued November 1, 1910.

SPANISH WAR VETERANS

Trenton Camp No. 42 of the National United Spanish War Veterans was not organized until May 11, 1926, when it received its charter. Fred C. Ruhlman was the first commander and Harry W. Brand is the present one.

On July 27, 1927, the *Trenton Auxiliary No. 24* of the Spanish War

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Veterans was organized. Marie K. Ruhlman was the auxiliary's first president and was succeeded by Mrs. Ella M. Clow.

ELKINS OLIPHANT POST, AMERICAN LEGION .

Almost immediately after the close of the World War and the demobilization of the troops, two posts of the American Legion were formed in Trenton, one the Blue and Gray Post No. 10 and the other Trenton Post No. 104. For the purpose of honoring Elkins Oliphant, son of an old and distinguished Trenton family, who was the first Trenton officer killed during the War, the two organizations combined in 1921 and became known as Elkins Oliphant Post No. 93.

The Blue and Gray Post, the first formed in Trenton, was established August 29, 1919, and took its name of Blue and Gray from the fact that it included in its membership not only the sons of men who fought in the Union Army during the Civil War, but also the sons of those who fought for the Confederacy.

Trenton Post was chartered September 6, 1919.

The amalgamation of the two posts was effected at a meeting of the memberships December 21, 1921. At the session January 4, 1922, the organization was completed, and an election of officers held. Samuel Scott, who had been junior vice-commander of Trenton Post and chairman of its hospitalization committee, was elected commander.

The amalgamated post was incorporated February 1922, for the purpose of promoting patriotism and the mutual interest of the membership.

Since the post was organized, its commanders have been: Samuel P. Scott, George F. Fleming, Lester G. Block, the Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, S. Leslie Tattersall, Francis W. Hunter and Dr. Martin W. Reddan.

Lieutenant Oliphant, in whose memory the post was named, was the son of Alexander C. Oliphant, for a number of years adjutant-general of New Jersey. He was the grandson of General S. Duncan Oliphant, who served with distinction in the Civil War, and of the United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia. Lieutenant Oliphant was killed October 18, 1918, at Ribeaupville, France, while taking part in the great offensive against the Hindenburg line.

THE POST AUXILIARIES

At the request of the men of Trenton Post, Mrs. Florence Schoch formed an auxiliary to that organization. There were fifty who joined at the Roll Call.

The first meeting of the auxiliary was held Hallowe'en Eve, 1920, when the following officers were elected: Mrs. Schoch, president; Mrs. Alexander C. Oliphant, vice-president; Mrs. Robert Gulliver, secretary; and Mrs. Alfred Reading, treasurer.

Since 1921 the auxiliary, with the assistance of the post, has held a Poppy Day sale annually, the proceeds of which go toward the post's work for disabled veterans and to the Convalescent Home at Toms River.

The Blue and Gray Post Auxiliary was the result of a meeting October 10, 1920, when five women, wives of members of the Blue and Gray Post No. 10, assembled in the home of the post at 72 North Clinton Avenue, at the call of Commander Black. The officers first elected were: Mrs. John H. McCullough, president; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, first vice-president; Mrs. W.

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Scott Taylor, second vice-president; Mrs. C. Frank Burr, third vice-president; Mrs. Frank Harris, corresponding secretary; Mrs. J. E. VanHorne, recording secretary; and Mrs. R. S. Seibert, treasurer. These officers served until the amalgamation.

After the amalgamation of the posts and their auxiliaries, the newly organized auxiliary of the Elkins Oliphant Post honored the young officer's mother, Mrs. Alexander C. Oliphant, by electing her as the first president. Those who served with her were: Mrs. Belle Spaulding, vice-president; Miss Mary Schroth, secretary; and Mrs. Bess Morrison, treasurer. The meetings were then held in the post rooms, 30 East Front Street.

The same officers served during 1922 and 1923. The presidents after that date have been: Miss Gertrude Miller, Mrs. A. C. Oliphant (reelection), Mrs. O. D. Oliphant and Mrs. W. N. Morrison.

Financial assistance has been given by the auxiliary to local organizations and institutions equipped to render medical and surgical care to former soldiers and their dependents.

40 AND 8 SOCIETY

In March 1920 the first effort was made to organize a play feature for the American Legion. Many legionnaires believed there should be some such unit, and Joseph W. Breen, a veteran of two wars, conceived the idea of the 40 and 8 Society. The title is taken from the legend on the French "side-door Pullmans," so familiar to the travelling doughboy. Its members are known as "Voyageurs Militaires" and the candidates as "Prisonniers de Guerre." The initiation ceremony is called a "Wreck" and is staged by a "Wrecking Crew." All officers of the organization are designated by terms used about the railroad stations of France.

On May 3, 1922, Sous Chef de Chemin de Fer George Dobson came to Trenton with the wrecking crew of Voiture No. 127 of Middlesex County and instituted the Trenton branch of the organization.

Immediately following the initiation an election was held and Richard Stockton, Jr., was elected the first Chef de Gare de Voiture No. 235, of Trenton, to serve for one year. Since then the following veterans have held this post: James E. Mitchell, Samuel P. Scott, Harry Evans, C. E. Edmonds, William Wharton, Charles W. Blakesley.

Of the many activities which the society has fostered perhaps the most important is the child welfare fund which it inaugurated. This fund is raised through payment of a percentage of each voyageur's dues to the child welfare committee of the American Legion.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

Since the World War there has been only one unit in Trenton of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and very little is known of any former organizations. The unit established since the World War is known as the Bloor-Volk Post No. 491. It is named for Spencer Bloor, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bloor, and Robert B. Volk, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert R. Volk. The post was organized in January 1927.

H. S. Van Camp was the first commander and was assisted by the following officers: William Ostermier, senior vice-commander; Elgin R. Mayer, junior vice-commander; Howard Heck, quartermaster; William

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Gabriel, adjutant; James Tarangioli, chaplain; Thomas McAllister, officer of the day; and Mr. Van Camp, Mr. Charles F. Burr and Mr. John Clymer, trustees.

John J. Boscarell is the present commander of the post, which has an active membership of two hundred and an increasing number of applicants.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS

The national organization of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War was founded in March 1920, by a group of wounded, injured and disabled men at Cincinnati, who felt the need for some unit that would have only the interests of the wounded and disabled at heart. The first Trenton chapter was organized in 1920 under the name of the Rehab Chapter. The name was later changed to the Theodore Roosevelt Chapter No. 2. The main object of the organization is to assist ex-service men and their families. The chapter has since adhered to this purpose and assisted every needy veteran's family that has come to its attention. This work was long done under the personal supervision of Frank Muccioli, who is a former service man and clerk of the City District Court.

The chapter was founded by Joseph M. Yakubisin.

Past commanders of the chapter are: Walter A. Neely, Frank Muccioli, James Argust, Clarence Keating, Thomas Miller, William B. Schrieber, Fred J. Paone, Clarence Branson, John J. Boscarell and Andrew J. Lake.

Frank Muccioli was elected first state commander of New Jersey, and Fred J. Paone was for three consecutive terms treasurer of the state organization, while Lewis Coney and Fred E. Pierce both served one term as state treasurer also.

V. Patriotic Societies

THE last decade of the nineteenth century brought a revival of interest throughout America in the stirring events of Colonial and Revolutionary history in the United States, and from 1890 to 1900 numerous societies intended to preserve the memory of the early Americans and their heroic achievements, were organized.

NEW JERSEY SOCIETY, SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

First among the societies of this character to be formed in Trenton was apparently the New Jersey Society, Sons of the Revolution. Although this is a State society of a national organization, it was formed by Trenton men, descendants of Revolutionary ancestors. From that time to this Trentonians have been conspicuous in the New Jersey Society of the Sons, many of them holding high office in that organization.

Judge Garret D. W. Vroom, a distinguished jurist of this city, always greatly interested in America's early history, Colonel S. Meredith Dickinson, descendant of one of the most gallant officers of the Revolution, and former Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson were three of those

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who signed the call for the meeting January 6, 1891, at which the New Jersey Society was formed.

It was at a meeting March 3, 1891, that the formal organization took place, and Colonel Dickinson was elected to the presidency. Clement H. Sinnickson, of Salem, was elected as vice-president; John A. Campbell, secretary; General Thomas S. Chambers, treasurer; Foster C. Griffith, registrar; Morris H. Stratton, of Salem, historian; and General George M. Robeson, Judge Vroom, General S. Duncan Oliphant, H. H. Hamill and Dr. William Elmer, all of this city, Bayard Stockton, of Princeton, C. A. Bergen, Peter L. Voorhees and William John Potts of Camden, members of the board of managers.

Some of Trenton's most influential citizens have served since that time in various offices of the society, which was incorporated January 13, 1923. Those who have been president are: Colonel Dickinson, Judge Vroom, Chancellor Walker, General Chambers, Colonel William Libbey, State Senator Jonathan H. Blackwell, Robert Chambers Belville, State Comptroller N. A. K. Bugbee and Attorney-General Edward L. Katzenbach, who is president now.

Trentonians who have held the office of vice-president are: Colonel William Libbey, Senator Jonathan H. Blackwell, Robert C. Belville and State Comptroller N. A. K. Bugbee.

Shortly after the formation of the society, the members participated in the exercises attendant upon the laying of the cornerstone of the Trenton Battle Monument, and this was the first of many historic and patriotic enterprises in which the society has been interested.

Members of the society later conceived the idea of fittingly marking the route followed by Washington on his march to Princeton. This was done, and at their annual meeting May 20, 1914, the members travelled by automobile over the route to unveil the twelve obelisks and tablets which they had erected along the way.

NEW JERSEY SOCIETY, COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

Trenton women, members of some of the city's oldest and most distinguished families, were responsible for the organization of the New Jersey Society, Colonial Dames of America. As in the case of the Sons of the Revolution, the Trenton members have ever since been closely and actively associated with the organization.

The New Jersey Society of the Dames was formed at a meeting held March 9, 1892, at the home of Miss Elizabeth Alford Smith, 178 West State Street. The first officers were Trenton women. Mrs. S. Meredith Dickinson, whose husband had been made president of the State Society of the Sons of the Revolution in 1891, was elected to the presidency of the Dames. Mrs. S. Duncan Oliphant was the first vice-president; Mrs. Henry M. Barbour, second vice-president; Miss Smith, recording secretary; Miss Caroline E. Nixon, corresponding secretary; Miss Mary Dickinson, treasurer; Mrs. Frederick C. Lewis, registrar; Miss Annie deB. McIlvaine, historian; and Miss Justina Livingston Atterbury, assistant historian. Mrs. W. W. L. Phillips, Mrs. Cleaveland Hilson, Mrs. Hugh H. Hamill, Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, Mrs. Hughes Oliphant and Miss Helen Griswold Green were the six Trenton women elected as the first managers.

Since the formation of the State Society of the Dames, several Trenton

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women have held the office of president. They include Mrs. S. Meredith Dickinson, Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, Mrs. Francis C. Lowthorp and Mrs. William Libbey. Mrs. Dickinson is now an honorary president and Miss Smith an honorary vice-president.

It is the aim of the society to preserve all buildings, relics and mementos of early American life, and to stimulate a healthful interest in Colonial affairs, and a spirit of true patriotism and love of country.

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS IN NEW JERSEY

On May 1, 1894, the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New Jersey was formed, and the first meeting to receive the charter and elect officers was held May 10, 1894, at the home of General Edward Burd Grubb, at Edgewater Park, N.J.

General William S. Stryker and United States Senator F. O. Briggs both have held the office of deputy governor in the society, while Colonel William Libbey was one time governor. General Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr., served the society in 1915-16 as treasurer, Senator Briggs was registrar and a gentleman of the council, and General Sadler and General Thomas S. Chambers were also gentlemen of the council.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Trenton has six chapters of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the first one organized in 1894 and the last in 1910.

The oldest Trenton chapter is the *Broad Seal*, which takes its name from the great seal of New Jersey, and which was organized December 13, 1894, at a meeting at the home of Mrs. Richard T. Stevens, of South Orange, N.J. The Broad Seal was the sixth chapter to be established in New Jersey, and its twelve charter members had all been members of the Nova Caesarea Chapter, of Newark. Mrs. Stevens was the Broad Seal's first regent.

Following Mrs. Stevens as regent were: Mrs. William S. Stryker, Mrs. James Buchanan Breese, Mrs. Cornelius Hook, Mrs. Cleaveland Hilson and Mrs. Paul L. Cort.

Trent Chapter came into existence January 24, 1895, upon invitation of Mrs. William S. Stryker, then state regent of New Jersey, and was the seventh to be formed in the State. The organizing regent was Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson of Lawrenceville and the organization meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Henry P. Perrine, on Greenwood Avenue, when officers were elected as follows: Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, regent; Mrs. James S. Stephens, vice-regent; Mrs. William J. George, of Lawrenceville, registrar; Miss Kate A. Mott, of Bordentown, treasurer; Mrs. Chauncey H. Beasley, recording secretary; Mrs. Edward L. Gulick, of Lawrenceville, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Mary A. Bell, historian.

The name selected by the chapter honors the memory of William Trent, first chief justice of New Jersey, for whom Trenton was named.

Mrs. Jamieson was regent of Trent Chapter until 1922, when she resigned, and Mrs. Francis C. Lowthorp was elected. When the latter resigned, she was succeeded in 1926 by Mrs. Henry W. Green. Mrs. Jamieson and Mrs. Lowthorp are honorary life regents of the chapter.

Mrs. John Moses, for many years a leader in both D.A.R. and Colonial Dames activities in Trenton, organized the *General David Forman Chap-*

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ter January 15, 1896. It began with nineteen charter members, and its first officers were: Mrs. Moses, regent; Mrs. Daniel R. Foster, vice-regent; Miss Julia Blackfan, registrar; Miss Laura Wilson, treasurer; Mrs. Robert Oliphant, secretary; and Mrs. Isaac Weatherby, historian.

Mrs. Moses served as regent from the organization of the Chapter until December 31, 1924, when she was succeeded by Mrs. Jennie Scudder Murray. The chapter is named for an ancestor of the first regent, General David Forman, who was a distinguished officer in the American Revolutionary War.

Mrs. Murray organized in 1926 the *Jinnie Jackson Society of the Children of the American Revolution* and was its first regent. Its aim is to interest the youth of the country in patriotic and historic matters, and to train members for the adult patriotic societies.

Mrs. Beulah A. Oliphant, who instituted the movement to have the original portions of the Old Barracks acquired and maintained as an historical landmark, was the organizing regent of the *Captain James Oliphant Chapter*. This chapter, formed May 12, 1896, with fifteen charter members, is a family one, whose members are either Oliphants by ancestry or Oliphants by marriage. Mrs. Oliphant was not only its founder, but served as its regent for twenty years. Mrs. S. D. Oliphant, Jr., succeeded her, and is the present regent. The membership now is twenty-four.

Rescue of the Old Barracks from destruction is the most outstanding achievement of the chapter. The idea of saving the building was conceived by the first regent, and at a chapter meeting in 1899 a resolution was passed "to endeavor to interest all patriotic societies to assist in the purchase of 'The Old Colonial and Revolutionary Barracks' for a home for Patriotic Societies."

The chapter was a charter member of the George Washington Memorial Association, Rocky Hill Headquarters Association, and the Mount Vernon Association. It also assisted in furnishing the dining-room of the Wallace House in Somerville, and other similar projects.

The chapter which bears the name of *General Hugh Mercer* was organized June 5, 1900, at the home of Mrs. Howell C. Stull, 369 West State Street.

The first officers and other charter members were: Mrs. Stull, regent; Mrs. Thomas Winans, vice-regent; Mrs. Edward W. Dunham, recording secretary; Mrs. George Foster, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Spencer Alpaugh, treasurer; Mrs. J. Murray Forst, registrar; Miss Mary Conover, historian; Mrs. William O. Burgelin, Mrs. Maxwell G. Rockhill, Mrs. Margaret Sickel, Miss Louise B. Struble and Mrs. John W. Ward.

Upon the removal of Mrs. Stull to Albuquerque, N.M., Miss Bertha M. Barwis was elected regent of the chapter.

The *General Washington Chapter* was organized May 1910, by Mrs. William Libbey, then state regent, at the home of Mrs. George B. Yard, of Greenwood Avenue. Mrs. Libbey appointed Mrs. Yard regent, a post which she held for many years. Other officers elected at the first meeting were: Mrs. James M. Green, vice-regent; Miss Lucile Green, secretary; Mrs. Arthur D. Forst, treasurer; Mrs. William J. J. Bowman, registrar; and Mrs. Lory Prentiss, historian.

Mrs. Yard was followed as regent by Mrs. Robert C. Maxwell, Mrs. Robert K. Bowman and Miss Elma Lawson Johnston.

Social and Fraternal Organizations

TRENTON BATTLE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

The movement which culminated in the formation of the Trenton Battle Monument Association, and the erection of the shaft at "Five Points" to commemorate the Battle of Trenton, began as long ago as July 4, 1843. General Garret D. Wall sent that day from Burlington a message to the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati, then meeting in the Court House at Trenton, urging appointment of a committee to erect "a monument to commemorate the victory gained by the Revolutionary Army under command of General Washington, at Trenton, December 26, 1776." The society complied with the suggestion and named General Wall chairman of the committee, which held its first meeting January 16, 1844, at Snowden's Hotel, Trenton.

On September 6, 1843, a public meeting of Trentonians had been held at the State House to consider the same project. This was called by Henry W. Green, Stacy G. Potts, and Samuel R. Gummere. The result of these two meetings was the obtaining of a charter March 8, 1844, for the "Trenton Monument Association." The incorporators included some of the most distinguished men of the State.

Little further was done until 1858-59, when Charles Chauncey Haven, of Trenton, through personal efforts interested many prominent citizens of the State in the project. On March 5, 1859, the Legislature passed a supplemental Act, changing the name to "New Jersey Monument Association," and adding two men from each County except Mercer, as incorporators. From Mercer thirteen additional men were added.

Commodore Stockton was elected president under this Act; Mr. Haven, vice-president and general agent; Thomas S. Allison, secretary; and Thomas J. Stryker, treasurer.

Subscriptions were sought and citizens of New Jersey contributed more than \$11,000. Further efforts to carry the project to completion ceased until May 7, 1884, when a charter was obtained for the "Trenton Battle Monument Association."

On December 28, 1886, the association directed that the property at the junction of Pennington, Princeton and Brunswick Avenues, and Greene (now Broad) and Warren Streets be bought. The following April 14, 1887, the Legislature appropriated \$15,000 and on March 3, 1891, Congress appropriated \$30,000. By July 3, 1891, citizens of New Jersey had contributed more than \$15,000, thereby rendering these appropriations available. Work was begun October 22, 1891.

On the 115th anniversary of the Battle of Trenton, December 26, 1891, the cornerstone of the monument was laid with elaborate ceremonies. General Thomas S. Chambers, Hugh H. Hamill and William H. Skirm were members of the committee on arrangements. The monument was dedicated October 19, 1893, on the 112th anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown. The ceremonies were brilliant and were attended by governors of eight of the original thirteen States, Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy, who represented the President of the United States, and several distinguished military units.

OLD BARRACKS ASSOCIATION

No patriotic society in Trenton has a more notable accomplishment to its credit than the Old Barracks Association. This organization of women

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raised public funds for the purchase of the original portions of the Old Barracks property, and thus made possible its preservation and restoration. The Old Barracks today is one of the places of greatest historic interest, not only in Trenton but in the entire State. It is used as a meeting place for numerous patriotic societies and as a Colonial landmark it is visited annually by thousands of persons from all points of the United States.

General William S. Stryker, when adjutant general of New Jersey, in the pursuance of his historic researches brought to public attention the fact that the Old Barracks was the only remaining building of this kind in New Jersey and recommended that the State buy the property.

In 1899, Mrs. S. D. Oliphant, Sr., who had previously been interested in the preservation of the Old Barracks, sought to collect funds to buy the old building. She associated with her in the endeavor Mrs. Stryker, wife of General Stryker, Mrs. Cornelius Hook, Miss Sarah N. Doughty of Absecon and Mrs. Henry L. Jenkinson of Newark. Miss Doughty withdrew in 1902, and Mrs. Washington A. Roebling served in her stead. Mrs. Jenkinson had withdrawn in 1901 and was succeeded by Mrs. James Buchanan Breese.

This self-appointed committee immediately appealed for contributions, and even resorted to a house-to-house solicitation. It was their intention to have the building saved and held by a Board of Trustees as "a place of interest for all residents of the State and other visitors, as a receptacle for old Colonial furniture, pictures and curios." In all, \$6,314.20 was raised and paid over to the Widows' and Single Women's Home Society, which owned the building and used it as a home for aged women.

The Board of Trustees of the Old Barracks was organized in 1902 and plans were tentatively formulated for the preservation and necessary improvements to the building. Mrs. Oliphant was elected president; Mrs. Stryker, vice-president; Miss Mary M. Moore, treasurer; and Mrs. Stull, secretary.

Shortly after the association was organized, patriotic societies began to apply for meeting rooms in the building. The Colonial Dames rented a room on the first floor with the privilege of using the auditorium for their meetings. Various D.A.R. chapters also were assigned rooms for meetings and to be used as repositories for their archives.

In 1911 the movement was begun to have the Old Barracks restored to its original lines, a project in which the Old Barracks Association heartily cooperated by deeding to the State the southern wing on condition that it be given perpetual management and control of the entire Barracks, when it was restored. The State accepted the deed and in 1917 the Legislature passed an Act appropriating \$2,500 annually toward the administration and maintenance of the building, under direction of the association.

The Old Barracks is the only remaining one of five military establishments which the Colonial Assembly authorized to be built at the time of the French and Indian Wars. The Trenton barracks was authorized in 1758, and was completed in March 1759. Others were erected at Burlington, Brunswick, Amboy and Elizabethtown.

The original groundfloor plan of the barracks, found not many years ago in the State House, made it possible for the building to be accurately restored. The credit for actually starting the restoration belongs to Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker. At a meeting of the Old Barracks Associa-

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tion held February 6, 1911, he presented to the association a drawing of the barracks as it was when first erected, and suggested that the structure be restored on the original lines.

A committee of the Society, Sons of the Revolution, largely through the initiative of General Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr., was able to bring the project to completion. Acts were passed by the Legislature, appropriating money for the acquisition of land and buildings, and finally for the restoration itself. In accordance with its agreement with the State, the Old Barracks Association has now full control of the building.

Many prominent Trenton women have served as president of the Old Barracks Association. These included: Mrs. Cornelius Hook, 1902-06; Mrs. James Monroe Green, 1906-07; and Mrs. J. Murray Forst, 1907-12. Mrs. Hook was again chosen 1912-14, followed by Mrs. William S. Stryker, 1914-15. The presidents since then have been Mrs. Breeze, Mrs. Thomas S. Chambers (now Mrs. C. Edward Murray), Mrs. John A. Montgomery, Mrs. Huston Dixon and Mrs. Robert K. Bowman. On May 25, 1927, Mrs. Stryker was made honorary president.

TRENTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Although Trenton is an old and important New Jersey city, in addition to being the capital of the State, until 1919 it had no society devoted exclusively to collecting the facts of its history, preserving its historic buildings and marking its notable sites. From time to time various organizations had taken cognizance of such events as the Crossing of the Delaware and the two Battles of Trenton, but none had functioned as a regularly organized historical society.

One of the organizations interested in historic matters was the Princes of Caliphs. This was a society founded in May 1902 among members of the Knights of Malta, and was intended originally as a social branch of this order. Later a more serious purpose was assumed, and the members gave special attention to the proper and fitting observance of days of historic import in the history of America. Such occasions as Washington's Birthday, Fourth of July and the anniversary of the Crossing of the Delaware and the Battles of Trenton were usually celebrated by the Caliphs with a banquet, an appropriate program following. Many well-known men in fraternal and civic life belonged to it, and at one time there were twelve hundred members.

At a banquet of the organization January 25, 1919, in observance of the Second Battle of Trenton, steps were taken to form a Trenton Historical Society. The suggestion came from Counsellor William J. Backes, who was serving as chairman of the banquet committee. His suggestion found instant favor, and the Rev. Charles H. Elder urged that a committee of ten be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws. Counsellor Backes named as members of this body Chancellor Walker, chairman; Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly, Judge Erwin E. Marshall, Judge Frederick W. Gnichtel, General Thomas S. Chambers, Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, John J. Cleary, William Williams, Jr., F. C. Griffith and Clayton L. Traver.

A constitution and by-laws were adopted and officers elected at a meeting held March 20, 1919. The first officers were: Chancellor Walker, president; Judge Gnichtel and F. C. Griffith, vice-presidents; William J. Backes, secretary; Dr. Godfrey, corresponding secretary; General Chambers, treas-

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urer; and Mr. Traver, Mayor Donnelly, J. J. Cleary, Charles S. Aitkin, Edmund C. Hill and Librarian Howard L. Hughes, members of the executive committee.

Chancellor Walker served the society for three years as president. He was succeeded in that office by Judge F. W. Gnichtel, Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, William J. Backes and John J. Cleary, the present incumbent.

Not long after its organization, the Trenton Historical Society was instrumental in having the name of former Mayor Frank A. Magowan restored to the bronze tablet bearing the names of the original Battle Monument Association, which stood within the entrance to the monument. Frank A. Magowan, Trenton's brilliant and once much-honored mayor, was a member of the Battle Monument Association and his name with others appeared originally on the bronze tablet in the shaft. Some time after he had retired, discredited, from public life, his name was effaced from the tablet by unknown persons and that of William S. Hancock was substituted. Mr. Hancock had been elected to the association when Mayor Magowan resigned. General Thomas S. Chambers was the last surviving member of the association and at his death, custody and control of the monument passed to the State House Commission. In order that the tablet might be accurate and also to right an injustice to Mr. Magowan, the Historical Association appealed to the State House Commission to have the tablet corrected and the commission ordered the change made.

The Historical Society supported the movement to save the old house once occupied by Alexander Douglass, an officer on General Washington's staff during the Revolution. It was in this house on January 2, 1777, that Washington held a council of war after the Second Battle of Trenton. Here was planned the masterly retreat to Princeton. The historic dwelling had submitted to numerous movings and was rapidly falling into decay, when sentiment was aroused to buy it and have it moved to a permanent location in Stacy Park. Largely through the efforts of the Catholic Club, upon the suggestion of General Wilbur F. Sadler, this plan materialized.

It was at the instance of the Historical Society, also, that Trenton celebrated the 150th anniversary of the Battles of Trenton. The event is described in detail in another chapter, "Trenton in the Twentieth Century," in this volume.

With the publication of this History of Trenton the society has successfully concluded another undertaking designed to preserve old records and recall significant events in the city's life.

MAHLON STACY DIVISION, SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE PILGRIMS

To perpetuate the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, to foster their principles and virtues, and to encourage the study of their qualities, acts and principles of government, the Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims has recently been established. The Mahlon Stacy Division of Trenton was formed October 12, 1923. Members of the society must have a direct ancestor who settled within the Colonies prior to 1700. Organization of the local division, named for the first settler of Trenton, who was himself in this country long before 1700, took place at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Satterthwaite. Officers elected were: William P. Ivins, lieutenant-governor; Daniel

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Willets, second lieutenant-governor; State Senator A. Crozer Reeves, elder; Mrs. William Morrell, secretary; Miss Elma Lawson Johnston, chairman of program; Dr. Joseph H. Satterthwaite, historian; Mrs. Satterthwaite, registrar; Mrs. William V. Coleman, treasurer; and Mrs. Frank Bamford, Mrs. John Raymond, Mrs. A. C. Reeves and William Sampson, commissioners.

The Mahlon Stacy Division now has a membership of 125 members.

VI. Social Clubs

TRENTON has had numerous social clubs for the men of the city, and popular as most of these have been, none has achieved the distinction of either the old Lotus or Lochiel Clubs, which came into existence in the decade beginning 1870. These two organizations had as members many prominent men of the city during the nearly half a century that they lasted.

THE LOTUS CLUB

Although formed within a few years of one another and having to a large extent the same membership, the Lotus and Lochiel Clubs had markedly differing characteristics. The Lotus had a membership limited to sixty, and was easily the most exclusive of its day. On its roll were the city's social and professional leaders. The Lochiel Club had a much larger membership, and although the social requirements were not so much a factor, the men who composed the club were likewise of a high type and position. The Lochiel was much less conservative than the Lotus, and its members more frequently indulged in frolics and gaiety. Its kitchen and sideboard were also notable features of the Lochiel.

The first minute book of the Lotus Club, given recently to the Trentoniana collection of the Trenton Public Library by Foster C. Griffith, for many years secretary of the club, reveals the fact that this club was formed originally for the purpose of promoting literature, science and social intercourse. The first and third Tuesdays in each month were especially set aside for their consideration.

Perusal of the minutes shows, however, that the original object was not long adhered to, the members apparently preferring the delights of informal conversation or a friendly game of cards.

The Lotus Club was organized January 7, 1873, when Dr. James B. Coleman was elected president; Moses D. Naar, vice-president; Charles C. Abbott, the noted naturalist, secretary; and Lewis Parker, Jr., treasurer. Judge Alfred Reed, Edward T. Green and Judge John H. Stewart were elected directors. Mr. Abbott served only a short time and in August 1873 Joseph L. Naar, the newspaper editor, was appointed secretary in his place.

The club had quarters from November 1873 over Applegate's Sporting Goods Store, on South Broad Street. Mr. Roebling offered the club the use of the second and third floors of this property for a rental of \$400 a year. Favorite hours at the club rooms were late afternoon before dinner and before and after the theater and on Sundays.

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The Lotus Club for many years enjoyed its annual dinners, and these events became celebrated functions. The menus were chosen with the utmost care and prepared to please the most fastidious taste. An entertainment by the members followed the dinner.

Among the presidents of the Club were Alfred S. Livingston, Judge G. D. W. Vroom, Charles C. Scott, Jr., Evarts Clancy, Judge J. H. Stewart, F. W. Roebeling, Sr., and Senator Jonathan H. Blackwell, who served from 1893 to 1919. W. H. Gandy, elected in 1920, was the last president of the club.

Death of many of the active members and changing conditions caused the Lotus Club to go out of existence. The last entry in the minute book tells the story:

"A special meeting of the Lotus Club was held in the club rooms October 18, 1920. The report of the financial condition of the club was presented by R. V. Kuser, treasurer, showing it would be necessary to increase the dues of the club to at least \$100 a year in order for the club to be self-supporting. The committee of M. R. Margerum, R. V. Kuser and F. C. Griffith was directed to confer with the members on the advisability of discontinuing or continuing. They are to report Wednesday, November 24."

So passed the Lotus Club, after a career of some forty-seven years.

THE LOCHIEL CLUB

Comradeship, fine dinners and choice liquors were the notable features of the Lochiel Club, with its membership of two hundred fifty. The Lochiel was formed May 12, 1877, and began in a modest way. It first had quarters at 144 East State Street, and later at 28 East State Street, near Warren. It moved again in 1886 to the mansion of Frederick R. Wilkinson, at 219 East State Street. Then began the golden age of the club.

Spencer M. Alpaugh was the Lochiel's first president, and he was succeeded by Joseph Burroughs, William Brearley, Frank A. Magowan, J. Gardner Forman, Augustus F. Stoll, Harvey B. Hutchinson, John Guild Muirheid, Charles H. Cook and Joseph R. Gilkyson.

Unlike the Lotus Club, which never held a public function, the Lochiel members frequently entertained. A notable function was the reception given to James G. Blaine at the height of one of his political campaigns. John Hart Brewer, widely known Trenton pottery manufacturer and congressman, was Mr. Blaine's host. So great was the crush to meet the distinguished guest that Mr. Blaine could not get near a door and made his entrance to the club house through a window.

The Lochiel Club passed out of existence about 1894, when executors of the Wilkinson estate decided to devote the old home to store and office purposes. The club had then passed its prime, and when the old club house disappeared the club went too. For a while some remnants of it did exist as the Berkeley Club. In 1900 this also was disbanded.

TRENTON BICYCLE CLUB

In 1884 devotees of bicycling in Trenton decided to form a club. They met for this purpose in the Trenton House, June 12, and organized the Trenton Bicycle Club.

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Officers were elected, S. S. Staples being selected for president; D. Scott Quintin, vice-president; S. P. Camp, secretary; and C. T. Sutphin, treasurer. When the club met again June 18, Burroughs Rose was elected captain and F. W. Whitehead, first lieutenant.

The club had as its first quarters the lecture room of the W.C.T.U. Almost immediately after organizing and selecting quarters, the members adopted a uniform, as tight and uncomfortable as possible, but stylish and topped off with a helmet. So arrayed, the members were ready to venture forth on the city streets. But the city streets in those days were neither smooth asphalt nor concrete such as the motorist enjoys today. They were paved with either cobble stones or rough stone block. These made riding uncomfortable, and none too safe, with the result that the wheelmen took to the sidewalks. But this practice brought a protest from pedestrians as being at variance with the city ordinance. Dr. McCullough, Mr. Rose and R. V. Whitehead were appointed by the club to petition Common Council to permit the sidewalk riding, except in the busiest sections. The same committee was also instructed to draft a resolution to submit to the newly appointed park commission advocating the use of the old Atterbury estate as a park, with the water power bank as a drive.

The club did not long use the W.C.T.U. rooms, and subsequently met in the home of Dr. McCullough, which he loaned for that purpose. In September 1885, the club opened its first home at 107 East Hanover Street, on the second floor of the Old Arcade Building. The large hall in the rear of the club rooms was rented for riding purposes, and here older members watched with amusement the antics of beginners. Here too were held the club drills.

About a year later the club moved to rooms previously occupied by the Lochiel Club, at 25 East State Street. After a few years in the new location, the secretary and a former landlady became engaged in a controversy, the members took sides, and finally the club was disrupted.

TRENTON WHEELMEN AND THE TRENTON CLUB

On November 3, 1887, the old Bicycle Club was reorganized as the Trenton Wheelmen, with C. T. Sutphin as president; Gardner H. Cain, vice-president; R. V. Whitehead, treasurer; and C. T. Aaronson, secretary. The trustees elected were Arthur D. Forst, F. H. Robinson, W. M. Crozer, H. F. Whitehead and R. C. Belville.

The new organization began a campaign for members, and the Trenton Wheelmen soon became a flourishing club. Gardner H. Cain was elected president at the next election, with F. H. Robinson as vice-president; R. V. Whitehead, treasurer; H. F. Whitehead, secretary; W. M. Crozer, captain; F. W. Whitehead, first lieutenant; and W. M. Watson, second lieutenant. Gardner H. Cain served the club as president for twenty years until 1908, when R. V. Whitehead was chosen president; C. T. Sutphin, vice-president; Alfred N. Barber, secretary; and A. G. Dale, treasurer. The trustees included Mr. Cain, F. W. Roebling, Jr., R. C. Manning and E. B. Fulper.

Due perhaps to new interests of the members, there was an agitation in 1892 for another change of name, and at last it was agreed to call the organization "The Trenton Club" and to eliminate the bicycling features.

Eight years later, in the spring of 1900, the Trenton Club decided to move

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into the old quarters of the Berkeley Club, at 24 East State Street, and the first meeting was held in the new rooms May 5 of that year.

In 1909 the question of larger quarters was discussed, and F. W. Roeb-ling, Jr., Gardner H. Cain, John S. Broughton, F. A. Duggan, A. G. Dale and W. A. Anderson were appointed a committee to find a new home. At a meeting held July 13, 1909, the committee reported that the property at 36 West State Street, which had been occupied by the Chamber of Commerce, was about to be sold, and recommended its purchase. A decision was made to buy the property, double the yearly dues and elect six new members.

Steady growth in the club membership made it possible in 1923 for the Trenton Club to enjoy an even more desirable home, and the former residence of Karl G. Roeb-ling, at 211 West State Street, was purchased from his widow, Mrs. Arthur T. O'Brien.

Those who have been president of the club since 1910 are: C. T. Sutphin, Alfred N. Barber, John S. Broughton, Karl G. Roeb-ling, William A. Anderson, Edward B. Fulper, Ferdinand W. Roeb-ling, Jr., Walton M. Watson, Henry C. Blackwell, Horace B. Tobin, Ambrose G. Dale, Ellis L. Pierson, Frank W. Kennedy, James R. Barber and W. M. Dickinson.

MERCER COUNTY WHEELMEN

When the Trenton Bicycle Club went out of existence some of the members formed a new wheelmen's club. This was the once widely known Mercer County Wheelmen's Club, which was organized November 13, 1889, with a membership of twenty-five. Charles Perrine was the first president, Harry D. Leavitt, vice-president and James C. Tattersall, secretary.

The club first met in rooms on South Warren Street, but later it had quarters at 110 West Front Street. In 1893 the clubmen moved to 128 North Warren Street, but the next year, when the organization numbered three hundred members, it acquired the house on East State Street, for many years the home of the Lochiel Club.

The club gradually passed out of existence as interest in bicycling declined, and its members consolidated with the Carteret Club.

TRENTON COUNTRY CLUB

Trenton's country club was organized in 1897. United States Senator Frank O. Briggs was the first president; Charles van Syckel, first secretary; and Henry W. Green, treasurer. Mr. Green, however, soon resigned because of other duties, and S. W. Blackwell was elected in his place.

The organization meeting was held in the office of Mr. Green October 18, 1897, when President Briggs was directed to arrange for a lease of "Oaklands," the former home of the late Colonel Woodruff, in Ewing Township. This was done and the club house was formally opened March 26, 1898, but the property was not purchased until about five years later. Decision to buy it was made February 26, 1903, when the issuance of bonds to the extent of \$40,000 was authorized to finance the purchase.

Presidents of the Country Club since its organization include Senator Briggs, Ferdinand W. Roeb-ling, Sr., Arthur D. Forst, General C. Edward Murray, Herbert Sinclair, Charles E. Stokes, Sr., W. M. Dickinson, R. C. Maxwell, George E. Maguire, Herbert W. Bradley and Bentley H. Pope.

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THE CARTERET, CITY, AND FELLOWCRAFT CLUBS

In 1908 a group of the younger men of the city felt a lack of club life and four of them, J. Fred Margerum, Clifford A. Worthington, Samuel J. Surtees and Charles B. Riley, expressed a desire to form a new club. Accordingly they invited five other friends to join them in the project, and the Carteret Club resulted.

A temporary organization was effected December 18, 1908. Newton A. K. Bugbee was chosen president and Merton S. West, secretary-treasurer.

The organizers decided to increase the list to a total of twenty-five members and invitations were sent out to other men of the city.

The clubmen secured rooms on the third floor of the Gundling Building, near State and Broad Streets. The club continued in this location until September 1911, when the tenth floor of the American Mechanics Building was rented. These rooms were retained until 1914 when the club moved to the Commonwealth Building, leasing the top floor.

In 1920, during the presidency of J. Fred Margerum, the idea of combining the Carteret Club with the old City Club was advanced, and in June 1920, 101 members of the City Club were elected to membership in the Carteret.

The City Club had been organized in October 1911, and its members were among the then younger men of the city. Ernest C. Stahl, Jr., was the first president; W. Bradford Stryker, vice-president; James F. A. Phillips, secretary; and Hugo H. Hamill, treasurer.

Originally the club met in the American Mechanics Building, but it later moved to the old Hildebrecht Building, Chancery Lane and West State Street, now the property of the First-Mechanics National Bank.

The enlarged membership of the Carteret Club brought problems in housing, and it was decided to seek new quarters. The handsome home of Charles G. Roebing, on West State Street, was then for sale. It was well suited for club purposes and in December 1920 it passed into the possession of the Carteret Club. It was formally opened January 12, 1921.

State Comptroller Bugbee was followed in the presidency by Harry J. Lyons, William B. Maddock, George E. Maguire, General Frederick Gilkyson, J. Fred Margerum, Judge A. Dayton Oliphant, Adam Exton and R. V. Kuser, who has served since 1925.

Another club that merged with the Carteret was the Fellowcraft, once an influential social organization. It was composed exclusively of Master Masons in good standing, and at one time it had 135 members. The Fellowcraft Club was formed March 31, 1891, and was incorporated the same year. Its headquarters were at 27 North Warren Street.

Thomas S. Hattersley was the first president; Dr. A. S. Fell, vice-president; Fred B. Yard, secretary; Henry U. Coleman, treasurer; and Charles Kropp, E. M. Coffield, John E. Lloyd and L. N. Clayton, members of the executive committee.

Among the later presidents were: Levi B. Risdon, Charles Kropp, Dr. Charles P. Britton, Frank J. Epple, Adam Exton, James C. Tattersall, S. E. Kaufman, General Frederick Gilkyson and William E. Blackman.

IN AND OUT SOCIAL CLUB

A social club that has long been exceptionally popular in the Chambersburg section is the In and Out Social Club, organized in 1888, and incor-

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porated February 1, 1889. Valentine Schwartz was the first president; Herbert Smith, secretary; and J. Henry Klein, treasurer. Of the original members, Mr. Klein is the only one still living.

This was never actually a political organization, but most of the political leaders of both parties have been members, as well as lawyers, doctors and business men. George Wood is now president; Charles M. Mulford, secretary and J. George Jammer, treasurer. It has 270 members. Ever since its formation, the club has been located within one hundred feet of its present home, 803 Hudson Street.

SOCIAL TURN VEREIN

Among the popular societies of a generation or so ago was the Social Turn Verein, organized by the German residents of Trenton. It was formed June 3, 1855, in Alex Jacobus' American House, North Warren Street, with twenty members. Jacob Angermuller appears to have been the first speaker.

Not long after organizing, the members moved to Keeler's Hall, Broad and Hanover Streets, and the rules were changed in order to allow persons of other nationalities to become members. In 1857 the society took a small building on North Broad Street for headquarters.

Members of the Turn Verein in the autumn of 1871 purchased the old Turner Hall property on South Broad Street from Peter Crozer. Two years later a new hall was built on this site, which was dedicated October 1891. For many years the Turners were active socially and in athletics, but they sold their South Broad Street hall eventually.

PROGRESS CLUB

One of the leading social clubs of the present day, with a membership exclusively Jewish, is the Progress Club, which since 1922 has been occupying a handsome club house at 178 West State Street.

This organization began in November 1894 as the Young Men's Hebrew Club, with a membership of twenty-seven. Its first meetings were held in a room in a building on South Broad Street, below Factory, but later the club moved to East State Street, between Broad and Warren Streets. Arthur Schwartz was the first president of the old club, which was interested in improving the mental, moral, social and physical conditions of its members and of protecting Hebrew interests.

About 1905, the club changed into a purely social one, and adopted the name of the Progress Club. New quarters were acquired in the Alhambra Building, and some time after the Thropp property on East State Street became the club's headquarters. In 1922 the members bought from John S. Broughton the present home.

Dr. Samuel Freeman was the first president after the establishment of the Progress Club; Barnett Elting was vice-president; A. Siegel, treasurer; and Philip Papier, secretary.

In 1925 the Progress Club men bought a country place on the Lawrenceville Road, where they have established a golf club. When this purchase was made the official name was changed to the Progress City and Country Club.

CALEDONIAN CLUB

One of the unique clubs of today in Trenton is the Caledonian, composed exclusively of Scotsmen. It was formed September 21, 1905, at the suggestion

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of James Clark, and its purpose is to provide social life for the men of Scotch birth, although there is also a beneficial feature attached to it.

William Stewart was the first chief and is still a member of the organization. Others who have held this office are Samuel Reid, Archiebald Campbell, Alexander Johnstone, Colin Fulton, Thomas MacNeil, George Walker, Robert Ness, William Tait, John Dawson, James Ferguson, William Laird, James McDade, James MacMillan, Harry MacMeeking, John Gray, Peter Smith, Archiebald Cullen, Ebenezer Wilson, Samuel MacArthur and Hugh Dunlop.

For many years the club's concert and ball was a feature of the season, and the Caledonian soccer team was one of the pioneer teams of this game in Trenton.

The club has a Ladies' Auxiliary which has been of great assistance to the organization.

COLLEGE CLUBS

Few records appear to exist of the beginning of the *Princeton Club of Trenton*. There was years ago a Princeton Alumni Association of New Jersey, which held meetings in Trenton and of which Governor Robert S. Green was president and John A. Campbell was secretary. Later the Princeton Club was formed at a meeting at the Trenton House in 1911. John A. Campbell, who has been president for more than fifty years of the famous Class of '77 of Princeton University, was the president, and W. M. Dickinson, secretary.

The club's object is to advance the interests of Princeton University and to promote good fellowship among Princeton men. It has given financial help to many needy boys going through college and raised money for endowments, charitable and other purposes for the good of the University.

The club is efficiently organized and holds numerous dinners, smokers and luncheons during the winter months. Prominent lecturers from the University speak before its members.

To promote the interests of Cornell University, Trentonians who are graduates of that institution founded a *Cornell Club of Trenton* about 1918. Graduates living as far north as Bound Brook and as far south as Mount Holly also hold membership.

Through the activities of John G. Conner, the *Lafayette College Alumni Association of Trenton* was formed November 16, 1921, at a dinner given by Mr. Conner at the Stacy-Trent. The club has been especially helpful to students from Trenton attending Lafayette.

BOAT CLUBS

With the beautiful Delaware River and Water Power (now Sanhican Creek) at their very door, it is not surprising that boating of various kinds should be a popular amusement for residents of the city. For many years canoeing was enjoyed every summer on the river and creek above the State House, while in the vicinity of Lalor Street dock, yachting was preferred. The advent of the motor car and many other amusements seem to have interfered with this enjoyable pastime, and today canoe clubs are fewer than in former years, and membership is much less in the Trenton Yacht Club. Many former members of these organizations are, however, gradually

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drifting back to their former sport, and it is possible that once more boats will be seen in numbers on both the river and creek.

William M. Carter and Samuel G. Furman appear to have been the first devotees of canoeing, and in 1876 paddled their canoes through the Trenton Falls. Eight years later the *Trenton Canoe Club* was formed by Mr. Carter, Robert G. Lucas, Frederick F. C. Woodward, Frank W. Sigler and John A. Gallavan.

The *Park Island Canoeing Association* was founded soon after and incorporated July 22, 1889. Mr. Carter was president and William C. Lawrence was secretary-treasurer. The trustees were Edward D. Anderson, Ellsworth E. Booz, Henry C. Buchanan, J. Wallace Hoff, Frederick F. C. Woodward and William M. Carter. In 1889 the club bought White's Island (later Park Island) and built its club house there.

Other canoe clubs which have been popular in Trenton are the *Mohawk*, *West End*, *Chippewa*, *Algonquin* and *Hiawatha*.

The *Trenton Yacht Club* started in 1908 when a group of members of the old Equitable Water Club broke away and founded a new organization. It was chartered in April 1908 and soon had a membership of five hundred. Meetings were held first in a shanty on Lamberton Street, near the present handsome club-house at 1171 Lamberton Street. This was built in 1910 and added to in 1916.

William Milbourne was first commodore; William Matlack, vice-commodore; George L. Klein, recording secretary; and John Connor, financial secretary.

The Trenton Yacht Club is affiliated with the Delaware River Yachtmen's League and the American Powerboat Association.

Motor yachting has of late attracted the interest of local lovers of water sport.

TRENTON PRESS CLUB

Since the late '90's, the newspapermen of Trenton have had their own club, where they have found relaxation and congenial companionship after their rather arduous duties.

Early records of the club are missing, but James F. Dale, well known State House correspondent for the *Newark Evening News*, was its organizer, somewhere toward the close of the century. In those days it was a more or less informal club, holding its meetings over the café of "Nick" Jahn, 14 South Warren Street, next door to the former home of the Trenton Banking Company. Later it had quarters in the Wilkinson Building, at State and Warren Streets, over the Western Union Company office, and afterward at 8 East State Street, over the Postal Telegraph Cable Company. These rooms were occupied by the clubmen for some ten years.

When the Press Club took its present quarters at 10 North Warren Street, it was reorganized to include the group of men who used to congregate at Harry F. Smith's cigar store until he went out of business.

Henry C. Buchanan, of the *Trenton Times* editorial staff, has been associated with the club almost from the beginning as president, and Charles H. Levy, for many years one of the owners and editors of the *Trenton Advertiser* before its merger with the *Trenton Times*, served a long time as vice-president. George B. Shick is secretary-treasurer, succeeding John J. McDonough, recently resigned.

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The club has long been a factor in the club life of Trenton and by the very nature of its membership it has been an unusually interesting and different type of club. Its present membership is representative of all walks of life. Its social entertainments are famous and the attendance always includes celebrities in public life.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

There appear to have been some years ago in Trenton smaller social clubs that have had more or less influence and sometimes numbered among their members men of consequence. One of the oldest of these of which there is much record is the *Red Stocking Club*, of South Trenton, organized about 1870. It took its name from one of the then popular local baseball teams, whose players and promoters and admirers desired to continue indoors during the winter months the pleasant relations of the summer time.

Meeting places were once in the rear of a grocery store at Centre and Federal Streets, later in Getsinger's butcher shop, Federal and Second Streets, and still later over Wilkes' Grocery Store at Second and Furman Streets.

The Red Stockings was incorporated November 12, 1876, and Judge Robert S. Woodruff was one of those who signed the charter. He was also the club's counsel. Daniel Haggerty was president at the time of incorporation. To comply with the law when the club was incorporated, a beneficial feature was added, but few claims, if any, appear to have been presented.

Members were for the most part employees of mills and other similar concerns. No liquor was allowed in the rooms. The club had a small library, a piano and plenty of reading material. It disbanded in the '80's, most of the members going into the Catholic Young Men's Association.

The Millham Social Club was of the same general type as the Red Stockings. Its balls and picnics years ago were very popular.

The *Shad Hose Club* was another one that flourished in the '80's and '90's, and was well known for its summer outings at Biles Creek, Smith's Island, White's Island and Point Pleasant, Pa. The club was formed at "The Exchange," a restaurant kept in those days by Fire Chief John A. Weart.

With the passing of the Shad Hose Club, the *Lime Kiln Club* came into being early in 1887. It was started in what was known as Joe Fox's "Queen Anne" cigar store on Greene Street (now Broad) just below the Opera House. The club's most celebrated events were the annual reunions and dinners, held generally in the old State Street House.

At various times governors of the State, United States Senators, Congressmen and other influential men in public life were members.

The Lime Kiln Club has a successor today in the *Federal Club*. Like the older one there is practically no organization, no dues and no initiation. The Federal Club, while boasting a membership of men in all walks of life, was originated in the late '80's by men employed in the industries and shops. Its main purpose is to bring about a better understanding between the men of various races employed in the Trenton industries and to eliminate as far as possible the old intolerant religious bigotry. Furthermore, its members were interested in local charities, and gave as generously as possible from their earnings to these institutions. Politics played not a small part in the club's activities, and as might be expected it was a cham-

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pion of the people's rights, working for and supporting candidates who seemed to have the interest of the people at heart.

Members of the Federal Club appear to have selected as their meeting place in the old days the Post Office corner, at State and Montgomery Streets. In 1914 this rather vague group was brought into closer relation through a slight organization. Joshua Delaney was elected president and has filled that office ever since. Harry Klagg was chosen secretary and James H. Tallon general director, whose task it was and is to carry out the club's projects.

Like its predecessor, the Federal Club meets annually for a dinner, when it adds to its honor roll of members. The Lime Kiln Club generally "smoked in" honorary members at a smoker. The men placed on the Federal's honor roll include John A. Campbell, Charles A. May, James Kerney, Senator A. Crozer Reeves, former Governor E. C. Stokes, former Governor George S. Silzer, Dr. Henry van Dyke, Everett Townsend, Dr. Herbert A. Gibbons and Mrs. Helen Davenport Gibbons, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, Congressman Charles A. Eaton, Dr. Charles Browne, the late Daniel E. Green, the late United States Senator Frank O. Briggs, the late General Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr., Owen Healey, Henry C. Buchanan and Thomas F. Waldron.

The *North American Gun Club* which came into existence about the same time, hid behind a deceptive name. It was formed to keep alive the memory of the famous Battles of Trenton, at a time when most of the citizens were content to let such historic achievements be forgotten. The club's big affair was also an annual one, held December 26.

The membership consisted largely of residents of Millham, but honorary members included the various mayors of Trenton.

OLD FIRE COMPANIES

Although the old fire companies were not clubs, in the strict sense of the word, in their day they held an important place in the social life of the city and deserve more than passing mention. As long ago as 1747, when Trenton was little more than a straggling village, its first volunteer fire company was formed. From then until 1892, when the old volunteer system was replaced by a paid department, some nine or ten of these companies functioned. Their chief purpose was of course fire fighting, but they had their social features as well. Each summer the companies held picnics and trips were taken to other towns, where the men were cordially received. Return visits were paid and out-of-town guests were entertained with the greatest hospitality. Parades were staged on every possible occasion, and the volunteers with their red shirts, manning their brilliantly shining apparatus, made a colorful sight. Some of the companies gave balls in the winter and dinners were a frequent source of entertainment.

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John O. Raum, for many years a member of the Eagle Fire Company, has told very completely the story of these companies in his history of Trenton. The old *Union Fire Company* was seemingly the first, and it dates back to February 1747. It is said to be the oldest company in the United States with an unbroken record of 145 years. As was the case with nearly all of the volunteer companies, the leading citizens of those early days were members of the Union. As the years passed, new members joined the company until, before 1800, all of the most distinguished Revolutionary celebrities of the town had served with the Union. This record for socially and politically prominent members continued to the time of the company's disbandment.

The *Hand-in-Hand Company* was the second to be formed. The organization took place April 2, 1772, at the home of Rensselaer Williams. In December 1776, the company suspended meetings due to the fact that the British were quartered in the city and many of the supporters of the Continental cause had to flee. Meetings were resumed February 11, 1779.

There was also in existence about this time a company called the *Restoration*, of which practically nothing is now known. All its early records are missing. The *Resolution Fire Company* was organized February 4, 1804, and incorporated December 28, 1824. Although it is not known just when the *Delaware Fire Company* was formed, the unit was functioning by April 5, 1821. This is revealed by old minutes of the company, which lists members at that date.

The famous old *Eagle Fire Company* was formed June 15, 1821, at a meeting at the house of John Hutchinson, and comprised in its membership all the leading citizens of old Mill Hill.

In the winter of 1838-39 Trenton was visited by many fires, and although there were several engines available, the facilities were not adequate for the growing city. To meet this situation the *Trenton Hose Company* was formed March 8, 1839. At the time of the State House fire in 1885, this company rescued the old battle flags stored in the building, and silver medals were awarded for this action to William S. Sulger, John A. MacCrellish, Nathaniel M. Smith, William B. Cadwalader and W. B. Parker.

The *Good Will Company* was originally an auxiliary of the old *Restoration* and was not organized as a separate company until January 24, 1848. There had been a Good Will Company in existence about 1837, but it was a bucket engine.

Residents of the North Trenton district were until 1849 not very well provided with fire-fighting facilities, and on May 9 Daniel T. Bellerjeau offered his house on North Warren Street, above the feeder, for a meeting to form a company. This was the *Harmony*, formally organized 1849.

German citizens of Trenton formed the *Protection Hook and Ladder Company*, 1850. It continued in existence only about five years. Members of the *Hand-in-Hand Company* formed the *America Hose Company* January 19, 1859.

In order to give South Trenton efficient fire protection, the *Ossenberg Company* was established 1873 by men considered too young to belong to the Eagle Company. It was named for "Bill" Ossenberg, the most popular member of the Eagles and for some years Chief of the entire department.

May 1873 saw the organization of the *Washington Hook and Ladder*

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Company at a meeting in the old Fort Rawsley, South Warren and Factory Streets.

Citizens of Millham Township in 1882 determined to provide themselves with a fire unit and organized the *Liberty Engine Company*, May 12.

The Roebling mills in Chambersburg had been steadily growing for several years, when in 1886 the residents of that district came to consider them a fire menace unless more adequate fire protection was furnished. Accordingly they issued a call to form a fire company, and the unit was organized September 30, being named the *Mutual*.

The Fire Department during the 145 years that it was a volunteer organization was an exceedingly picturesque branch of the city service. It was a very human part of the governmental system, and while all the companies were organized for the purpose of putting out fires, the rivalry between them sometimes halted their activities to the detriment of the burning property. There was great pride felt in being first to reach a fire, and it was not an uncommon sight to see some husky fireman with a coupler sitting on a fire plug, holding it for his company, which had not yet arrived, despite the fact that other companies were already on the scene. It is said that many times the firemen in their rivalry would turn the hose on each other rather than on the burning structure. In the city's young days a fire was an exciting event. Nearly the whole town turned out to view the sight and the men and boys united to assist the fire laddies in pulling the engines or in harnessing the horses.

So much a part of the city life was the old volunteer department that, when in 1892 it was decided to substitute a paid company, there was genuine regret for the passing of so ancient an institution.

The actual disbandment was marked by a great parade April 4, which by chance was one of the hottest days on record for that season. The horses and men both suffered, but with brass bands leading them and throngs of citizens to cheer them on, one thousand volunteers swung along from East State Street to Clinton Avenue, to Perry Street to the Battle Monument and thence down Warren Street to Bridge Street and back to the City Hall, then at State and Broad Streets, where the mayor and special guests waited to review them. A banquet in Turner Hall that night completed the occasion. There were 650 diners, who listened to speeches by F. C. Lowthrop, chairman, H. F. Baker and Mayor Bechtel of the citizens' committee and Judge Chauncey H. Beasley, Colonel E. C. Stahl, Michael Nathan, Lewis Parker, General George M. Robeson, John Taylor and former Mayor Frank A. Magowan.

VII. Catholic Societies

THE first formal organization of the Catholic young men of Trenton for literary and social purposes was effected May 1, 1873, when the Catholic Young Men's Lyceum came into existence. Its membership was recruited from all sections of the city.

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CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S LYCEUM

The Lyceum was organized by seven young men, assisted by the Rev. Father Anthony Smith, of St. Mary's parish. The club met first in rented rooms in Washington Hall, over Washington Market, South Broad and Front Streets. In the autumn of 1873 it moved into the Assumpink Block, South Broad Street, and then later took the second floor of the building at the northwest corner of Broad and Factory Streets. These quarters were formally opened January 9, 1874. M. J. Hayden was the first president, Edward H. Murphy the second, and James J. Wilson the third president.

The Lyceum grew in a year from a membership of twelve to eighty-three, and it celebrated its first annual reunion in May 1874.

In April 1874, a literary society was organized as part of the Lyceum, with Edward H. Murphy as president; T. F. Fitzgerald, vice-president; John J. Hayden, secretary; Patrick McGinley, financial secretary; M. J. Hayden, treasurer; and M. J. Solan, librarian.

The Lyceum flourished about ten years, and its decline in membership was due to the establishment of other societies.

THE CATHOLIC YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND THE CATHOLIC CLUB

When the Rev. Thaddeus Hogan was appointed pastor of St. John's Church, Broad and Centre Streets, it was his ambition to have a parish organization of young men and this purpose was accomplished early in July 1879. During the pastorate of the Rev. Patrick Byrne, just preceding, there had been an organization called St. John's Literary Union, with headquarters in the basement of St. John's Church. Here many spirited debates took place and in addition billiards and other games were enjoyed. William J. Convery was president of this earlier society, with Michael Cleary, financial secretary, and Robert Convery, corresponding secretary. The reorganization effected by Father Hogan brought a new name, the Catholic Young Men's Association of St. John's Parish. Its first officers were: Father Hogan, president; Daniel Haggerty, vice-president; Andrew J. Smith, recording secretary; and Denis Donovan, financial secretary.

This society was enjoying a successful career as a literary and athletic body (the Association Base Ball Club of city-wide prominence in the early '80's had its origin here) when its headquarters were burned out. In the interval between the burning of St. John's Church in September 1883 and the erection of the club building at No. 1 Centre Street, the association had temporary quarters in one of the classrooms of St. John's School on Lamberton Street.

The cornerstone of the new club house was laid Sunday, August 23, 1891, and the building was dedicated November 10, 1892, with elaborate ceremonies and in the presence of a large assemblage that included distinguished guests, clerical and lay.

Meanwhile September 4, 1892, the following officers were elected, being the first to serve the Catholic Club, the new name of the former Young Men's Association: president (under the constitution to be the pastor of the Sacred Heart Church), the Rev. Thaddeus Hogan; first vice-president, William J. Convery; second vice-president, John J. Cleary, recording secretary, Thomas Campbell; financial secretary, Patrick A. Durnan; treasurer,

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Peter J. Morgan; librarian, Daniel J. Logue, with James Murray and Frank Tams, assistants. Members of the Board of Governors were James Heaney, J. F. McGuire, John Hickey, Lawrence Barden, John J. Kane, Henry McLaughlin, Patrick McKeever, Charles J. Douress and John Heaney.

The club house, which is still the home of the Catholic Club, is a handsome structure, of grey stone to match the adjoining church and rectory. It is two stories in height and is fully equipped for the social, intellectual and athletic purposes of a first class club house.

In succeeding years the organization took an active part in all forms of athletics, baseball, bicycling and other sports, and also made a reputation for the high character of its social, musical and literary entertainments. The Catholic Club is still an active agency for the young men of South Trenton.

CATHEDRAL YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION

With the withdrawal of the young men of South Trenton from the original society meeting at Broad and Factory Streets, the latter body decided to dissolve and to have a Catholic Young Men's Association for residents north of the Assunpink. This new body established itself in St. Mary's Hall, Bank Street, and its first officers in 1880 follow: Terence Priory, president; James Burns, vice-president; Stephen Meagher, recording secretary; and Thomas McKee, treasurer.

The Cathedral organization was destined to move about for various causes. First, demand for all available space for classrooms required that the members vacate their apartments in St. Mary's Hall. Having taken possession of rooms on one of the upper floors of the building at 22 East State Street, removal was again necessary when these rooms were made part of a business development. Again on Perry Street, near Broad, the society made a stand for permanency, but this tenantry also came to an end prematurely. At last the Catholic Union afforded a partial outlet for the activities of the Catholic young men and still later the organization of the Trenton Council, Knights of Columbus, absorbed what remained of the membership.

CATHOLIC UNION

Meanwhile another Catholic society along the same general lines was organized, but for men of mature years. It was called the Catholic Union, and rented convenient quarters on the third floor of 24 East State Street. This body was active in debates, elocution and other forms of mental exercises, with billiards and pool on the side.

The Catholic Union had an interesting existence covering the period of the '80's and '90's, until the Trenton Council, K. of C., came into being, the older society then merging with the Knights.

ST. FRANCIS PIONEER CORPS

Another of the older Catholic clubs is the St. Francis Pioneer Corps. This was formed December 24, 1876, by about forty of the German Catholics of the city. William Cook, Sr., was the organizer and had associated with

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him Louis Hartmann and William Kriser. The Corps was established as a beneficial society and paraded in picturesque uniforms with battle axes on the marchers' shoulders. It is still in existence and has about 105 members.

William Cook, Jr., is president now, and the other officers are: William Goehrig, vice-president; John A. Hartmann, treasurer; John Gerding, corresponding secretary; and Joseph H. Backes, financial secretary.

CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES

Father John P. Mackin, during his second pastorate of St. John's Church in the '70's, aided the cause of temperance by organizing two temperance societies. One of these was for adults and the other for cadets. After the death of Father Mackin, Father Patrick Byrne of Camden, who was an ardent temperance advocate, succeeded him. Among Father Byrne's first acts was the formation of the *Young Men's Total Abstinence League*, September 24, 1873, at a meeting in the basement of old St. John's Church.

This society had an added attraction for its members, in that a sick and death benefit feature was incorporated with it, and in the course of the years the society paid thousands of dollars in claims to those in need.

Father Byrne, who was elected president in 1874 of the National Temperance Union, was an inspiring leader, and under his direction the League not only acquired a substantial treasury for itself, but also gave valuable aid to the parish.

When Father Thaddeus Hogan in 1878 succeeded to the St. John pastorate, he, too, strongly supported the temperance movement, and organized the boys into a cadet society, which has supplied many members for the older club.

The Young Men's Catholic Total Abstinence League of South Trenton has continued to this day. It has had a notable career, and outstanding among its functions were the twenty-fifth and fortieth anniversaries. These celebrations were attended by men of prominence, both lay and clerical. A more recent function was the reception given the thirty members who served overseas in the World War, tendered them on their return from service.

A later temperance society is *St. Joseph's Temperance Beneficial Association*, organized October 24, 1915. Its purpose was not only to discountenance use of intoxicating liquors, but also to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the members.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

The order of the Knights of Columbus in the United States dates back to March 29, 1882, when the State of Connecticut granted it a charter. It has existed in Trenton since 1898, when at a meeting held April 27 in the office of Counsellor Peter Backes a local unit of the order was proposed. Two years previous to the formation of this group, which is known as Council No. 355, John H. Cummings, a national lecturer, had come here to speak on the organization and its purposes.

The Knights of Columbus was first established as a fraternal insurance society, but later broadened its policy and became a social as well as an insurance society. Associate members are admitted, and these derive no insurance benefits whatever. It has grown from a small membership to a great organization with thousands of members. The order has State and

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Territorial Councils and subordinate councils. New Jersey is one of the State bodies, and the Trenton Council is one of the subordinate units.

Some of the most influential Catholic laymen of the city attended the meeting in Counsellor Backes's office. The men who enrolled at this and the two subsequent meetings numbered about seventy-five. Organization of the Trenton Council took place June 5, 1898, in the old Masonic Temple, State and Warren Streets, and the charter was granted that same day. Supreme Knight John J. Cone and several assistants were in charge of the degree ceremonials.

William M. Jamieson was chairman of the committee on permanent organization which recommended the election of the following officers for the new Council: Peter Backes, grand knight; Peter J. Morgan, deputy grand knight; Lawrence Barden, chancellor; Harry J. Stout, warden; John P. Dullard, recorder; Phil J. Campbell, financial secretary; Frank J. Cahill, treasurer; William A. Egan, lecturer; James F. Clark, advocate; John J. McCartan, inside guard; James T. Dullard, outside guard; Dr. George N. J. Sommer, physician; the Rev. William F. Dunphy, chaplain; Godfrey W. Schroth, organist; and Lawrence Farrell, Frank J. Birt, James O'Malley, Thomas Nolan and George E. Benson, trustees. These officers were installed June 21, 1898, by District Deputy Peter F. Daly of New Brunswick.

For five years after its formation, the Trenton Council held its meetings in the Ribsam Building, South Broad and Front Streets, and business sessions were occasionally varied by social functions. It was not until April 1904 that the council changed its location. It was possible then for the organization to lease quarters in the new Trent Theatre Building, and this opportunity was taken advantage of because the location seemed more convenient for the members. Furthermore, it was possible to divide the large apartment into a library, meeting, smoking and games rooms. The move to the new quarters was celebrated by a memorable meeting of the State Council in this city May 1904. Representatives of thirty-five New Jersey Councils attended, with Grand Knight John P. Dullard and Past Grand Knight C. A. Gough representing the Trenton body. This was the only State Council ever held in Trenton.

Desirable as these quarters were, the membership not long after manifested a desire for a permanent home. Five trustees were appointed as an executive board for the building association. They were John J. Cleary, chairman; C. A. Gough, secretary; Karl Weidel, treasurer; Anthony T. Williams and Frank H. Hutchins. On April 1, 1915, the council took possession of its new building at 221 North Warren Street, the former McNeely home, which had been remodelled for the club's use. At the time of the purchase and renovation of the building the grand knight was William P. Endebrook, a well-known architect, who was very active not only in supervising the alterations but in enlarging the membership of the council and in obtaining funds to meet the \$15,000 expenditure. The new home was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

Trenton Council has always had an interesting social side to its activities, and many of its most delightful functions were held on the occasion of anniversaries. One of the earliest of these was the banquet which marked the first anniversary of the organization of the order. It was held at the Trenton House, and Grand Knight Peter Backes presided. The second

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anniversary was likewise observed with a banquet, with Bishop McFaul, the Rev. Dr. John H. Norris, State Deputy James A. Burns and John P. Dullard as speakers.

In celebration of the silver jubilee of Bishop McFaul's ordination to the priesthood, the Trenton Council gave a banquet October 22, 1902, which also marked the eighth anniversary of his elevation to the episcopacy. Equally brilliant was the banquet the Council tendered the bishop on the occasion of his return from a trip to Rome. This was held December 12, 1906, at the Trenton House, and many clergy and laymen, the latter Catholics and Protestants, attended.

Along with the social events there were cultural affairs, which consisted of lectures, debates and literary programs. The council has been responsible for bringing some of the most famous lecturers of their day to Trenton. For several years, the council had a debating society and also a Glee Club, which was conducted by Professor Otto Polemann.

The Trenton Council had a leading part in the first observance in Trenton of Columbus Day, October 13, 1909. The law setting aside October 12 as a legal holiday, which had been introduced at the previous session of the Legislature by Senator J. C. Price of Sussex County, was passed and signed by Governor Fort. The silver-handled gold pen with which he appended his name is now one of the treasured possessions of the council. The observance was held in Taylor Opera House, and was attended by Archbishop Falconio, Papal Envoy then in this country.

With America's entry into the World War, a new and brilliant chapter was begun in the history of the K. of C. About this time the Right Rev. Thomas J. Walsh was appointed to the Diocese of Trenton to succeed Bishop McFaul, who had passed away in 1917. Under the new bishop's leadership, the whole scope of the work of the Knights was enlarged and important activities for boys were made a part of the order's program.

The membership was also growing, and the matter of a new home arose. There was some discussion of an addition to the North Warren Street building, but with the desire of Bishop Walsh to have the boys' welfare work made a vital part of the organization's activity, it was decided to select another site and erect a more extensive building than had been contemplated.

After considerable discussion, the Swan lot on East State Street, near North Clinton Avenue, was selected, and a club house and auditorium erected at a cost of about \$250,000. The cornerstone was laid December 3, 1922, and the formal dedication of the new home took place in June 1923, when the Trenton Council was observing its twenty-fifth anniversary.

When the United States entered the war in April 1917, the council had a membership of 550, and by November 11, 1918, when the Armistice was signed this had increased to 700. During the war period, there were 204 members of the council in the country's service, and two of them, Francis B. Delaney and Joseph B. Logue, gave their lives.

While the war was in progress, the Trenton Knights, with the splendid assistance of non-Catholics, conducted the drive for the Knights of Columbus war activities, and a sum in excess of \$33,000 was obtained.

Grand Knights of Trenton Council 355 since its beginning have been: Peter Backes, Peter J. Morgan, Christopher A. Gough, John P. Dullard, Martin W. Reddan, Peter F. Farrell, Phil J. Campbell, Edward T. O'Hara, William L. Doyle, William J. Goldenbaum, Thomas A. Major, J. Conner

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French, William P. Endebrock, M. William Murphy, George A. McLaughlin, William J. Gough, Michael G. McDermott, Thomas J. Carney, Martin F. Pilger, Dr. Edward J. Jennings, A. L. Waldron, A. W. Endebrock and Augustine V. Gribbin.

COURT COLUMBUS NO. 50, D. OF A.

The Council of the Knights of Columbus, of Utica, N.Y., in June 18, 1903, formed the first Court of the Daughters of America as a sister society for the purpose of promoting the social and intellectual standing of its members, and of giving aid and charitable assistance whenever such needs were presented to the court. The Trenton unit, Court Columbus No. 50, was formed February 25, 1906. Officers of the Court Immaculate Conception of Jersey City, assisted by the Trenton Knights of Columbus, instituted the Trenton Court, which began with a membership of 57.

Miss Anna Reddan was elected grand regent, and the other original officers were: Miss Ellen O'Hara, vice-regent; Miss Jane Mitchell, prophetess; Miss Margaret C. Clark, financial secretary; Miss Anna C. Nolan, historian; Miss Anna M. McGrory, treasurer; Miss Mary A. McGrory, monitor; Miss Sarah A. Mitchell, sentinel; Miss Anna M. Bruther, organizer; Miss Nell Dullard, Miss Mary L. Convery, Miss Elizabeth Gowan, Mrs. James Clancy, Mrs. E. A. Curran and Mrs. James Mullen, trustees; and Miss Helen A. Kelly, lecturer. The Rev. Father Whelan was chaplain.

VIII. Women's Societies and Miscellaneous Organizations

PREVIOUS to the twentieth century, women's clubs were far from being the influential organizations that they are today. In fact the movement was just getting under way, and a woman who was a member of such a club was usually accused of being a feminist, a destroyer of the home, a neglectful wife and mother, and was subjected to not a little ridicule. Such an attitude was still manifest in Trenton some thirty years ago when a small group of the social and intellectual leaders among the women of Trenton, Princeton, Lawrenceville and Bordentown, supported by a few men of vision among whom the late Dr. James M. Green was the most active, organized the first women's club in this city.

THE CONTEMPORARY—1897

This pioneer club was The Contemporary, the object of which was "to create an organized center of thought and action among women in Trenton and to stimulate an interest in science, literature, art, social and ethical

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culture that will render the members helpful to one another and useful to society."

The first meeting was held March 12, 1897, at the home of Miss Amelia Hewitt (Mrs. William N. Mumper).

Mrs. Alexander F. Jamieson, of Lawrenceville, daughter of Edward Wallace Scudder, justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, was the first president of The Contemporary. The other officers were: Mrs. Henry W. Green, first vice-president; Mrs. Francis C. Lowthorp, second vice-president; Miss Amelia Hewitt, third vice-president; Miss Emma Linburg (now Mrs. Horace B. Tobin), recording secretary; Miss Mary Atterbury, corresponding secretary; and Miss Caroline McGuire, treasurer.

For many years membership in The Contemporary was limited to three hundred, but with the growth of the city and ever-widening interest of women, the membership was enlarged to five hundred and today is unlimited.

Women who have been leaders in various phases of the city's life have acted as president of The Contemporary. Mrs. Henry W. Green followed Mrs. Jamieson and was in turn followed by Mrs. Francis C. Lowthorp, Mrs. James F. Rusling, Mrs. William N. Mumper, Mrs. Howell C. Stull, Mrs. Fletcher Durrell, Mrs. Joseph L. Bodine, Mrs. William Cloke, Mrs. Joseph M. Middleton, Mrs. Joseph L. Naar, Mrs. Barker Gummere, Mrs. Joseph M. Forst, Mrs. S. Norris Craven, Mrs. Daniel J. Bechtel, Mrs. Robert C. Maxwell, Mrs. Charles S. Maddock, Jr., Mrs. Heber D. Ketchum, Mrs. Arthur E. Moon, Mrs. B. O. Tilden, Mrs. Charles W. Pette, Mrs. William G. Hopper and Mrs. Charles A. Woodruff.

Not until the presidency of Mrs. Gummere in 1909-11 did The Contemporary have a club house of its own. In the early days it met first at the Trenton House and later at the State Schools, and occasionally at the Old Barracks. The club bought for its home the property at 176 West State Street, which it has since greatly improved and still occupies.

Since the beginning of its career, The Contemporary has held two meetings monthly, at the first of which club talent has been used, and at the second some noted speaker or other person of reputation has appeared. Many of these meetings have been open to the public. The club has brought to Trenton widely known lecturers, artists and musicians including such eminent lights as Dr. Bliss Perry, Professor John C. Van Dyke, Lawrence Hutton, Jacob A. Riis, Dr. Henry van Dyke, Miss Agnes Repplier, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Kitty Cheatham, Professor Stockton Axson, brother-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson, F. Hopkinson Smith, Miss Patty S. Hill, Dr. Edward A. Steiner, Dr. Francis Maurice Egan, United States Minister to Denmark, Edith Wynne Matthison, Lady Gregory, Margaret Deland, H. E. Krehbiel and many others.

Civic problems have engaged the attention of the club and the old programs reveal discussions on such topics as "The Value of Public Libraries," in the days before Trenton had its own free public library; "Should Trenton Have an Art Gallery?" a question that is still to be answered; "Is the Modern Tendency Away from the Home?" and on woman suffrage. Education and social questions generally have likewise not been neglected. In 1919, a Settlement House Committee was appointed for the purpose of conducting such an institution in East Trenton, where its need was very great.

Beginning with its modest little settlement house the outgrowth is the

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Carolyn Stokes Memorial Day Nursery of today. The building which houses the nursery was erected by W. J. B. Stokes as a memorial to his daughter, Mrs. Harold F. Blanchard. Mr. Stokes had also been a liberal donor to the settlement house.

The Contemporary has increased during the thirty-one years of its existence from a club of about one hundred members and half a dozen committees to one of more than six hundred members, a dozen or more committees and several departments. Through these The Contemporary is still active in fields of artistic, literary and social service endeavor.

TRENTON COLLEGE CLUB—1911

Trenton women, graduates of various colleges, organized the Trenton College Club, October 24, 1911. The intention of the organizers was three-fold: to promote fellowship among college women in this city and its immediate vicinity, to extend the interest in college education for women and to assist in the furtherance of welfare work in the community.

Membership in the club is of two classes: active, open to women graduates of institutions of collegiate rank; and associate, open to women who have obtained credits for study in colleges.

Miss Margaret Kennedy (now Mrs. Paul Ralph) was the first president; Miss Sarah Dynes, of the State Schools faculty, vice-president; Miss Mildred Apgar, recording secretary; Miss Jessie Baldwin, of the State Schools faculty, corresponding secretary; and Miss Isabel Buchanan, treasurer.

Other presidents have been: Miss Lucile Green, Miss Mary Hoffmeier, Miss Ruby Lamb, Miss M. Dorothy Eby, Mrs. Henry C. Blackwell, Mrs. William M. Muschert, Miss Martha Willets, Mrs. Samuel Sharkey, Mrs. Joseph L. Bodine, Miss Alice F. Wyckoff, Miss Charlotte Herckner, Miss Margaret Williams, Miss Elisabeth D. Bodine, Miss Jean Haverstick, Mrs. C. Dudley Wilson and Mrs. Richard B. Eldridge.

The club's most outstanding educational work has been the establishment of a scholarship, which was awarded for the first time in 1916. This is for the benefit of Trenton girls at college. Another educational project has been the support of the Bryn Mawr School of Industry.

In addition, the College Club for two years staged an excellent type of Hallowe'en celebration, which received the approval of the city commission. It cooperated with the Sociological Committee of The Contemporary; aided in forming a Drama League to promote good drama in Trenton; conducted an anti-fly campaign; contributed financially to the Trenton Welfare Association; did Big Sister work, Camp Dix canteen service and promoted Red Cross activities and Liberty Bond selling.

The club has financed its scholarship and other projects by giving plays and similar functions.

TRENTON BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB—1916

The Trenton Business and Professional Women's Club was formed in the autumn of 1916, with Miss Edith Moon as president.

One of the activities of the club has been the establishment of a scholarship for girls needing assistance through school, which is now being extended to include an award to the best all-round girl in the commercial department of the High School.

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The club occupies rooms in the Wilkinson Building, opposite the Post Office. It has aided many civic projects, and has fostered the interchange of ideas with other service clubs. It was also the first to hold a donation party for the American Legion Home, at Toms River, in which its example has been followed by others throughout the State.

An outstanding achievement was the founding of the State Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in New Jersey. This was accomplished in May 1918, at a meeting held in Trenton. Miss M. Dorothy Eby, of this city, was elected the first president. Since that time many of the Trenton clubwomen have been prominent in the State organization. Miss Mary L. Johnston served as president of the Federation for nearly six years and Miss Alice M. Gary as corresponding secretary for almost as long.

TRENTON JUNIOR LEAGUE—1921

To give the girl of leisure and wealth an opportunity to engage in practical and worthwhile forms of social service, the Junior League movement was started in this country. The Trenton society has been no exception to the rule of excellence established by other and older Leagues, and since its formation in 1921 its members have achieved great success in several important charitable and social projects.

Establishment of a Trenton Junior League was decided upon at a meeting of Trenton society girls at the home of Miss Helen Wood Green, and its charter was granted February 1921.

Miss Green was chosen as the League's first president and other presiding officers have been: Mrs. Francis W. Hunter, Mrs. A. Caryl Bigelow, Miss Virginia Turford, Miss Molly Serson (Mrs. Robert Belville), Mrs. S. Leslie Tattersall, and Mrs. Joseph L. Bodine.

The League undertook practical work from the beginning and aided in furnishing the new home of the New Jersey Children's Home Society on Parkway Avenue. It also contributed to many worthwhile charitable enterprises, but its biggest undertaking has been the Baby Shelter, established in 1924. It also contributed \$1,400 to the Orthopaedic Clinic and \$6,500 to the Soldiers' Convalescent Home at Toms River. All of the social work of the League has been financed by public entertainments and in seven years the organization has contributed more than \$32,000 to nine different charities.

TRENTON LECTURE COMMITTEE

That Trenton has long been interested in literary matters seems to be indicated by the great number of present and former literary societies which were either branches of church organizations or city clubs and of lecture courses. The lecture committees of which much is known date back as far as 1855, although their organizers and supporters are forgotten.

The present committee seems to have come into being early in the new century, either just before or at the time the Trenton Public Library was established. Old files of the Trenton newspapers indicate that United States Senator Frank O. Briggs was the first chairman. Early minutes of the committee are missing, but the correspondence of that day shows that Adam Strohm, then head of the Trenton Public Library, was the secretary.

The committee was originally a center for the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Lecture courses were no more certain

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financially then than now, and in January 1908 the committee sought to cancel a series of six lectures because of lack of support. In 1907 there had been a group of guarantors, whose names are listed in an old account book of the committee. They were James Buchanan, Henry C. Green, William M. Lanning, Bishop McFaul, Henry C. Moore, John Rellstab and Edward A. Stokes.

In 1911, Judge G. D. W. Vroom was president. He continued to serve until 1914, when Neil Robert Montgomery was elected to succeed him. Howard L. Hughes, who succeeded Mr. Strohm as head of the Public Library, became secretary of the committee in 1912 and still holds that position. The other presidents have been Walter F. Smith and State Senator A. Crozer Reeves, who is serving now.

The various civic and luncheon clubs and The Contemporary have been cooperating with the Lecture Committee since 1917.

MOTHERS' CLUBS

Mothers and teachers of children attending the Cadwalader School in 1903 are responsible for the Mothers' Club movement in Trenton. This has now grown to such proportions that almost every public and many parochial and private schools have clubs, all functioning to advance the interests of home and school.

As early as 1900 the mothers of the Cadwalader School children had been meeting occasionally with the teachers. At these sessions programs were presented of benefit to both teacher and parent. Finally at the request of a number of mothers, a formal organization was effected January 25, 1903, under the leadership of Mrs. I. Henry Welling. The officers elected were: Mrs. Welling, president; Mrs. Thomas Carey, first vice-president; Mrs. Edward C. Stover, second vice-president; Mrs. Samuel D. Oliphant, Jr., secretary; and Mrs. Linton Satterthwaite, treasurer.

From this small beginning the Mothers' Club movement spread in Trenton until at the present time there are twenty in the city. These and the dates of their formation are: Cadwalader, 1903; William G. Cook, 1903; U. S. Grant, 1922; James Moses, 1915; Peabody, 1915; Franklin, 1916; Jefferson, 1916; Monument, 1914; Columbus, 1914; McKinley, 1916; Gregory, 1921; Hamilton, 1922; Hillcrest, 1923; Junior No. 1, 1919; Prospect Hill School, Mothers' Circle in the Prospect Street Presbyterian Church, 1915; St. Paul M.E., 1913; Third Presbyterian, 1918; Wesley M.E. Churches, 1921; and the Lucretia Mott Mothers' Circle of Friends Meeting, 1922.

The parochial schools have similar organizations. Mrs. Bernard McNally is president of the (Trenton) Diocesan Council of Parents, with which the Catholic parish schools of the city are affiliated.

THE MERCER COUNTY COUNCIL

The Mercer County Council of the New Jersey Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations was officially organized at the Mott School March 1, 1917, by Mrs. Wellington Bechtel, of Haddonfield, who was then State president of the New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers. It had functioned for two years before, having been started by Mrs. J. E. Van Horne in 1915 in Princeton. Owing to a misunderstanding of

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State by-laws, its official organization did not take place until 1917. In reality it was the first County to organize.

Mrs. Van Horne was elected president in 1917; Mrs. E. S. Willey, vice-chairman; Mrs. Robert L. Pettit, secretary; and Mrs. James Mathis, treasurer. Mrs. Van Horne was followed by Mrs. Louis T. deValliere, who took office on Armistice Day, served for six years and in 1924 became state president. She was succeeded by Mrs. Robert L. Pettit, whose term was for four years. Mrs. Charles W. Jones, the present president, was elected in April 1928.

THE SYMPOSIUM—1904

Formed for the purpose of providing its members with an opportunity for discussion of matters of current interest, The Symposium is today perhaps Trenton's most intellectual club. Its purpose has been adhered to since it was established in 1904, and although there has been a delightful social side to its activity, this has been secondary to the more serious interest.

The Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, was the originator of the club and is the sole remaining charter member. A meeting to form the club was held December 14, 1904, in the studio of Frederick H. Clark, 143 East State Street.

It was decided to meet at stated times, and in a social way "for the discussion of such topics as pertain to the welfare, culture and happiness of the people, particularly of this locality." It was also agreed at a later date that the club should consist of not more than forty members, who should be citizens or residents of Mercer County. Those elected are not considered as having fully qualified for membership until they have read a paper or made an address before the society.

The Symposium meets monthly from October to May. For the early years meetings were held in Mr. Clark's studio. The meetings are now held at The Contemporary. An annual dinner is a feature of the May meeting.

Judge Vroom was The Symposium's first president; Dr. Green was vice-president; and Frederick H. Clark, secretary and treasurer.

The men who have served as president of the club include: Judge Vroom, Foster C. Griffith, the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, Colonel Washington A. Roebling, Dr. James M. Green, Linton Satterthwaite, Dr. Henry Collin Minton, Colonel William Libbey, former Governor Edward C. Stokes, Dr. William A. Clark, Dr. Henry A. Cotton, Judge Alfred Reed, John J. Cleary, Henry C. Moore, Public Utilities Commissioner Frederick W. Gnichtel, Frank Forrest Frederick, Attorney-General Edward L. Katzenbach, Charles E. Hewitt, Herman C. Mueller, Judge Joseph L. Bodine, Edward M. Hunt, Alfred N. Barber and Vice-Chancellor Malcolm Buchanan.

Although the presidents and vice-presidents change yearly, The Symposium has had but two secretary-treasurers,—Frederick H. Clark, who served from 1904 to 1917, and Librarian Howard L. Hughes, who has served from 1917 until the present time.

MAYOR'S CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

Out of the adoption by Common Council in 1909 of the ordinance for a "Safe and Sane Fourth of July" grew the Mayor's Citizens' Committee.

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This organization, composed of fifty or more well-known men from all sections of the city, is charged with staging the public observances of patriotic and other occasions. In an informal way it serves the municipality as no branch of the regular governmental machinery can do.

When Mayor Walter F. Madden signed the "Safe and Sane" ordinance, there was immediate discussion of the way in which the city should celebrate the Fourth, since there could be no fireworks sold or privately shot off. To solve the problem, and to arrange for some worthwhile program which would satisfy the residents, Mayor Madden was directed by resolution January 18, 1910, to appoint a committee, which organized February 23, 1910. When the commission form of government came into effect, Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly reappointed the Citizens' Committee and considerably enlarged it.

Gradually the activities of the Mayor's Committee were extended, until today the group has charge of arranging practically all public functions when requested to do so by the mayor.

For a number of years the committee has conducted a ball Halloween night in the Armory, in an attempt to provide a proper celebration of this festival, and to take off the city streets the irregular mobs and crowds which used to hold disorderly processions, blocking traffic and annoying pedestrians. A small fee has been charged for admission to the balls, and the proceeds have been given each year to some of the city's worthy charities.

The Citizens' Committee has also of late years represented the city officially in observance of Memorial Day and Armistice Day, cooperating with the war veterans in carrying out the traditions.

Andrew J. Berrien is now chairman of the committee and others who have served in the same position include Colonel E. C. Stahl and J. Wiggans Thorn.

IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATIONS

Civic pride, especially as it relates to an interest in the cleanliness, beauty and order of the locality in which one lives was the basis for the establishment of two community associations in Trenton. The oldest of these is the Cadwalader Association, composed of residents and property owners in the residential section which was formerly a part of the fine old estate of the Cadwalader family, in the western end of the city. The other is the North Trenton Improvement Association, composed of business men and property owners of the section in the vicinity of the Battle Monument, the "Five Points" region. These two associations have been instrumental in procuring great benefits for their respective localities, and indirectly of advantage to the city at large.

The Cadwalader Association grew out of an appeal of west-end residents to the city authorities for sprinkling service for the streets in the summer. Unsuccessful in their efforts, the residents decided to furnish their own facilities for sprinkling the streets in the Cadwalader district. Louis G. Beers, Herbert N. Morse, James G. Lee, Clinton J. Swartz, William T. Furman and Edmund C. Hill were the leaders in the project, and in March 1909 collected money from the property owners for the service. This was followed by other services, and today more than \$3,000 has been collected for dust alleviation, snow removal, care of vacant lots, purchase

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and erection of street signs, the inauguration of a "Safe and Sane Fourth of July" and the care of trees. Members of the association have advocated many improvements of great public benefit, such as the enlargement of Cadwalader Park by the purchase of land beyond Parkside Avenue, improvements in park property along the Delaware River, and increased light, police and fire facilities.

Louis G. Beers was the first president of the association; W. P. Kent, vice-president; James G. Lee, secretary; and Herbert N. Morse, treasurer. Other presidents since 1909-10 have been: Mr. Morse, Clinton J. Swartz, William H. Miers, J. A. Bergen, Harry C. Boynton, Benjamin F. Havens, William R. Ward, Richard S. Wilson, Walton M. Watson, Samuel Haverstick, William T. Furman, E. M. Pumyea, G. Harold Noyes, Harry B. Sickles, Edmund C. Hill, William G. Hopper and M. H. Dusenbury.

The North Trenton Improvement Association was organized as the result of a controversy over the payment for lights on the Battle Monument. For many years the top of the column has been illuminated at night with thirteen electric lights, symbolic of the thirteen Colonies. In 1922 State and city officials differed on the question of responsibility for the electric current, and the lights were shut off.

Incensed by this action, prominent residents and business men formally organized the North Trenton Improvement Association October 19, 1922. The first officers were: Eugene F. Allfather, president; Charles Piper, vice-president; and Harry J. Podmore, secretary-treasurer. Mr. Allfather has served ever since as president.

General civic betterment of the community is sought, as well as improvement along business lines, and effort has been directed toward a better recognition and appreciation of North Trenton's historical associations.

The South Warren Street Business Men's Association was organized in 1921 for the purpose of improving this section of the city as a business center. John Thaler was the first president and Bernard E. Sweeney is now serving in this office.

TRENTON GARDEN CLUB

While the community associations have devoted themselves to the very practical phases of community service, the garden societies have given their attention to esthetic problems, and both directly and indirectly have done much to make Trenton a more beautiful place. They have stimulated among residents a desire to have and cultivate gardens of their own, whether large or small, and due to their efforts there has been a notable increase in the gardening hobby.

Trenton was one of the first cities to have such an organization and the Garden Club of Trenton was formed 1911, largely through the personal interest and effort of Miss Mary Anna Hall and Miss Anne deB. McIlvaine. Mrs. F. A. C. Perrine was the first president and Miss McIlvaine vice-president.

It has been the practice of the Trenton Garden Club to hold informal shows annually for their own members, and to bring to Trenton noted speakers on topics dealing with gardens and horticulture. Some of these meetings have been open to the public.

A few years ago the Trenton Garden Club cooperated with the Trenton Dahlia Society in staging a large spring flower show, the first of its kind

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in the city. It was held in the Art Alliance Building, the former home of the Trenton Banking Company, and members of the Art Alliance, then in existence, also assisted. Many amateurs exhibited and the splendid collection of orchids assembled by the late Charles G. Roebling was also on display.

So successful was the show and so great the public interest, that each year since the Garden Club and the Dahlia Society have held fall flower shows, in which there are hundreds of entries. The Garden Club has also entered exhibits in the International Flower Show in New York City and in shows held by garden clubs throughout the State. Besides its shows the Garden Club has aided in protection of native plants and birds and encouraged civic planting.

In addition to Mrs. Perrine, the presidents of the club have been: Mrs. John A. Montgomery, Mrs. Karl G. Roebling (Mrs. Arthur T. O'Brien), Miss Frances M. Dickinson, Mrs. Huston Dixon and Mrs. Bruce Bedford.

TRENTON DAHLIA SOCIETY

The Trenton Dahlia Society owes its existence to Mrs. Frieda Fisher, then an amateur horticulturist and now one of the most widely known dahlia specialists in the country and a member of the firm of Fisher & Masson. In 1919 Mrs. Fisher gathered together a group of six dahlia lovers, who cultivated this flower for love of it. They formed a dahlia club at the first meeting in the late summer of 1919. John P. N. Seeger was chosen president and Mrs. Fisher was elected secretary, a post which she held for several years.

In the autumn of 1919 the new society held its first flower show and annually since then similar exhibits have been staged. Most of the entries in these have been grown in small gardens, by amateurs, although many professionals and expert growers have also exhibited.

Those who have been president of the society are Mr. Seeger, Clarence W. Sparmaker, Harold W. West, Frank J. Eppele, Henry C. Blackwell and Mrs. Horace Mann.

About five years ago, the Mercer County Dahlia Society merged with the Trenton Dahlia Society, as its membership was dwindling and the remaining members wished to stage flower shows which were shows and not mere window displays. The Mercer County Dahlia Society was the first dahlia society in the county and was originally known as the Sixth Ward Dahlia Society. Its aim was to have a dahlia club in every ward, but this was not successful. The old Sixth Ward club refused to accept members from other parts of the city, and dahlia growers joined the Trenton Dahlia Society. Later the Sixth Ward club changed its name and accepted members from the entire County.

ENGINEERS' CLUB OF TRENTON

For the mutual benefit of members of the engineering profession in Trenton, the Engineers' Club of Trenton was created in 1914, through the efforts of City Engineers Joseph E. English and Alfred C. Gregory. Attempts had been made in previous years to form such a club, but none of them was successful until Mr. English finally prevailed upon Mr. Gregory, because of his wide acquaintance among engineers, to undertake the formation of the society.

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The club was organized January 22, in the Chamber of Commerce rooms, and the charter was signed by 102 qualified men.

Colonel Edwin A. Stevens, then State road commissioner for New Jersey, was the first president. He came of a line of famous engineers and inventors. He was the son of Edwin Augustus Stevens, founder of Stevens Institute of Technology, and a great-grandson of John Stevens, a member of the first Federal Congress and a pioneer in promoting early railroads in this country.

Serving with Colonel Stevens were A. C. Gregory, first vice-president; N. A. K. Bugbee, second vice-president; Joseph E. English, secretary; John E. Elliott, treasurer; City Commissioner J. Ridgway Fell, R. B. Fitz-Randolph, Alfred P. S. Bellis, Frank J. Eppele, Edward E. Reed, Alexander P. Gest, and Abram Swan, Jr. (now City Commissioner), as members of the board of directors. Mr. Gregory succeeded Colonel Stevens as president and those who followed him have been N. A. K. Bugbee, A. P. S. Bellis, C. R. Waller, Charles R. Fairchilds, Fred C. Carstarphen, Edward E. Reed, Harry F. Harris, T. B. Morgan, E. E. Sanders, Joseph E. English and J. B. Woolston.

Before the end of the first year, the club roll contained 234 names.

Colonel Washington A. Roebling, a distinguished Trenton engineer, was elected to honorary membership.

An outstanding achievement of the club was the organization of Company C, to meet the urgent need for a battalion of engineers for the State militia. After organization, the company was stationed for a while in the Armory and June 1, 1917, it was sent to Wrightstown to begin work of surveying and mapping the site for what later became Camp Dix. The company accordingly had the distinction of being the first troops stationed at the cantonment. It sailed for France June 17, 1918, and saw active services. On May 22, 1919, the men of Company C returned to Hoboken, and were discharged May 28 and 29.

KARL ROEBLING UNIT, STEUBEN SOCIETY

American citizens of German descent, desiring to assist in civic betterment in the United States, organized the Steuben Society May 1919. The name was chosen in honor of Baron von Steuben.

The Trenton unit was established in 1923, and is known as the Karl G. Roebling Unit No. 393. It is named in honor of Karl G. Roebling, grandson of John A. Roebling of this city. It began with a charter membership of 74.

Karl Weidel, Sr., was the first chairman and the other original officers were: Albert E. Schoeller, secretary; August Muehlhausen, treasurer; Charles Kessler, vice-chairman; Fred Pferd and Fred Gaertner, vice-chairmen; Hilmar Mueller and Carl Sandhoff, trustees.

TRENTON ART ALLIANCE

A loan exhibition of etchings and a lecture by George T. Plowman, etcher, given under the auspices of The Contemporary in the auditorium of the School of Industrial Arts, was the beginning of the Trenton Art Alliance. So much interest was created by the exhibition and lecture that it was decided by art lovers to form a society to stimulate a greater interest in all branches of art and to foster both fine and industrial art in this city.

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The society known as the Trenton Art Alliance was formed in 1921, with Judge Joseph L. Bodine as president. Frank Forrest Frederick was vice-president; Miss Elma Lawson Johnston, secretary-treasurer; and Librarian Howard L. Hughes, Frank Graham Holmes, Clayton L. Traver, Mrs. Edwin H. Ginnelley, Mrs. Joseph M. Middleton, Henry R. MacGinnis, Owen Moon, Jr., John Phelps Pette and George A. Bradshaw, members of the board of directors.

During its brief career, the Alliance presented Lorado Taft, American sculptor, in a lecture, and Wallace Nutting in an illustrated talk; held exhibitions of paintings by members of the faculty of the School of Industrial Arts and by other artists; and staged a brilliant art and industry exhibition in cooperation with the various civic organizations.

The Art Alliance strongly advocated acquisition of the old bank building once the home of the Trenton Banking Company, which is ideally arranged for this purpose.

Handicapped mainly by lack of modern gallery facilities, the Art Alliance finally ceased to function, after only a few years of service.

TRENTON FAIR ART CLUB

When the Art Alliance ended its career there was great disappointment among art lovers, and it was felt that the interest which had been aroused should be directed to some worthwhile and permanent end. With this idea in mind, Colonel William E. Pedrick, Trenton artist, formed the Trenton Fair Art Club, February 19, 1925. The purpose is to stimulate local interest in fine arts and to accumulate a suitable collection of paintings for a free public art museum in this city. The purchase of the canvases is financed by money derived from the payment of membership dues. One or more paintings or pieces of sculpture are selected each year from an exhibition of contemporary art by the most distinguished artists of the country, held at the Trenton Fair. These works are chosen by a committee appointed for the purpose.

Membership in the Trenton Fair Art Club has been open since the formation of the society to any one interested in the aims of the organization.

Frank Forrest Frederick, director of the School of Industrial Arts, was the first president; J. Fred Margerum, vice-president; Miss Helen G. Laffan, treasurer; and Colonel William E. Pedrick, secretary.

After the death of Colonel Pedrick, Henry R. MacGinnis, head of the fine arts department of the Art School, was elected secretary.

There are now six canvases in the proposed municipal collection and among them is one "The Sentinel" by Mr. Frederick, given to the Art Club by him in memory of Colonel Pedrick. These pictures now hang in the Trenton Public Library.

IX. *The Luncheon Clubs*

TRENTON owes the first of its luncheon service clubs to a woman, Mrs. William H. Atkinson, for it was largely through her interest and enthusiasm based on observations in

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Philadelphia that the Trenton Rotary Club was formed in 1914. Since then other clubs of a similar type have been established, including one for women.

ROTARY—1914

Trenton Rotary had its beginning in the Atkinson home, on Centre Street, Mrs. Atkinson having interested her husband in the idea of such a club for Trenton. As a result, W. H. Atkinson, A. K. Leuckel, Charles E. Broughton, A. Crozer Reeves, Charles F. Stout, and Arthur C. Metzger, then secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, were invited to Philadelphia to attend a meeting and learn more of the organization.

These six men met again April 27, 1914, at dinner at the Atkinson home, when it was decided to form a Trenton Rotary Club. Plans were made for an organization meeting, each of the men agreeing to invite another guest. This second meeting was a dinner session at Hildebrecht's. Formal organization took place a little later at a session at the Trenton House. Walter F. Smith was the first president elected by Trenton Rotarians and the other officers were Norman P. Stahl, vice-president, and Charles F. Stout, secretary-treasurer.

Rotary's presidents since then have been: Edward L. Katzenbach, James Kerney, William B. Maddock, Arthur H. Wood, Charles S. Maddock, Jr., Lion L. Woodward, the Rev. Peter K. Emmons, Arthur E. Moon, William H. Fetter, George H. Bell, H. Arthur Smith, Howard L. Hughes, A. Crozer Reeves and George L. Atkins.

Rotary has been interested in many worthwhile projects, but none has won such popular approval as the purchase of Rotary Island, formerly known as Park Island. During the administration of William B. Maddock, the club began its fine work for anemic children. The *Trenton Times* started the purchase fund with a gift of \$1,000 and Rotarians raised the balance needed for the acquisition of the island. The buildings were all erected through the generosity of material men of Trenton and the trade unionists, who gave their labor without cost.

The Mercer County Health League each year conducts a fresh air camp on the island, where ill and anemic children, recommended by school authorities and physicians, are taken for vacations to recover their health.

KIWANIS—1918

Kiwanis was the second of the service clubs organized here. The preliminary meeting was held March 6, 1918, at Hildebrecht's. The permanent organization was effected May 15, 1918. John L. Power was elected president; Joseph B. Hottel, vice-president; H. M. Van Slyke, secretary; Fred C. Beans, financial secretary; Henry Cook, treasurer; and Frank A. Hazen, W. J. Meloney, A. C. Nevius, P. J. Morgan, H. A. Hulslander and William E. Blackman, directors. Men who have served Kiwanis as president since then are: Joseph B. Hottel, George E. Hoffman, William E. Blackman, William K. Hoyt, Carl K. Withers, John E. Gill, Fred C. Beans, Frank J. Eppele, Paul G. Duryea and Dr. David F. Weeks.

Trenton Kiwanis Club has been especially interested in boys. In 1920, Mr. Hoffman, then president, proposed that the club should guarantee the

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financial requirements of the Boy Scout organization in Trenton, which was then in considerable need. It was decided to present the aims of the Boy Scouts and their needs to the public, and then to make a campaign for contributions. This proved to be a great success, and each year since Kiwanis has held a drive for funds for the Trenton Boy Scouts.

Not content with this, Kiwanis aided in the purchase of a camp site for the Scout organization. This is a tract of 1,450 acres near the Delaware Water Gap, bought May 27, 1925.

Of the original payment of \$5,000, there was \$1,000 from the *Trenton Times*, \$2,000 from Kiwanians, \$500 from Rotarians and \$1,500 from other public-spirited citizens.

LIONS—1921

The Trenton Lions Club was organized in 1921 by Counsellor Hervey S. Moore. At the organization meeting, Mr. Moore was elected president and then reelected for a second term. Those who have followed him in this position are T. Arthur Karno, Godfrey W. Schroth, Jr., William A. Schlegel, William R. Ward and Dr. Robert H. Conover.

Among the Lions Club's most distinctive and successful undertakings are the musical contests conducted annually under its auspices since 1924. The purposes of these contests are to spur young musicians to higher artistic attainments, to give unknown local talent an opportunity to appear in public under favorable auspices, and generally to foster an interest in musical education and culture, and in these respects they have been remarkably successful. They have brought forth much local talent that otherwise would never have had an opportunity to reveal itself. In the first four years, several of the successful candidates of conspicuous ability but limited means were able to use their success as a passport to auditions which led to the award of free scholarships at famous musical institutions.

The annual awards are the gifts of the late Godfrey W. Schroth, one of the leading musicians and composers in the history of music in Trenton. The competitions are conducted under rules and regulations fairly designed to further their purpose and spirit. Eminent out-of-town musicians are annually engaged by the Lions to serve as judges and many artists of national repute have already acted in this capacity.

EXCHANGE—1923

A charter was granted by the national organization to the Exchange Club of Trenton in June 1923. At that date George A. Katzenbach was elected president; Frederic R. Brace, first vice-president; Robert C. Belleville, 3rd, second vice-president; and Donald M. Foster, secretary-treasurer.

The presidents succeeding Mr. Katzenbach have been Frederic R. Brace, C. Richard Waller and J. Fred Margerum.

CIVITAN—1923

Through the efforts of former State Senator Barton B. Hutchinson and Warren G. Donaldson, the Civitan Club of Trenton was formed. At a meeting held June 25, 1923, Mr. Donaldson was elected temporary president. He served until the organization meeting July 24, when Mr. Hutchinson was chosen as president for 1923-24. Mr. Donaldson then became vice-president.

Social and Fraternal Organizations

Members elected to the board of directors were Albert G. Wesley, Andrew J. Berrien, Dr. C. J. Craythorne, William Peacock and Thomas A. Major. Mr. Hutchinson was succeeded in the presidency by James W. Edgerton, James C. C. Patterson and Frank E. Matthews.

The Civitan Club has been concerned with civic matters and citizens' military training camps. The promotion of good citizenship is the most important object of all Civitan Clubs, and in carrying out this idea members of the Trenton club have given unusual assistance to the Mayor's Citizens' Committee. Nearly all of the Civitan clubmen are members of this committee, and all have assisted in its various undertakings.

In connection with the citizens military training camps, endorsed by the national organization, Trenton Civitans have awarded medals for high standing to men at the various camps in New Jersey and have encouraged an interest in these organizations.

QUOTA—1924

In addition to the various service clubs established by men, there is one, the Quota Club, which has a membership composed exclusively of women. This was organized March 1924, by Miss Dorothy Doranz, a Trenton lawyer, with the assistance of the Philadelphia Quota Club.

The purpose of the club is to bring together women who are practising a profession, who own their own business or who hold an executive position in a firm or corporation. The club plans to promote friendliness among business women; to enlarge their acquaintance; to quicken their interest in public welfare; and to cooperate with others in civic development.

Miss Doranz was the club's first president, and the other original officers were: Dr. Mary B. Harris, first vice-president; Miss Sara T. Pollock, second vice-president; Miss L. Gertrude Miller, third vice-president; Miss Emma R. Hulit, recording secretary; Miss Ida V. Howell, corresponding secretary; Miss Hannah Lister, financial secretary and Miss Catherine M. Zisgen, treasurer. Other presidents besides Miss Doranz have been Miss Sarah A. Dalrymple and Miss Jessie Durstine.

AMERICAN BUSINESS CLUB—1926

To develop high ideals and civic consciousness, the American Business Club of Trenton was organized January 16, 1926. Ernest Kerr was first president; Dr. Edward J. Jennings, first vice-president; William Lee, second vice-president; John Egan, secretary; and William Matlack, treasurer. Other presidents have been Roy Brown, Walter Short, George Geiger and Harvey Knight.

CHAPTER XVIII

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

BY RICHARD D. LA GUARDIA

I. The Early Comers

ALTHOUGH this chapter is concerned especially with citizens of foreign origin, that is, with non-English speaking or bilingual peoples of recent immigration, it would seem proper to note in passing the earlier influx of persons from the British Isles who have long been absorbed into the body of the population. In this class are also properly to be included the older representatives of the Teutonic race who came over in some numbers and settled here about the middle of the last century.

Of course in respect to the English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, and Germans, representatives of each race were here from the earliest days and hence are not to be differentiated from the original common stock, since they actually constituted it and are present with us today in the persons of their descendants to the fifth and sixth generations. In speaking, therefore, of those coming from the above-mentioned countries, the reference is specifically to representatives who came to Trenton when the tide of immigration first set in previous to the Civil War and during the years immediately following. The following sections dealing with the English, Scotch, Irish and Germans were prepared with the assistance of persons familiar with the local history of these races.

THE ENGLISH

English pottery workers from Staffordshire were attracted to Trenton from the period when the early local potteries were firmly established in the town. Well up to the beginning of the present century most of those employed were of English birth

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or descent, though at present they probably represent a minority. Most of these early potters have long since passed away; some of them after attaining to positions of prominence in the community either as managers or proprietors of potteries or in other branches of trade and industry. Persons of English birth in Trenton numbered 3621 in 1900, 3493 in 1910, and 2774 in 1920. Some outstanding names among early comers may be mentioned.

THE WHITEHEAD FAMILY

John Whitehead, ancestor of the Trenton family of that name, came from Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England, with two sons and one daughter in 1816. He settled first in Germantown, Pa., where he engaged in the manufacture of woollens. Subsequently he removed to Newtown, Bucks County, Pa., and continued the business there. In 1842 he came to Trenton, buying the mill on the Assunpink some two miles from the center of Trenton. This mill has ever since been operated under the firm name of Whitehead Brothers or Whitehead Brothers Rubber Company. During the years of the Civil War, woollen goods, principally woven underwear for the army, were manufactured. Later the mill was equipped with rubber-working machinery and mechanical rubber goods have since been manufactured in the plant.

John Whitehead's sons were *William, John, Jr., Richard R., James R., Charles* and *Joseph*. All lived in Trenton and, excepting Charles, were associated with their father in the operation of the industry. Charles was for many years connected with banking interests. For thirty years he was cashier of the First National Bank and at the time of his death (1898) was vice-president of the Trenton Saving Fund Society. At the present time his son Robert V. is cashier of the same establishment.

OTHER PROMINENT EARLY ARRIVALS

Henry and *Joseph Lawton* were among the oldest Trentonians born in England. Henry, who was 87 years old when he died, and Joseph, who was 82, both fought in the Civil War, serving with distinction throughout the period of this conflict, and suffering in Libby Prison and Belle Island. Their father was a potter and the sons followed in his footsteps. On leaving England the elder Lawton brought with him the Wedgwood formula. In 1861 this formula was being tested in an effort to interest capitalists in establishing a new Trenton pottery. The first sample had just been tried when the Civil War broke out.

Coxon and *Thompson* established what was afterwards the Trenton Potteries.

Edwin Green came to America in 1848. He was an ironworker and became superintendent of the wire mills of the Trenton Iron Company.

Moses Golding, founder of Golding and Sons, established a machine shop.

John Hawthorne was the first kiln-builder to make a big reputation in Trenton, and was followed by *Lewis Lawton*, still active in the business.

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Walter Firth, former sheriff of Mercer County, and recently warden of the County Work House, is of English extraction, having been born in Halifax in 1861. He has the unique distinction of being one of the few English Trentonians not born in Staffordshire.

Samuel Bullock was a prominent citizen of Trenton. He was born in Staffordshire in 1861 and was educated in the old White School in Chambersburg. He was a former member of the Board of Education, a surrogate of the County and held other positions of influence and responsibility.

Frederick A. Walker was born in Longton, Staffordshire, England, April 18, 1861. He came to Trenton in 1879, where he had a brother living. His first position here was at the Anchor Pottery. In 1893 he accepted a position with the Trenton Potteries Company, becoming foreman of the Empire Pottery. In 1907 he was made superintendent of the Crescent Pottery where he remained until 1918. Walker first held public office in Chambersburg as an election officer in 1886. After Chambersburg was consolidated with Trenton in 1888, he was elected to the School Board in 1889 from the Tenth Ward for two years. In 1891 he was elected to the Common Council from the Tenth Ward, for three years, and was reelected in 1894 for two years. He was elected alderman-at-large in April 1896 for two years, and retired from Council in April 1896. He was president for two years and leader for five years. He is a member of the Republican Club and was president in 1924-25. He is now serving on its board of governors.

Among others of English birth who were well known in the pottery industry during the last century were *Thomas Maddock*, who established his pottery in 1873, *James Taylor* of the old firm of Speeler and Taylor, *Richard Millington*, *Isaac Davis*, *James Tams* of the Greenwood Pottery, *Jonathan Coxon*, *William Young* with numerous descendants, and *Frederic A. Duggan*, born in the Province of Quebec, the son of an officer in the British Army who came to Trenton in the late '70's and established the Imperial Porcelain Works of which he is the president.

In other industries there were *Joseph Stokes*, the father of W. J. B. Stokes, Charles E. Stokes and J. Oliver Stokes, rubber manufacturers. Of these W. J. B. Stokes served in Common Council 1886-91 and as city treasurer 1894-1910. The brothers *Adam* and *John Exton* of Exton Cracker fame came to Trenton in 1842. The business established by them is still being carried on by their descendants. *William Hancock*, born in England in 1823, came to Trenton in 1872 and became superintendent of Samuel K. Wilson's woollen mill in which capacity he remained up to the time of his death in 1890. A granddaughter is Mrs. Newton A. K. Bugbee and a grandson is William A. Bissell, Jr.

THE SONS OF ST. GEORGE

About one thousand Trentonians of English birth and descent are included in the membership of the Sons of St. George. Whatever its original purpose may have been the society has long since become a purely social and beneficial organization. Today the organization tends to include the fourth generation settled in Trenton.

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THE SCOTCH

Of Scotch birth in Trenton, there were 425 persons in 1900, 532 in 1910, and 511 in 1920.

The author has been able to identify but a few scattered families of this race in Trenton, as the Scotch are usually listed as British. They have, also, been so thoroughly assimilated that they are called and known as Americans.

A FEW OUTSTANDING NAMES

The characteristics of the Scotch settlers in Trenton in the period prior to the twentieth century were the same as they are today. They were thrifty, quiet, and clannish. For the most part they were skilled workers and meddled not in politics, though some of them were elevated by election to public offices. *Robert Aitken* served on the old City Council, in the Board of Freeholders and in the State Assembly. Mr. Aitken was a builder and contractor. Another well-known Scotchman was *Captain John Matheson*, who after a life of travel and adventures settled permanently in Trenton, became a police justice and later was identified for years with the county clerk's office.

In business the Scotch have been successful in many different lines of endeavor. *William Rhodes* was part owner of the old City Pottery, and *James J. Dale* of the Dale and Davis Pottery was engaged in business in this city many years. *David Lamont* and *John Love* owned small stores on South Broad Street, and were well known in the city. In industry, *Thomas Craig*, *Duncan Mackenzie*, *John Crawford* and others ably represented the Scotch race in the city.

Scotch professional men have figured prominently in the city and included such skilled surgeons as *Dr. John McKelway*, who lived to the advanced age of 92. He was also a progressive citizen and was connected with the original Water Power Company. He was a typical Scotchman and proud of the land of the heath and thistle. Another physician was *Thomas H. Mackenzie*, born in Nova Scotia, who, besides enjoying a large practice, was the attending physician at the State Prison, was also on the staff of the St. Francis' Hospital and was for years officially connected with the public schools.

Other Scotchmen of the earlier period were *John Munro*, *John Cochrane*, *Archie Richardson*, *Robert Smith*, *William Mushet* and *William Flett*.

THE CALEDONIAN SOCIETY

In the chapter on "Social and Fraternal Organizations," the activities of the Caledonian Club receive due recognition. The society is of over twenty years' standing and besides being beneficial has contributed to the social, musical, and athletic side of life. Burns' Day customarily brings together a fine assemblage of men and women representing the Scottish race in this city.

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THE IRISH

Of Irish-born there were 3292 in Trenton in 1900, 2481 in 1910, and 1871 in 1920.

IRISH LEADERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY DAYS AND LATER

Ireland began to be represented in the population of the city and its environs previous to the Revolutionary War. *Patrick Colvin* kept the Delaware River ferry at the foot of what is now Ferry Street, in those early days, and *Patrick Lamb*, who resided near Quaker Bridge on the Assunpink, was one of the three trusted guides who led Washington's Army on its memorable secret march to Princeton by a back road on the night of January 2, 1777. When Washington passed through Trenton on his way to New York to be inaugurated in 1789, Colvin ferried him across the Delaware and among the incidents of his reception here was a salute fired by *Bernard Hanlon's* Battery. Hanlon was an important mill-owner on the Assunpink at what is now the corner of North Clinton Avenue and Nottingham Way and he was one of the deputy aldermen appointed under the city charter of 1792. Undoubtedly there were other Irish here concurrently with these more outstanding figures. Reliable tradition has it¹ that mass was first celebrated in Trenton at *Thomas Kane's* Fox Chase Tavern in 1782 or 1783, the worshippers being largely made up of Irish immigrants. The first Trenton pottery of which we have exact knowledge was established in 1816 by *John McCully*, who was of Irish stock.

THE LATER IMMIGRATION

The flood-time of Irish immigration, however, set in when the potato famine of 1845 and subsequent years drove the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle from their homes. Many found their way to Trenton, attracted by the opportunities offered in our mills, chiefly the New Jersey Steel and Iron Works and the Roebling wire plant. They settled near their places of employment, chiefly in the Fourth Ward with overflows in the Sixth Ward and the lower end of the Third. So thick were they in one section of the Fourth that it became known as "Irishtown," and the Ward for many years was a Democratic stronghold.

Dr. Patrick McCaffrey was the first Irish physician in Trenton, settling on South Warren Street in the '50's. *Peter P. Cantwell* was the first parish school-teacher and he came to Trenton about the same period. *Thomas Crawford*, elected president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, was at the head of Catholic charities for fifty years, *Robert Wilson* serving with him most of the time. *Charles Lyons*, a contractor, used in the early years to drive the *Rev. John P. Mackin*, the resident Catholic pastor and a genuine Soggarth Aroon, over many miles of territory every Sunday to administer to country missions. Before Father Mackin, who was pastor from 1845 to 1860 and again from 1871 to 1873, the Irish Catholics were served here by priests bearing such names as Doyle, Whelan, Commisky, Geoghan, Rafferty, Costello, McGorian and Gilligan, all redolent of a Celtic origin. Among the most prominent of the early Irish settlers were the McLeas; besides *William*

¹ See John D. McCormick's historical sketch.

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McLea, the father, there were seven sons, all at the head and front of every industrial and religious movement.

The *Right Rev. John Scarborough*, the fourth bishop of New Jersey, was born in Ireland in 1831 at Castlewellan, County Down, and came to this country as a mere youth. Elected bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey in 1875 he lived in Trenton up to his death in 1914.

IRISH IN THE CIVIL WAR

By the time the Civil War began, the local Irish population had swelled to large proportions in the Fourth Ward and had also found homes in Chambersburg and North and East Trenton. *Hugh McQuade* was Captain of the Irish Volunteers organized as early as 1852 and *John Travers* was Captain of the Sarsfield Guard organized in 1854. Many Irish-Americans enlisted in the Union Army and several rose to some prominence in the service, including *Captain Lawrence Farrell*, *Captain Robert S. Johnston*, and *First Lieutenant James H. Tallon*. *Walter S. McCormick*, a young newspaper man, was killed in the Battle of Williamsburgh, Va. *General R. A. Donnelly*, of Irish parentage, although not enlisting from Trenton, entered into business here immediately following the war and became a notable figure in politics and the Grand Army of New Jersey, enjoying for years the honor of being Quartermaster General of the State. Like his son, the present mayor, he served as mayor of Trenton. Later the Emmet Guard (subsequently Company D of the Seventh Regiment), was organized with *John H. Leary* as Captain, *Edward Mullen* as First Lieutenant and *Michael Cantwell* as Second Lieutenant. Upon the death of Captain Leary, *Robert S. Johnston* succeeded to the captaincy and his successors in turn were *Michael Hurley* and *John E. Walsh*.

Since the Civil War, Irishmen and their offspring have risen in considerable numbers from the humbler walks of life and have taken rank in business and public affairs. *John* and *James Moses*, North of Ireland representatives, rose to high places as manufacturing potters. *Charles W. Donaghue* was a stilt manufacturer and member of the Common Council. *P. J. Fitzgibbon* was a carriage manufacturer. *James Doherty*, *Owen Healey* and others have been engaged in the clay industry also. The number of those who have become prominent in the professions of the law, journalism, pedagogy, dentistry, and medicine as well as in business is too great to attempt even to list. Representatives of the Irish stock who have figured in official public life in one capacity or another are numerous.

IRISH-AMERICAN SOCIETIES

Various fraternal, social, and temperance societies have been maintained by men of Irish birth and descent in Trenton. The two most distinctively identified with the race are the Ancient Order of Hibernians and St. Patrick's Alliance, each with several branches in different sections of the city. They are treated in greater detail in the chapter on "Social and Fraternal Organizations."

THE GERMANS

In 1900 there were 4114 persons of German birth in Trenton and in 1910 there were 3968. The latest Federal census of 1920

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showed 2338 Germans in Trenton. Illiteracy among the Germans is very low, being but four per cent. Four-sevenths of the Germans are Protestants, the remainder being almost wholly Roman Catholics.

CONSPICUOUS MEMBERS OF THE RACE

THE KATZENBACH FAMILY

Conspicuous among the German settlers in Trenton during the early part of the nineteenth century was *Henry Katzenbach*, who, with his wife and his son Peter, then only a small child, came to Trenton about 1824. He had been an officer in the army of the great Napoleon and fought in the Battle of Waterloo, receiving a sabre wound in the face. The family belonged to Rhenish Bavaria, their home being near the village of Katzenbach. Having lost his estates and property owing to the fall of Napoleon, Henry Katzenbach came to America and settled in Trenton mainly because of his attachment to the Bonaparte family represented in this locality by Joseph, Napoleon's brother and former King of Spain, who was then living in Bordentown. Henry's son *Peter* was for many years the proprietor of the Trenton House in the days when it was a famous hostelry. With Peter was associated for many years his son *Frederick*. Members of this family are living in Trenton today and have attained positions of eminence in the city and State. *Frank S. Katzenbach*, the son of Peter who died in 1906, was a prominent hardware merchant in Trenton for many years. He died in 1921. His son *Frank S., Jr.*, candidate of the Democratic party for governor in 1907, is an associate justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and another son, *Edward L.*, is attorney general. Both are graduates of Princeton University as was also their father. *George A. Katzenbach*, a cousin, is the president of the Broad Street National Bank.

THE ROEBLING FAMILY

Another family whose name is a household word in Trenton, and known indeed all over the world as engineers and pioneers in the building of suspension bridges, are the Roebblings. *John A. Roebling*, the founder of the great industry which bears his name, came to America from Germany in 1831. He had received at his home the benefits of the best education afforded in his day along architectural and engineering lines. He settled first near Pittsburgh where he purchased land in association with some of his compatriots and laid out a village afterwards called Saxonburg. In 1849 he came to Trenton and began his career here. As engineers and bridge-builders and as manufacturers of wire used for all conceivable purposes the Roebblings have enjoyed a preeminent position in the industrial world. The Brooklyn Bridge and other great public works have made the Roebling name famous. John A. Roebling was succeeded by his sons under the firm name of John A. Roebling Sons Company. *Washington A.*, *Ferdinand W.* and *Charles G.* successfully carried on the business which the genius and enterprise of their father had established. All of these, recently deceased, were distinguished citizens of Trenton and were closely associated with its life and progress. Roebblings of the third and fourth generations are now in

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charge and the industry is still expanding and keeping pace with the demands of the day.²

THE KUSER FAMILY

The Kuser family is still another which has attained prominence in Trenton. *Rudolph Kuser*, who was born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1818, came to this country at the age of nineteen, settled in New York and then in Newark, where he became associated with Baxter, Kuser and Thompson who made the famous Baxter engine with boiler connected. He was a mechanical engineer. He purchased a farm near Hackettstown and finally, in 1867, came to these parts and made his home near Trenton in Hamilton Township where he purchased the Lord Farm. He died here in 1891. He was the father of five sons, Frederick, Anthony R., John L., Rudolph V. and Benedict C., and one daughter, Louise. The sons grew up in Trenton and have been successful in various fields of industry and business, particularly in developing public utilities.

Colonel Anthony R. Kuser received his military title as a member of Governor Abbett's staff. He was also a member of Governor Wertz' staff and of Governor Griggs'. He was one of the organizers of the Inter-State Fair Association; was instrumental in consolidating the gas and electric companies of this city and was one of the organizers of the South Jersey Gas, Electric and Traction Company and later of the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. His twin brother, John L. Kuser, was associated with him in all of the above interests. With his brothers he started the Peoples Brewing Company of Trenton and the Trenton Hygeia Ice Company. He is living at present in Bernardsville, his summer home, and "Los Incas," Palm Beach, Fla., his winter home.

John L. Kuser is interested in various local enterprises, particularly the Lenox Incorporated of which he is the treasurer. He is secretary-treasurer of the Peoples Brewing Company and the Trenton Hygeia Ice Company. He is a director of the Fidelity Union Trust Company of Newark and of the Liberty National Bank of New York City.

Rudolph V. Kuser is president of the Peoples Brewing Company, vice-president of the Lenox Incorporated, vice-president and director of the First Mechanics-National Bank and director of the Standard Fire Insurance Company of Trenton. He is at this time president of the Inter-State Fair Association.

Benedict C. Kuser is the proprietor of the Trenton House and the American House.

Frederick Kuser is living on the family homestead in Hamilton Township in the summer and in winter at Rockledge, Fla.

Louise Kuser married Joseph R. Ribsam and lives in Trenton.

Others of the third generation of this family are identified with Trenton enterprises in various capacities.

THE BACKES FAMILY

John Backes, immigrating from Waddern, Prussia, came to Trenton in 1850. His wife had preceded him by three years. He was the father of

² See also the chapter, "Industries and Trades."

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six sons, five of whom are living and four of whom are lawyers and citizens of Trenton. *John H. Backes* is a vice-chancellor, *William J. Backes* is an advisory master and chancery reporter, *Theodore Backes* is an assistant attorney-general, and *Peter Backes* is the head of a law firm, Backes and Backes. Sons of some of these are also lawyers in Trenton.

THE FELL FAMILY

In 1832 two of the sons of *Daniel Fell* of Limbach, Germany, emigrated to America—*Peter* the eldest born in 1796 and *John Jacob* born in 1801. They were followed in 1835-36 by two other sons, *Christian* born in 1805 and *Daniel, II*, born 1797. The four brothers were married and brought members of their families with them. The Fell family in Trenton, descended from the above, controlled six of the twelve brick-yards located here at different periods since 1858. The offspring of these German Fells should not be confused with the family of the same name of old Pennsylvania Quaker stock which includes several representatives in Trenton today.

THE WINKLER FAMILY

Gottwald Winkler is worthy of a place in the roll of Germans who directly and indirectly made important contributions to the wholesome development of community life. A native of Saxony, he came to this country in 1848 and after some years' residence in Philadelphia settled in Trenton where he soon attracted attention by his ability as a musician and a manufacturer of musical instruments. From the period before the Civil War to the present, the Winkler family, covering three generations, has occupied a prominent place in musical circles. Not only the pioneer, but his sons, *Albert*, *Gustav*, and *Emil*, and *Albert's* son, *Frank A.*, have been especially identified with local bands and orchestras. *Albert* was for many years leader of the Seventh and Second Regiment Bands, National Guard, and conducted many concerts, including those given each summer at Cadwalader Park. He was also long leader of Taylor Opera House orchestra, and *Frank* succeeded him. At one time *Albert* had one hundred musicians at his command for all kinds of engagements. The Winkler Brass Band won high praise at Washington, D.C., and other cities where they figured in important parades alongside various famous American bands.

Rudolph Ruhlman, who also had several sons musically gifted, was a contemporary of the Winklers, and *Karl A. Langlotz*, celebrated as the composer of "Old Nassau," belongs in the same fine category.

Other prominent citizens of German birth or descent are *Judge John Rellstab*, *Peter E. Baker*, former member of Common Council, *Colonel E. C. Stahl*, former editor of the *New Jersey Staats Zeitung*, *Carlman Ribsam*, who came to Trenton in the '60's and was the father of *Martin* who now conducts the florist business on Front Street, *Charles J. Woerner* and *Daniel J. Bechtel*, mayor of the city 1891-93. There are many others mention of whom the space at command alone precludes naming.

THE STEUBEN SOCIETY

The Steuben Society has five hundred members in Trenton, having a total enrolment of over one hundred thousand in the United States. Only citizens of the United States can join this organization. It was formed in honor of Baron von Steuben, who did such glorious service for the struggling

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republic of America during the Revolution. M. A. E. Schoeller of Trenton is one of the active members of the Steuben Society of America. Most of the societies founded by the Germans were social or musical and had no political affiliations. During the World War many of our German naturalized citizens enlisted in the American Army and rendered exceptional service.

The oldest foreign newspaper in Trenton is the *New Jersey Staats Zeitung*. It was founded in 1862 and has been published ever since.

II. Representatives of the Later Immigration

THE table, on page 930, shows the population by city wards of the chief races represented in Trenton according to the Federal census of 1920. Probably the proportion of the foreign to the native population has not varied much during the succeeding eight years. It may come with some surprise to those who have hitherto not reflected upon the matter to learn that fully one-half of the total inhabitants of the city are of foreign birth or foreign parentage.

According to the census of 1920 besides the nationalities enumerated below there were of foreign birth 2,774 English, 2,338 German, 1,871 Irish, 511 Scotch, 260 Canadians, 174 French, 85 Swedes, and 481 others whose race is not given. There are just two persons in the city who came from the land of the ancient Assyrians, S. N. Hanna and his brother Otto N. They came to this country in 1899.

As the Jews may be regarded as representing a religion rather than a separate nationality references to them are included under a special head in the religious section. Under the Russian, Hungarian, Roumanian and Polish statistics the Jews of these nationalities would be included in the census though not identified as Jews. A close estimate of the Jewish population places the number at about 12,000.

In his many years of experience in the Americanization and assimilation of immigrants in various large cities of the United States, the author is convinced that Trenton has solved the difficult problem of the foreign citizen ably and well. Friction between the native residents and the newcomers is noticeable by its absence; no race discord exists and the percentage of non-citizens among the foreign element is surprisingly low.

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

Acknowledgment of the assistance rendered in the preparation of this chapter is gratefully made in respect to the many public-spirited men and women of Trenton, both native and of foreign origin, who are too numerous to mention here by name.

The churches representing congregations of foreign origin both Catholic and Protestant are listed under their several headings in the chapter "Churches and Religious Institutions."

THE RUSSIANS AND LITHUANIANS

The census of 1900 showed 761 Russians and Lithuanians in Trenton. That of 1910 showed 2196. In 1920 there were 2815.

Most of the Russians and Lithuanians in Trenton came to this country to escape the terrible persecutions of the Czarist government. They are, mainly, of the Jewish faith, and have prospered greatly, many of the stores and large business houses bearing their names.³

THE BOHEMIANS, MORAVIANS AND SLOVAKS (CZECHO-SLOVAKIANS)

The United States census shows that there were 1599 Czecho-Slovakians in Trenton in 1920.

Of all the foreigners who have settled in Trenton, the Slavs are among the best and most readily adapted to American customs. Although their education was neglected in their native land, they are eager and willing to take advantage of the opportunities offered in America and are desirous and apt to learn. In the majority of Slavish homes in Trenton only English is spoken; this is because the younger generation, in their contact with Americans, are compelled to speak English. The Slavs are not as a rule in business for themselves, but are skilled factory workmen, and have taken positions as toolmakers and machinists in many of Trenton's large industries, such as John A. Roebling's Sons Company and the American Bridge Company. Racially, the Slav is slow and easy-going. The good wages earned enable them to live in comfort and they are singularly contented and prosperous.

³ See the section "Jews," in the chapter "Churches and Religious Institutions."

1920 FEDERAL CENSUS OF TRENTON'S WHITE FOREIGN POPULATION BY WARDS

| | <i>Tot. Pop.</i> | <i>F.B.</i> | <i>F.P.</i> | <i>Aus.</i> | <i>Cz.S.</i> | <i>Hun.</i> | <i>Ital.</i> | <i>Pol.</i> | <i>Rus.</i> | <i>J.S.</i> | <i>Rou.</i> |
|---------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Ward 1 | 5,800 | 710 | 980 | 17 | 11 | 24 | 46 | 12 | 84 | | 6 |
| Ward 2 | 5,620 | 570 | 722 | 30 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 22 | 50 | | |
| Ward 3 | 6,375 | 1,517 | 1,857 | 88 | 237 | 128 | 171 | 67 | 425 | 3 | 11 |
| Ward 4 | 9,808 | 4,054 | 3,786 | 149 | 461 | 554 | 507 | 825 | 1,129 | 7 | 41 |
| Ward 5 | 14,366 | 3,650 | 4,143 | 85 | 8 | 78 | 1,147 | 922 | 247 | 5 | 7 |
| Ward 6 | 4,321 | 1,010 | 1,426 | 47 | 147 | 115 | 21 | 288 | 38 | 1 | 2 |
| Ward 7 | 4,780 | 490 | 651 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 77 | 6 | 97 | | |
| Ward 8 | 8,381 | 2,940 | 3,199 | 76 | 109 | 79 | 310 | 1,370 | 175 | | |
| Ward 9 | 8,145 | 3,433 | 3,052 | 118 | 39 | 682 | 2,187 | 27 | 44 | 6 | 119 |
| Ward 10 | 11,791 | 3,313 | 3,423 | 66 | 15 | 625 | 1,769 | 18 | 43 | 5 | 18 |
| Ward 11 | 15,214 | 5,182 | 5,250 | 194 | 551 | 1,540 | 150 | 710 | 178 | 473 | 187 |
| Ward 12 | 9,280 | 1,402 | 1,638 | 17 | 9 | 65 | 52 | 42 | 54 | | |
| Ward 13 | 8,990 | 779 | 1,279 | 31 | 7 | 23 | 87 | 53 | 72 | | 3 |
| Ward 14 | 6,391 | 1,023 | 775 | 83 | 5 | 117 | 81 | 61 | 74 | 1 | 1 |
| Totals | 119,289 | 30,073 | 32,181 | 1,010 | 1,599 | 4,042 | 6,617 | 4,423 | 2,710 | 501 | 395 |

Explanation of Abbreviations

Tot. Pop. = Total population; F.B. = Foreign-born; F.P. = Foreign parentage; Aus. = Austrian; Cz.S. = Czech-Slovakian; Hun. = Hungarian; Ital. = Italian; Pol. = Polish; Rus. = Russian; J.S. = Jugo-Slovakian; Rou. = Roumanian.

Of those included in the total figures for the foreign-born population, 8,500 belong to racial groups not listed by name in this schedule, thus leaving a total of 21,500 for the various races here designated.

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

The majority of the people are Catholics, with some Protestants of various sects.

CHURCHES

St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church is the oldest parish of the Slovaks. It was founded in 1889 by a group of twenty families and originally cost \$74,000. In 1920 a new parish school and church were built at a cost of \$166,645.92. It was dedicated on November 24, 1921. The Rev. John Szabo was its first pastor and at present the Rev. Desider Sim Kow holds the incumbency.

The new St. Peter and Paul's Roman Catholic Church is located on Second Street. The Rev. Father Colonan Tomchany has served both the old and new church for over twenty-five years. He has always been progressive and a sincere patron of culture. He was born in Eperjes, Hungary, and completed his preparatory education there. He was graduated from the University of Kassa and ordained to the priesthood in 1904. The branch of the Greek Catholic Church to which many of the Trenton Slavs belong, is to be distinguished from the Orthodox Greek Catholic Church, which was formerly the state religion of Russia. The Slav branch is called the United Greek Catholic Church and is under the Roman jurisdiction.

SOME LEADERS

John Hatrak is perhaps the most prominent member of this race in Trenton and has lived here for almost half a century. He was one of the founders of St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church.

John Pivovarnik is another of Trenton's veteran citizens of Czechoslovakian origin. He came to Trenton in 1882 and obtained employment in the Roebling wire mills. He was one of the founders of the Slovak Lutheran Church.

George E. Bogdan is a type of the most advanced Slav. He has been in this country many years and is a concrete example of the opportunities America showers upon her foreign-born citizens.

John Mras is another type of the advanced Slav. He is a prosperous merchant on South Broad Street.

Andrew Bogdan and *John Majernik* are old settlers in Trenton and were responsible for the founding of the St. Peter and Paul's Roman Catholic Slavish Church.

Michael Nemchik has been treasurer and trustee of the St. Mary's Greek Catholic Slavish Church for eighteen years. He is also active in political life.

One of the largest contractors in North Trenton is *Joseph Sujansky*, who came to this country in 1904 and worked as a carpenter. After the war he returned to Trenton and has built many fine houses, mostly in the Lalor tract in South Trenton.

Another well-known citizen of Trenton is *Andrew M. Tomko*. He came to Trenton in 1899 and in 1900 he joined the U.S. Cavalry, serving with distinction and rising to the post of sergeant. He studied for his present occupation of embalmer and undertaker while a street-car conductor in

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Trenton and successfully passed the State examinations. Besides the Slavic lodges to which he belongs he is also a Moose, an Eagle and an Elk.

George Varga, Jr., has a drug store at Broad and Division Streets. He served in the Austrian army during the war and fought bravely on the Russian front.

One of the largest dairy businesses in Trenton is conducted by a Slav, *Josef Polak*. He has a modern pasteurizing plant, and a well-equipped delivery service.

Two Slavs who are active in political, social and religious affairs are *Joseph Gmitter* and *Michael Bodnar*. *John Palaschak* is a real estate dealer. Five young Trentonians of Czecho-Slovakian extraction are employees of the various banking houses of the city. The Colonial Trust Company has two, *John A. Ceremsak*, paying teller, and *John Renyo*, assistant note teller. The Trenton Banking Company employs *Andrew Basco* as ledger clerk. *Andrew Kunca* is a clerk with the Trenton Trust Company. The Mercer Trust Company employs *Henry Cekerak*, a bookkeeper.

SOCIETIES

The Slavs have a great number of societies, and the oldest and most interesting is the Sokol, or Gymnastic Union, a national organization which has two branches in Trenton. It is an athletic organization which aims at physical development. This society is semi-military and on parade with their colored uniforms the members make a fine exhibition. A ladies' branch of this society was organized in 1906 and they also have a uniform and attend drills.

The St. Peter and Paul's Sick and Death Benefit Society was founded in 1889 by Andrew Bogdan and John Icik and is a strictly beneficial society. St. Mary's Sick and Death Benefit Society was organized in 1893 by John Hatrak and John Breza. Branch No. 33 of the Greek Catholic Slavish Union was organized in 1893 by John Breza and Maly. The National Union is probably the largest beneficial society. The St. Peter Apostle First Catholic Slavish Union was organized in 1893 by Andrew Bogdan and Andrew Mras.

The Slavish Evangelical Society of Trenton is a Protestant organization and was organized in 1905. The Ladies' Catholic Union is a beneficial society for women. The Ladies' Greek Catholic Union is a corresponding society in the Greek Catholic Church. The Zirena or Ladies' Slavish Union was organized in 1897 by Miss Anna Briszki and Rosa Kurtz. It is a beneficial society and only English is spoken at its meetings. The Sokol Singing Society is a musical organization and the members appear at public functions whenever their services are required. The Slovak Catholic Union in Trenton is an insurance organization, having four branches in this city, and was incorporated in 1904. It pays an average of \$400 at death.

CROATIANS, SLOVENIANS, SERBS AND DALMATIANS (JUGO-SLAVIANS)

The United States census for 1920 showed 501 Jugo-Slavs in Trenton.

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

It has been difficult to secure any detailed information about these peoples since they live in various districts and are largely employed by other nationalities. Their immigration has been too recent to have produced any prominent leaders, and the same is true as to organizations and buildings.

Various manufacturers and employers, however, have stated that the Jugo-Slavians are mostly engaged in rough labor, such as ditch-digging and work on the railroads. There are one or two small businesses owned by Jugo-Slavians in Trenton, but these are unimportant.

THE POLES

In 1900 the number of Poles in Trenton was 800, in 1910 there were 2750 and 1920 saw 4423.

Of all the foreigners in Trenton, the Poles have perhaps won the best reputation for sobriety and respect for the law. They have settled in various parts of the city, notably East and North Trenton and Chambersburg, and most of them become citizens.

The great majority of the Poles are Roman Catholic, but there are about two hundred families belonging to the Polish National Catholic Church with a building on East State Street.

Although in their native land about one-third of the Poles are illiterate, the percentage of illiterate in Trenton is only about nine percent. The Poles of Trenton conduct, at their own expense, three up-to-date parochial schools with a total enrolment of nearly twenty-five hundred pupils. These schools afford a complete grammar school education along the lines laid down by the State Board of Education. There are also Polish literary circles which encourage interest in higher education. About one hundred and fifty Polish young men and women are attending the high schools and the State Normal School.

CHURCHES

Their most important church is St. Hedwig's Roman Catholic Polish Church at the corner of Brunswick and Olden Avenues. This church was founded in 1904 and numbers some three hundred families.

The St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Polish Church stands at the corner of Randall Avenue and Smith Street in Chambersburg. The teachers of its parochial school are Franciscan sisters. This church was founded in 1892 and its pastor is the Rev. Ignatius Kusz, O.M.C.

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The Holy Cross Roman Catholic Polish Church stands at the corner of Grand and Cass Streets, and is of a compact, Gothic appearance. The church was organized in 1892 by Father Svinarski and now numbers over four hundred families. The present pastor of this church is the Rev. Father Dr. Martin J. Lipinski.

SOME LEADERS

The original families to settle in Trenton were those headed by *Leon Rajznor*, *P. Jaruszewski*, *M. Ryba*, *R. Grabowski*, *M. Blazejewski*, *W. Majcher*.

Romauld Grabowski is the best-known Pole in the city. He is a property owner and in the business of floor laying. He is also secretary of the Polish building and loan association. *Dr. Casimir Grabowski* is a Polish physician and has an office in Adeline Street. *John Wroblewski* is another well-known citizen of Polish birth and conducts a printing and publishing concern. *Stephen Weczal* is the owner of the Trenton Porcelain Company and director of the Security National Bank. *J. J. Zielinski* is engaged in real estate, and is a professor of music. *M. J. Zielinski* is the President of the Polish Political Association. *Albin S. Bielawski* is the publisher of the Polish newspapers, the *Przyjaciel Wolnosci* and the *Nowiny Trentonskie*. *Dr. M. C. Wessel* is prominent because of his philanthropic work. The Right Rev. Monsignor *A. B. Strenski* is an eminent churchman and the chaplain of the Knights of Columbus. *J. Buklad* holds an executive position in the Roebing's mill. *T. Ogurkiewicz* is a director of the Chambersburg Trust Company and the Security National Bank. He is also interested in the Mercer Porcelain Pottery Company. *Alex Gacki* is city editor of the two Polish newspapers. *Dr. M. Siemion* practises medicine and is a philanthropist. *William Kuzma* is a well-known lawyer. *Joseph Bulakowski* is president of the Polish building and loan association. *S. Renkiewicz* is part owner of the Mercer Porcelain Pottery Company.

SOCIETIES

The Poles are a gregarious people and for this reason they have many organizations and societies for mutual aid and recreation.

The order known as the Polish Independent Falcons has two chapters in Trenton with very large memberships. Another beneficial order is the Polish Veterans, whose aims are patriotism and good citizenship. St. Joseph's Society is a congregation of Polish folk associated together for right living and social work. The same is true of St. Florian's Association. The Polish American Civic Club of Holy Cross is well known in Trenton. Another patriotic organization is General Kosciusko and General Pulaski Association. The Holy Cross Society was organized in 1890 and is a beneficial organization. The Rev. Father Svinarski was the founder. The Sacred Heart Society is a beneficial order of the church of the same name. The president is Stephen Josewska. The Polish Ulan Society is a military organization and presents a martial appearance on parade. The Polish Dramatic Society has among its membership many talented men and women and presents plays. The St. Kostka Society practises singing and gymnastics. It commemorates all Polish holidays by religious and athletic exercises. The Holy Cross Church has a full brass band called the White Eagle Band, consisting of twenty-five pieces. The Stanislaus Society is the oldest Polish

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organization in Trenton and was founded in 1888. It is a beneficial order. The St. John Kanty Society was founded in 1891 as a beneficial society. It has a uniformed organization and carry swords in their processions. The Rosary Sodality is composed of women and was founded as a beneficial order in 1890. The Children of Mary Society is a young women's organization founded in 1903 by the Rev. Father Block and is a beneficial order. Another society is the Third Order of St. Francis. It is purely religious in scope.

Besides the societies above mentioned, there are twenty-six fraternal and insurance associations. These have strict rules and regulations for the protection of widows and orphans in case of sickness, death or disablement.

THE POLES IN INDUSTRY

The potteries supply the most important of the activities of the Poles. The leading Polish-owned pottery is the Mercer Porcelain Company. The president is Mr. Wisnewski, the secretary being his wife. The plant was started a year and a half ago.

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS

Trenton building and loan associations have usually been successful, and the Polish organization, the Economic Building and Loan, has especially merited success, having promoted thrift among the Polish residents of Trenton. Mr. Grabowski is president of this association, which is called Skart Poliski in the Polish language. The treasurer of the society is Thomas Ogurkiewicz. He was formerly a baker in Philadelphia and later engaged in the same business in Trenton.

THE ITALIANS

In 1900 there were 1337 Italians in Trenton. In 1910 there were 4268 and in 1920 the number had increased to 6617, not including those born in this country.

The Italian colony in Trenton is most clearly defined. That portion of Trenton bounded by South Clinton Avenue, Bayard Street, Whittaker and Chestnut Avenues, is populated almost wholly by Italians. Butler Street in its entire length is settled by Italians.

The Italians are known for their joy and mirth, and their religious festivals show this. These fiestas, as they are called, are held on Butler Street, and when they take place the whole street for three blocks is a blazing canopy of brightly colored electric lights. The most important of these festivals is celebrated yearly on August 16 in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Butler Street then decks itself in its best and crowds of people gaily chattering and laughing enliven the scene. All is done in a spirit of tolerance and good humor for which the Italians are distinguished.

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Many Italians are engaged in business for themselves and are prosperous merchants. Large numbers also are employed by the public utility companies in Trenton and are regarded as valuable and honest workmen.

CHURCHES

The Italian Catholics some years ago replaced their first house of worship with a new and large church on Butler Street near Clinton Avenue. The Immanuel Presbyterian Church is situated on Whittaker Avenue near Roebeling and has a fast-growing congregation. This church was dedicated in 1907. The pastor is the Rev. Vincent Serafini, who is chiefly responsible for the erection of the present edifice. He was born in Riccia, Italy, and secured his higher education in the National Institute of Technology in Naples. He came to America in 1892.

SOCIETIES

The oldest society among the Italians is the Columbus Society, organized in 1886 by John Pirola and P. Wata. The Washington-Victor Emmanuel Society was organized in 1888. The name of the society thus honors great patriots of Italy and America. The Garibaldi Society, named after the Italian Liberator, was organized in 1903 as a beneficial society. The Calabrian Society, although a beneficial order, limits its members to those born in the province of Italy for which it is named. It was formed in 1906. The same applies to the Neapolitan Society formed in 1906. Other beneficial societies are the Roman, San Filese and Bersaglieri Societies.

All the above are Catholic societies. The Protestants also have societies, such as the Men's League for Mutual Aid, organized in 1904 by the Rev. Serafini; the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, organized by Miss Pesatura; and the Junior Christian Endeavor Society, formed in 1907 by Mrs. Serafini.

Among the most valuable Italian societies in Trenton is the Educational Circle, organized by the Rev. Mr. Serafini for the purpose of teaching Italians the English language. The Busy Bee Society answers a similar purpose.

The Italians have several bands, the latest of which is the Metropolitan Band. The Mascagni Band was organized in 1905. Other bands are the Eagle and the Philharmonic.

SOME LEADERS

Despite the relatively short time which has elapsed since the Italians began to immigrate to the United States, the Italian-American citizens of Trenton have made themselves an important factor in industry, business and the professions. This talented people has representatives among physicians, lawyers, clergymen, dentists, architects, artists, singers, musicians and editors.

The *Agabiti Brothers*, excavating contractors, are among the more prominent firms in the building industry. *Spranza Brothers* hold a strong position in the building material line. The firm of *Totory* and *Cardinale*, trading under the name of the American Ice and Coal Company, is prominent. The Colonial Ice and Coal Company is owned by *Same Colletti*, and the

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

National Coal and Ice Company is controlled by the *Pilla Brothers*. *John P. Manze* was the proprietor of the Manze Hotel. *Nicholas Innocenzi* is a manufacturer of concrete blocks. Several builders who have contributed extensive additions to the residential districts of the city are the *Acquaviva Brothers*, *Dominick and Frank*, and *Robert Russo*. Also associated in the building industry are *Robert Reali* and *Enrico Angelucci*, who are known as the Trenton Mineral Flooring Company. Among the real estate and insurance firms are the *Michael Communi Company*, *Pasquale Astore* and *Joseph A. Plumeri*. *John Fucella* is the well-known owner of the Gilmore Taxicab Company. *Tertulian Torretti* is a shoe manufacturer, and *G. Frank Travis* is the Italian representative in the undertaking business. *Daniel A. Brenna* is a receiving teller and *Anthony Vittoritto*, note teller. *Guido D'Aquili* is a commercial artist and has served for many years in that connection with one of the big department stores of the city.

Members of the legal profession include: *Daniel A. Spair*, *Romulus P. Rimo*, *Joseph J. Felcone*, *Andred M.* and *George A. Cella*, *Joseph Marolda* and *John Boscaret*.

Italian physicians are: *Dr. Charles R. Sista*, *Dr. Samuel Sica*, *Dr. Joseph A. Tempesto*, *Dr. Raffaele Pantaleone* and *Dr. Rosario J. Cottone*. *Dr. Thomas A. Lorenzo* is making a name for himself as a chiropractor. The author of this chapter was born in South Dakota of Italian parents. He is the editor of *Americanism*, a quadri-lingual weekly, educational and welfare director at the New Jersey State Prison School and author of *The House of America* and a *New English System for New American Citizens*.

Among the Italian-American singers of the city are *Daniel Dileo*, *George Pellettieri*, who has appeared in grand opera, and *Mary Communi*. *Professor B. Napoliello* is conductor of the Italian-American Band. *Frank S. Lanza* is well known for his Municipal Band. *Professor Oscar del Bianco* is a musician of note who has settled here recently.

The *Chianese Brothers* are well known, *Dr. Chester Chianese* having a growing practice and his brother *Jean* is a certified public accountant.

Publishers and editors include *Joseph Mainiero* of *La Capitale*, and *Attilio Perilli*, editor of the *Italo-Americano*. *Il Secolo XX* is published by *Armando Perillo*.

Among the prominent religious leaders of the group are the *Rev. Louis Phillip Guzzardi*, rector of St. James' Church, the *Rev. Alfonso Palombi*, rector of St. Joachim's Church, and the *Rev. Vincent Serafini*, pastor of the Immanuel Presbyterian Church, which is modernly equipped and has been the religious center for Italian Presbyterians. The *Rev. Michael Solimene* is the pastor of the Italian Baptist Church.

Among the more prominent druggists are *Emile Cataldi*, *Gustav Napoleon* and *Harry Episcopo*. The Domestic Laundry and the Home Laundry are owned by Italians, *Lewis Salamandra* and *Joseph Brenna*, respectively. *Felice Ronca* is the Italian consul in Trenton.

Besides the above there are numerous merchants and storekeepers of Italian ancestry. Brief biographical sketches of a few of the more prominent Trenton Italians follow.

Angelo Camera is the pioneer Italian business man in the Trenton colony. He came here in 1879, finding but fifteen Italian-born men and no women.

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He came hoping to practise his trade of cabinet-making but as he did not know one word of English and had no friends, he found himself in a rather difficult position and ended by accepting the business end of a pick. Subsequently, having saved some money, he went into the brick business and built a handsome store and residence on Broad Street near Market. He is now retired.

One of the most successful real estate men in the city, *Joseph R. Petrino*, was born in Italy and came to this country as a young man. After working for several years as a boot-black, in the pottery-works and with the John A. Roebling's Sons Company, he became court interpreter for the First and Second Police Courts. Later he became associated with Hughes and Morris, real estate agents, and was the manager of the American Realty Exchange. Mr. Petrino has always been interested in civic work and without any compensation has assisted hundreds of Italians to become citizens. He is the founder and honorary president of the Italian-American Workmen's Club, which has for its purpose the instruction of its members in the rudiments of good citizenship.

The parents of *Joseph J. Felcone* came over to America in the steerage and settled in Trenton. Mr. Felcone today is one of Trenton's prominent lawyers.

Dr. Samuel Sica, a physician of wide note not only in Trenton but throughout the State, was born in Colliano, Salerno, Italy, and came to America in 1887 when he was two years old. His parents were Angelo Sica and Concetta Goudiosi, and they settled in Vineland. Samuel graduated from the Vineland High School in 1904 and gained his medical education at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, where he completed the course in 1909. He was an interne at St. Francis' Hospital of this city in 1909 and 1910. He has been engaged in the practice of his profession in Trenton since November 1910. Dr. Sica is a member of the Mercer County Component Medical Society and was its president in 1917-18. He is a member of the New Jersey State Surgical Society, the New Jersey Medical Society and the American Medical Association. Dr. Sica was elected a fellow of the American College of Surgeons in 1924 and is now assistant surgeon to St. Francis' Hospital and surgeon to the Municipal Colony. He is also president of the Roma Building and Loan Association, vice-president of the Chambersburg Trust Company and secretary to the Italian Business and Professional Men's Club.

BUILDING AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

The Italians of Trenton have a prosperous building and loan association called the Roma Building and Loan Company. Its assets are almost \$500,000 and it has a membership of more than eight hundred, most of whom are Italians. This association was organized by Joseph J. Felcone, a young lawyer of wide activities, who after many discouragements due to the apathy of his countrymen finally succeeded in establishing the project on a sound basis. The chief officers of the association are Dr. Samuel Sica, president; Michael Communi, vice-president; and Joseph J. Felcone, secretary.

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

THE ROUMANIANS

In 1900 there was one Roumanian in Trenton, in 1910 there were twelve, and in 1920, 395. The total population at present is about two thousand. The original families in this city were Demeter Sikrok, Demetrin Coston, Demetrin Borata, George Borata, George Jacobuti, Vasile Filip, Demeter Dobuti, Vasile Degerean, Vasile Silvasan, Alexander Gorocovic, and Alexander Jacobuti. Most of the Roumanians work for the Roeblings, the J. L. Mott Company and the American Bridge Company. There are few illiterates and about half of them have learned to read and write English.

The Roumanians are readily assimilated and most of them become American citizens. About seventy-five per cent intend to make Trenton their permanent home. They live and do business mainly in the Chambersburg section and seldom leave this country to go back to their native land.

Their principal organizations here are St. Basil's Greek Catholic Church, St. Basil's Social and Benevolent Society Club, and the Friends of Roumanians.

The best known Roumanian citizen is *George Jacobs*, the vice-consul.

The pastor of their principal church, the *Rev. Aurel Bungardean*, is a scholar of learning and genius, and is well-beloved by his flock. The first priest of this race in Trenton was the *Rev. Dr. E. Lusoic*, who labored here from 1909 to 1921.

THE GREEKS

The Greeks are among the more recent immigrants. The United States census of 1920 gives 127 as their number here in Trenton. As judged by the membership of the Greek Orthodox Church there are probably today about three hundred now living in Trenton.

The Greeks in Trenton live in no particular district, but are scattered throughout the city. As in other parts of the country, the Greeks in this city are mainly engaged in small businesses of their own, mostly candy stores, soda parlors, bakeries, and shoe-shining and hat-cleaning stands. Twenty-five per cent of the Greek residents in Trenton own their homes.

The first immigration consisted of fathers or sons who later sent for their families. The new immigrant, however, is com-

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monly accompanied at the start by his family. Eighty-five per cent of the Greeks in Trenton become American citizens.

SOME LEADERS

The first person of the Greek race known to have lived in Trenton and to have become a citizen was *Gregory Anthony Perdicaris*, who came to America in early youth and studied law in Boston. Perdicaris was appointed United States Consul in Athens in 1837 and subsequently published a work in two volumes, *The Greece of the Greek*. He came to Trenton in 1846 and organized the Trenton Gas and Light Company of which he was the first treasurer. He was also associated prominently with other local enterprises. Mr. Perdicaris left Trenton about 1880 and made his home with his son, Ion Hanford Perdicaris, in Tangiers, Morocco, where he died in 1883.

Peter Skokos, the most prominent Greek citizen of Trenton, came to the United States in 1892 and settled here in 1905. He started a confectionery store at State and Broad and now owns the Sugar Bowl at South Broad Street, and is also interested in the Hancock Restaurant and Bakery at Broad and Hanover. He has always been an active participant in all civic affairs.

A GREEK PATRIOTIC SOCIETY

The Greeks in Trenton have a branch of the national organization known as the Ahepa. The branch here numbers seventy-five members. This organization provides instruction in English to the Greeks. No one can join unless he is an American citizen. The meaning of Ahepa is as follows: "A" stands for America; "H" for Hellenic; "E" for education; "P" for progress; and "A" for association. Mr. Skokos was one of the organizers of the Trenton branch and was president for the first two years. The president now is M. Nicholas. The Trenton branch is known as Trenton Chapter No. 72. It was chartered in May 1926 and its growth, like that of the national organization, has been phenomenal. It has equipped and furnished its own hall at the Hellenic Orthodox Church, where it holds its meetings and social functions. American Greeks believe that America is the nation which is carrying on the ideals and principles of the ancient republic of Athens. In the Ahepa they are expressing their love and admiration of the liberties and opportunities which they enjoy here. The Ahepa is non-political and its main object is the inspiration and direction of the Hellenic youth in the city.

The pledge which applicants for membership in the Ahepa must take includes the following clause:

"I humbly reaffirm my faith in the Supreme Being, and by Divine Help I pledge my allegiance to the flag of America and to the Republic which it represents, one nation, united and indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Other Greeks connected with the Trenton chapter in executive positions are: Michael Nickles, Adamantios Vafias and John Roumainis.

In order to develop a social and educational spirit, the wives and daughters of the Greek citizens of Trenton have organized a Ladies' Progressive Greek Society. The purposes of this organization, like the Ahepa, are to instill patriotism and teach the traditions of America to its members.

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

CHURCH

The Greeks are of the Greek Orthodox faith, and their church in Trenton, St. George's, is at 106 Jackson Street. The Rev. Mr. Pantozopoulos is the pastor. The church building is worth about \$25,000. This congregation also has a school and a large meeting hall.

THE ARMENIANS

There are forty-seven Armenians in Trenton today and only two persons in the colony are illiterate. The Armenians do not colonize but live mainly in the northern and western sections of the city.

They are engaged in the practice of medicine, dentistry, photography, sign painting, cleaning and dyeing, rug repairing, and own small stores such as ice cream parlors.

The original settlers in Trenton were the families of Yazujian and Esaian who left their native country early in 1909 on account of oppression and lack of opportunity. At first they settled in Philadelphia, but later came to this city because of better business opportunities and living conditions.

They have no church of their own in Trenton, but the majority are members of local Protestant churches. They have a branch of the Armenian General Benevolent Union which is a charitable organization for the relief of Armenian orphans and refugees.

Among the Trentonians of Armenian birth are *Dr. D. M. Yazujian*, medical specialist; *Dr. V. Kachdorian*, physician; *Dr. Y. B. Dikian*, dentist; *John Esaian*, proprietor of the Mercer Cleaning Company; *Charles Packlaian*, proprietor of the Sanitary Cleaning Company, and *K. S. Tashjian*, dealer in Oriental rugs.

THE MAGYARS

In 1900 there were 1494 Magyars in Trenton, in 1910 there were 4980 and in 1920 there were 4042.

In Trenton the Hungarians occupy more than thirty-five different streets in whole or in part. All that section of Trenton lying south of Bridge Street, extending many blocks east and west, all the way down to what was formerly Wharton Street, now merged in South Clinton Avenue, is populated by Hungarians.

The Hungarian makes a valuable workman and is quiet, thrifty, industrious, home-loving and sturdy. By nature he is sociable and finds company necessary in his scheme of life. This accounts for the courtesy and politeness of the people. They belong to the various Hungarian churches, both Protestant and Catholic.

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The Hungarians are great believers in education and the immigrants send their children to the American schools. Since Hungarian is an Asiatic language, there are many difficulties for the immigrant to overcome before he can learn to read and write English, but his natural talent is shown by the many who speak English fluently. Three newspapers in Trenton are published in the Magyar tongue: *The Independence*, *The Jersey Hirado* and *The Cross*.

CHURCHES

The principal religious home of the Hungarians in Trenton is St. Stephen's Catholic Church. It was founded in 1903 and now has a membership of about four hundred fifty families. The present pastor, Father John Szabo, D.D., came to Trenton eight years ago, and has been an aggressive worker in behalf of his flock. The parish owns a picnic ground where outings are frequently held in the summer. It also has its own parochial school and night school. The leading Protestant Church among the Hungarians of this city is the Hungarian Reformed Church. Its membership is more than one thousand and the pastor is the Rev. Mr. Korocz.

Although most of the race are Catholic, there are many Hungarians in Trenton who profess Calvinism, Lutheranism and the Reformed faiths. The Magyar Baptist Church serves Trenton and was founded in 1906. It is the largest church of its kind in the United States. St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church also has a large membership. The pastor is the Rev. B. Ivancso. The Protestant Episcopal Church on Chestnut Street is also for Hungarians and the priest-in-charge is the Rev. George E. St. Claire.

SOME LEADERS

Among the first Hungarians to come to Trenton were *John Dratar*, who settled here in 1876, *Andrew J. Duch, Sr.*, in 1881 and *John Sabo* in 1886. Other early comers were *Joseph Hartman*, *Stephen Hornyak*, *William Kish*, *Dan Gura*, *Florian Basco* and *Andrew Laky*. The big influx of Hungarians began in 1896 on account of the heavy taxation laws in their own country. They have been coming ever since. *Steve Kovacs* is well known and popular among Trentonians and conducts a sporting goods store at South Broad Street. His education was gained mainly through attendance at the Rider College night school. He also deals in insurance and real estate. His interest in church work is well known and he is one of the leading spirits in his parish. *Anthony Orocz*, after fighting bravely on the Russian front in the Hungarian army, and after many vicissitudes as a prisoner of war before and after the Russian Revolution, came to America where he bought his newspaper, *The Independence*, from Alex. O. Zambory, who had founded it some years before. *Julius Gyongyosy*, well-known steamship agent, came to the United States in 1902 and worked as a salesman. He later entered the real estate business. He is interested in social work and especially in the Americanization of his fellow-countrymen. *Anthony Kall* is the president of the American-Hungarian Citizens Political and Social Circle, and one of the leaders of the Hungarian colony. *Joseph*

Trenton Citizens of Foreign Origin

Schubert is credited with doing more watch-repairing than any other jeweller in Trenton and is a well-known figure in city life. He came to Trenton in 1918. *Morris Gerenday* is the most prominent Hungarian publisher in the State, his plant, The Technical Print Company on Hancock Street, taking care of many weekly newspapers totalling over 30,000 copies. Mr. Gerenday came to Trenton nineteen years ago and secured a position at the old Varady Print Shop. A year later he bought the Cooperstein Shop on South Broad Street and in the same year opened his present plant on Hancock Street. There are three Hungarian doctors of note in the city: *Dr. Geza M. Frank*, *Dr. Harry Berger* and *Dr. Stephen Vaczi*. Among the best-known lawyers are *Andrew Duch*, *William Reich* and *Mrs. Rose Lerner Perlman*. *Andrew Nagy* is one of the representative men of the Hungarian colony and is president of the Magyar Home Association and of the Hungarian Federation of Societies in Trenton.

SOCIETIES

The oldest Magyar society is the First Trenton Hungarian Social, Sick and Death Benefit Society, organized in 1889. This is a strictly beneficial order. In 1894 was founded the First Trenton Francis Kossuth Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society, also beneficial. The First Trenton Hungarian Reformed Church Sick and Death Benefit Society was organized in 1894. This society is affiliated with the church of the same name and has a ladies' branch.

The largest society is the Trenton King Saint Stephen's Roman and Greek Catholic Church Sick and Death Benefit Society, founded in 1899.

The Trenton branch of the Hungarian-American Federation was organized in 1907 and is one of the more important benevolent Hungarian societies. The Trenton Branch No. 13 of the Verhovay Sick and Death Benefit Society was organized in 1905. The John A. Roebing's Sons Company Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society was organized in 1906. Trenton Circle No. 43 of the Count Louis Beththyany Men's and Women's Sick and Death Benefit Society was organized in 1906. The Trenton Hungarian Reformed Church Singing Society is a musical organization connected with the church of the same name. The Trenton Hungarian Social Circle was organized in 1903, being entirely social in its scope.

Other social and beneficial societies are: St. Mary's Association, the American-Hungarian Political and Social Club, the Independent Citizens Club, a branch of the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and various ladies' societies such as the Lorantffy Suzsanna Hungarian Reformed Church Ladies' Aid Association, the St. Mary's Hungarian Ladies' Aid Association and the St. Nicholas Church Ladies' Aid Association.

HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY HOME

The new structure recently erected and called the Magyar Home is used for many social affairs. It is located at Genesee and Hudson Streets. The Magyar Home represents the genuine desire for enjoyment of the best community life, and their wish to give their children every educational advantage. It encourages members to keep their homes clean and looking their best and as a result many Hungarians have a high standard of living. The building and the site are valued at \$100,000 and were secured largely through the efforts of Adam Nagy and Julius Gyongyosy.

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GERMAN-HUNGARIANS

The German-Hungarians are from Banat, a province now divided among Roumania, Jugo-Slovakia and Hungary.

The prominent citizens of this nationality are *G. Duatshak*, president of the Aurora German-Hungarian Club; *Mr. Hasler*, president of the German Hungarian Sick and Death Benefit Society; *M. Gups*, president of the German Hungarian Citizens' Club; *Mr. Dietrich*, prosperous bakeryman; *Anastasius Parobek*, city chemist; and *Dr. G. M. Frank*, well-known physician.

CHAPTER XIX

Trenton in the Twentieth Century

BY JAMES KERNEY

I. The First Decade

TO BEGIN at the beginning, Trenton was a tolerably contented place when the twentieth century arrived. There was a mild controversy as to whether the event should be celebrated at the opening of January 1, 1900, or at the close of December 31 of the same year. Mathematical experts were able to establish the case in favor of the latter date.

Public exercises, welcoming the dawn of the new century, were held in Taylor Opera House, starting at midnight of December 31, 1900. Former Mayor Welling G. Sickel was chairman of the General Committee of Arrangements. Prayer was by Bishop James A. McFaul, of the Catholic Diocese of Trenton, and the Rev. E. J. Knight, rector of Christ Episcopal Church and later bishop of Western Colorado, pronounced the benediction. The latter represented Bishop John Scarborough, of the Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey, whose advancing years made it imprudent to participate in midnight services. The Rev. Alfred W. Wishart, pastor of the Central Baptist Church, Mayor Frank O. Briggs and Judge William M. Lanning were the speakers. As the midnight hour struck the audience, which filled the theater to overflowing, arose and sang "America."

Most of the folks who had prospered in Trenton were rather well pleased with themselves. None had come with money; the fortunes, such as they were, had all been accumulated here. Few were rich and fewer still were poor. It was a comfortable place, just starting to spread its wings.

Membership in the Lotus Club was accepted as a sure sign that you were making the grade. It was the most exclusive club

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the city ever had. Two gloomy second-story rooms, on South Broad Street, next to the First M.E. Church, provided the meeting place where business leaders gathered to settle the bigger problems of government and affairs in general. Prohibition was yet far in the distance. Henry Reynolds was *librarian*.

Next to the Lotus Club, the chief rendezvous of the elect was the cigar store of Harry F. Smith, at 4 East State Street. There was no Clearing House in those days, but financiers managed to keep up an informal interchange by dropping in at Smith's. It was the mart where budding capitalists, as well as some that had blossomed, were wont to gather each afternoon and hurriedly exchange bankable paper to obviate protest fees and overdrafts.

Spasmodic attempts had been made to invite new industry. They met with indifferent success. Some years earlier, a few enthusiasts in the board of trade conceived the idea of raising money to build a shirt factory, later the plant of the F. A. Straus concern, along the Pennsylvania Railroad in East Trenton. The move was frowned upon by many established industrial leaders, who felt it would disturb wages and labor conditions. They did not realize that, not bricks and mortar, but prosperous and contented people build a community. The net result of this boom effort was the failure of the shirt factory. Subsequently the Straus family acquired it at a nominal price and made a great fortune in the woollen yarn business.

When the twentieth century began Trenton had a population of 73,307; in 1928 the population had grown to 139,187. The bank deposits in 1900 aggregated \$11,148,899; the bank deposits in 1928 total upwards of \$105,000,000. The city's ratables, for taxing purposes, in 1900 were \$32,349,258; in 1928 they are \$204,880,888. The budget for operating the city government in 1900 was \$897,744; in 1928 the budget totals \$7,926,838. The school budget in 1900 was \$361,560; in 1928 the school budget is \$2,413,324.

Carpenters, painters, tinsmiths and plumbers were paid twenty-five cents an hour in 1900, while masons, bricklayers and plasterers received fifty cents an hour. This same class of labor, in 1928, receives from \$1.40 to \$1.65 an hour. Hod-

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carriers in 1928 are paid \$1.10 an hour, which was about what they received for a full day's work in 1900. Unskilled factory labor fared about the same. Printers, stereotypers and pressmen were paid \$16.00 and \$18.00 a week in 1900; they receive \$54.50 and \$57.50 a week in 1928.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS OF THE PERIOD

During the two years, 1898-99, in which he served as the city's chief executive, Mayor Sickel endeavored to inject new life into affairs. He belonged to the old school of colorful travelling salesmen and was fond of spectacular things. While mayor he bought an elaborate tally-ho coach-and-four, which he delighted to drive through the city and into the neighboring country. With grooms and trumpeters, seated on top of the coach Mayor Sickel, gaily decked out in a white plug hat, guided his clanking steeds through narrow streets, while crowds gazed in admiring wonder. Mayor Sickel, in association with his old partner, Watson H. Linburg, took over the Globe Rubber Company on Prospect Street in 1899, and together they developed a highly profitable manufacturing business. Mr. Sickel, as a result of some differences, retired in 1909, and following Mr. Linburg's death, some years later, the United and Globe, as it was then known, fell upon evil days and went out of business.

Politically the Republicans, through the councilmanic arrangement of ward lines, had a firm grip on the city. The Democrats, in city-wide elections, frequently carried the day, however. Then as now, the Democratic organization was mostly in a turmoil. Colonel Michael Hurley, rugged product of the Fifth Ward, was in command, with Counsellor William M. Jamieson, of the South Trenton sector, joyously giving battle at every turn. Two Trenton Democrats had been within hailing distance of the nomination for governor, only to find themselves side-tracked because of the unrest and division among the local party factions. Judge G. D. W. Vroom, sometime mayor of the city and whose life's ambition it was to follow in his father's footsteps as governor, was successfully opposed by the Hurley wing. General Richard A. Donnelly, likewise a former mayor, on the eve of the convention that appeared ready to nominate him,

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found himself the victim of a whispering campaign that blasted his hopes. Delegates from South Jersey were told that it would be ruinous to name General Donnelly, because he was a Roman Catholic, while delegates from the populous northern counties were told that General Donnelly had forsaken the Church. It was rough work, but effective. General Donnelly, who had honorably fought for his country in the Civil War, was a devoted Episcopalian.

Men who served the city as mayor in the first decade of the twentieth century acquired added fame in public life. Mayor Briggs became state treasurer in 1902 and served until 1907, when he was elected United States Senator. He was succeeded as Mayor by Frank S. Katzenbach who served two terms of two years each. Mr. Katzenbach was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1907 and in 1920 was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court, being reappointed for the second term of seven years in 1927. Frederick W. Gnichtel was elected mayor, as Mr. Katzenbach's successor, and was a member of the committee that drafted the Commission Government Act. In 1909 he was appointed presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Mercer County to fill an unexpired term and later was appointed for a full term. He is now a member of the State board of public utilities commissioners. Mr. Gnichtel's successor as mayor was Dr. Walter Madden who served two terms, retiring from office with the adoption of commission government. Dr. Madden subsequently was elected sheriff of Mercer County and still later he was elected surrogate of the County.

AN ERA OF BUILDING ACTIVITY

One of the most gratifying of the forward movements of 1900 was the creation of the Free Public Library Commission, promptly followed by the erection of the classic white marble library building on Academy Street, which was dedicated June 9, 1902. It was about the time that Andrew Carnegie was freely donating libraries to American cities. Unofficially word came to Trenton that it might have a Carnegie library. The sentiment of the community, after much discussion in the press, was clearly in favor of rejecting the Carnegie gift. Mayor

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Briggs, with the energetic support of the newspapers, had given impetus to the movement and the people of Trenton voted to build their own library. Mr. Briggs had long been actively interested in educational matters. Together with John A. Campbell he had been instrumental in bringing about vital reforms in the public school system.

Ferdinand W. Roebling was the president of the first Free Public Library Commission, serving for a decade in that capacity. Mr. Roebling personally supervised the construction of the new building, which was the precursor of the many striking edifices, public and private, that have followed in its wake. The successful conduct of the library formed a part of his real interest in life. Mr. Campbell was also a member of the original library commission and has, during the intervening twenty-eight years, continued to give useful service there. He succeeded Mr. Roebling as president, which office he still occupies. Another survivor of the original commission is John J. Cleary. As editor of the *Sunday Advertiser* Mr. Cleary had been an earnest advocate of the new library; and, throughout all the period of its existence, he has faithfully served as secretary of the commission. Joseph L. Naar, editor and publisher of the *True American*, was likewise a member of the first Free Public Library Commission. He had been especially energetic in the promotional campaign for the library. Mr. Naar was a forceful writer whose lively pen, during his lifetime in Trenton, punctured many shams.

While the Public Library was being constructed several modern buildings were opened. Trenton began to shake off its swaddling clothes and put on the stride of a progressive city. The new High School on Hamilton Avenue, then recently opened, was a concrete example of the improved taste and higher civic ideals. A new wing at Mercer Hospital was dedicated October 31, 1901, and the Widows' and Single Women's Home on Spring Street was formally opened November 11 of the same year. Lewis Lawton, who had built the reservoir and other fine structures, was awarded the contract for the new Senate Chamber September 1, 1901. At about that time the Inter-State Telephone Company began the erection of its new exchange and

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office building on South Stockton Street, now the home of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. A new building era had set in. In 1900 the total of building permits issued in Trenton was \$770,634, while in 1925 the permits for building work had increased more than ten-fold, approximating \$8,000,000 for the latter year.

The cornerstone of the new Court House was laid May 14, 1902, and the building opened a year later. Soon there came agitation for a modern City Hall. For seventy years Trenton had its municipal building in the downtown section—the antiquated brick structure at the northeast corner of State and Broad Streets. Mr. Roebling and General C. Edward Murray were responsible for the present handsome municipal building. Mr. Roebling, active head of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company, was recognized as the foremost business leader of the community and General Murray had for a dozen years been the recognized political leader. It was through the influence of General R. A. Donnelly that the State Armory was built in 1903, along the canal, between State and Front Streets.

The decision to locate the City Hall on State Street, between Stockton Street and the canal, was regarded as a bold move. It was necessary to acquire and destroy considerable valuable property. The first definite action came November 6, 1906, when Mayor Gnichtel sent a special message to the Common Council recommending that a new City Hall be constructed. Mayor Gnichtel had served four years as chairman of the finance committee of the Common Council. He was familiar with the city's exchequer as well as the difficulties of operating the government in the dilapidated old municipal building.

Mr. Roebling, General Murray and Jonathan H. Blackwell were named by Common Council as the City Hall Building Commission, with full power. It required approximately four years to complete the work. After a careful survey of suitable sites the commission selected the location at East State and Stockton Streets. Ground was broken in November 1908, and the cornerstone of the white marble structure was laid June 18, 1909. The building was opened for official use in November 1910. The cost was approximately \$850,000. The old City Hall

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building was sold April 21, 1910, to John L. Kuser for \$141,000. He resold it, within a few weeks, at an advance of approximately \$50,000, to a group of Newark business men, headed by Benjamin Lissner.

In 1900 awnings, sheds and swinging signs overhung the sidewalks. Common Council passed an ordinance March 17, 1902, compelling the removal of these unsightly reminders of village days. The crematory, for the destruction of garbage, was formally accepted by the city February 4, 1902. The new city reservoir, at Prospect Street and Pennington Avenue, had been opened September 20, 1899. The first sheet asphalt pavement was laid on South Clinton Avenue in 1898. The old borough of Wilbur, now the Twelfth Ward, was annexed to the city in 1898 and part of Ewing Township, now included in the Fourteenth Ward, a small part of the present Fifth Ward, and a somewhat larger slice of the present Eighth Ward, was annexed in 1900. The boroughs of Chambersburg and Millham were taken into the city in 1888. Frank A. Magowan, mayor back in the early '80's, had brought about the installation of a sewer system. The idea was sponsored by the board of trade, but its adoption was due to the energetic leadership of Mayor Magowan. He possessed unusual magnetism and unlimited daring. He was a big factor in the industrial and political life of the community until his domestic instability led to his melancholy downfall.

TAKING LIBERTIES WITH HISTORY

Magowan's name had been presented, as a candidate for governor, to several Republican State Conventions and he had built for himself a fine mansion on North Clinton Avenue in anticipation of the day when he should be New Jersey's chief executive. It was later dubbed "Magowan's Folly" and converted into a row of houses. An amusing fraud was unearthed by a reporter of the *Sunday Times-Advertiser*, when, in the after-years, Magowan met an untimely end on the streets of Hoboken. Magowan had been conspicuously active in the building of the Battle Monument, to mark the site of Washington's victory over the British. He was an outstanding member of the Trenton Battle Monument Association, under whose auspices the historic shaft was erected, and to whose care it was committed. A large group photograph of the members of the association was placed, with other records of the accomplishment, in the tiny museum at the base of the monument. The *Times-Advertiser* man discovered that, in some mysterious fashion, although Magowan's portly body with one hand proudly upholding his brown derby hat was still in the picture, Magowan's face was missing.

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Closer inspection disclosed that, with minute care, the face of State Comptroller William S. Hancock had been glued over the countenance of the discredited statesman. The fake was duly exposed and, in response to the insistent demands of the newspaper, the Magowan face was finally restored to its rightful place over the Magowan figure. Politicians, like hand-picked biographers, are wont to take liberties with historic events. Deeply carved in stone, on the new State Office Building, now being constructed to the westerly side of the State Capitol, is a nattily-worded inscription informing posterity that the site is "hallowed by the blood" of the soldiers of the Revolution. Official records tell another story. There was no fighting on or near the spot.

CHANGES AND PROGRESS IN INDUSTRY

Many outstanding leaders of the period failed to survive Magowan's disastrous collapse. General William H. Skirm, who had served two terms in the State Senate, and had exercised enormous power in financial and political circles, was the chief victim. General Murray and Charles H. Baker made a final attempt to save something from the wholesale wreckage, by purchasing control of the Empire Rubber Company, early in 1902, in the interest of General Skirm. General Murray, who had successfully launched the Crescent Insulated Wire & Cable Company, a decade earlier, and Mr. Baker, who was the publisher of the *State Gazette*, had been political protégés and loyal admirers of General Skirm. To protect his creditors, General Skirm had deposited the majority stock of the Empire Rubber Company with the Mechanics Bank, agreeing that it should be sold if his financial situation did not improve. When the time came for the sale, there was stiff rivalry among various groups desiring control of the flourishing Empire Company. With the financial support of F. W. Roebbling, General Murray and Mr. Baker acquired the stock and continued General Skirm at the helm. He did not long survive, however. Broken in spirit and health, General Skirm was found dead seated at the table in the dining room of his East Hanover Street home. General Murray and Mr. Baker operated the Empire Company until 1916, when it was sold to an outside syndicate. Since that time it has passed into the control of General Murray's son, C. Edward Murray, Jr., and Thomas Morrison, Jr., and is now conducted as the Murray Rubber Company.

Out of the sale of the Empire Rubber Company to General Murray and Mr. Baker, in 1902, came the founding of the Acme Rubber Company. George R. Cook, as a young man, had entered Magowan's employ and had developed splendid business capacity. Together with his brother, Edmund D. Cook, he had acquired two of the Magowan enterprises—the Hamilton Rubber Company and the Trenton Oilcloth and Linoleum Company. Associated with the Cooks were two active figures in the Trenton Trust & Safe Deposit Company, William S. Hancock, state comptroller, and Barker Gummere, county clerk. George R. Cook had likewise become treasurer of the Empire Company, and the Cook-Hancock-Gummere combination was anxious to acquire control of that concern. Failing to purchase the Skirm stock, they promptly launched, in July 1902, a rival company, and erected a large factory, opposite the Cook linoleum works on East State Street. At first called the Eureka Rubber Manufacturing Company, the name was

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changed in December 1906 to the Acme Rubber Manufacturing Company, as the result of a suit brought by the Eureka Rubber Company of Jersey City. The Certain-teed Products Company, in 1923, purchased the Cook linoleum plants at a price reported to be in the neighborhood of \$8,000,000. The estate of George R. Cook still controls the Hamilton Rubber Company and the Acme Rubber Manufacturing Company.

Another Magowan enterprise, the Trenton Rubber Company, was acquired by W. J. B. Stokes and his brother J. Oliver Stokes, controlling owners of the Joseph Stokes Rubber Company. They enlarged and converted the Trenton Rubber Company into the Thermoid Rubber Company. Subsequently they erected a large asbestos plant nearby. In July 1920 the capital of the Joseph Stokes Rubber Company was increased from \$300,000 to \$5,000,000.

The Trenton Potteries Company, in which Magowan had been a dominant figure, had passed into other hands, with John A. Campbell as the general manager. The Crane Company, which, working in harmony with the Trenton Potteries Company, had later constructed and enlarged the Mutual Pottery, took over control of all the plants of the Trenton Potteries Company April 17, 1924. The net fixed assets of the company as of January 1, 1928, were \$4,400,000 and it had 1,240 employees. Mr. Campbell, who, since his graduation at Princeton in 1877, had been among the outstanding industrial and civic leaders of Trenton, brought about the merging of the pottery interests, in 1924, and continues as president of the company.

AN UNHAPPY INCIDENT

An unhappy incident occurred in the early part of the century. F. W. Roebling and his brother, Charles G. Roebling, were casting about for a suitable site on which to build an immense new rod mill. The Roeblings, traditionally strong for Trenton, sought to acquire the lowlands south of Riverview Cemetery. When negotiations were first opened, early in 1903, a price of approximately \$100,000 was asked, although the lands in question were assessed at but \$30,000. Upon discovery that the Roeblings were the prospective purchasers the price was boosted to somewhere in the neighborhood of \$300,000. Indignant at the avarice and lack of civic spirit of the owners the Roeblings declined further negotiations.

Two years later they built their own town of Roebling, at Kinkora, on the Delaware River, where the new rod mill was established. At that plant the Roeblings now employ two thousand three hundred workers. The Trenton plant of the Roeblings continues to be the foremost industrial institution in the city, employing upwards of three thousand workers. Within recent years, millions of dollars have been expended by the Roeblings in enlarging their Trenton plant. Both Ferdinand W. Roebling and Charles G. Roebling died, within brief intervals, soon after the close of the World War. Karl G. Roebling, eldest son of Ferdinand W. Roebling, who succeeded to the presidency of the John A. Roebling's Sons Company, survived but a short time. He dropped dead on the golf links at Spring Lake May 29, 1921. His uncle, Colonel Washington A. Roebling, who had retired from active participation in business, following the completion by the Roeblings of the Brooklyn Suspension Bridge, in 1873, then became head of the company, continuing at the post until his death in 1927. He was succeeded as president of the company by Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr.

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A RE-AWAKENING IN INDUSTRY

As already noted, with the turn of the century there came a re-awakening in industry. The detailed story of the variety of manufacturing in Trenton is told elsewhere, in the chapter by John H. Sines of the *Trenton Times*. Brief references, however, to outstanding developments during the period of which I am writing are essential to an understanding of the newer Trenton.

Herbert Sinclair, in 1900, took over the Star Porcelain Works, the plant consisting of one kiln. There are fourteen kilns today with three hundred employees. At an earlier period Frederic A. Duggan had established the Imperial Porcelain Company which, starting in a humble way, has increased twenty-fold. Mr. Duggan is one of the large holders of center of the city real estate, as well as controlling owner of the New Monmouth Hotel and other important properties at Spring Lake.

The De Laval Steam Turbine Company established a plant in Trenton, in 1901, that has grown by leaps and bounds until upwards of eight hundred people are now employed. Ten additions have been constructed.

Through the influence of O. O. Bowman the Jordan L. Mott Company located a big plant in the city, close by the works of the Roebblings, in 1903. After passing through a financial upset, the plant was sold, in 1928, to the Laib Pottery Company, of Louisville, Kentucky, for \$1,656,000, forming the central unit of the Laib chain.

The United States Steel Corporation acquired the Trenton Iron Company July 29, 1904. That gave the Steel Corporation two large plants in the city. The American Bridge Company, formerly the old Cooper-Hewitt Rolling Mill, at the foot of South Warren Street, had been earlier taken over. In 1920 the Steel Corporation enlarged its American Bridge plant, at a cost of \$1,500,000.

Bruce Bedford and C. Dudley Wilson, in 1905, launched the Luzerne Rubber Company with three employees, for the manufacture of hard rubber specialties. The concern now employs two hundred.

The Essex Rubber Company, established in a small way in 1907, has grown into a plant valued at approximately \$2,750,000, employing five hundred people. The controlling owner is Clifford H. Oakley, president and general manager, and the secretary and treasurer of the company is Arthur E. Moon.

James W. West, in 1914, took over the printing and publishing business of MacCrellish and Quigley, and subsequently erected a plant costing \$350,000. Later Mr. West acquired the *State Gazette* and Hibbert job printing plants.

In 1915 the Princeton Worsted Mills, producing fine cloths for men's suitings, were established by Arthur Schwartz. The mills, having six hundred employees, have worked day and night for more than twelve years and have never had any labor trouble.

Through the influence of Herbert Sinclair, of the Star Porcelain Company, the Westinghouse Lamp Company located a plant in Trenton, in 1917, at a cost of \$750,000 and having upwards of two hundred employees.

Lenox, Incorporated, producers of Belleek china of rare design and quality, erected a model plant in 1920. Following the death of Walter Lenox, the founder, early in that year, control of the business passed jointly to the Kuser interests and a group that had been directing the enterprise.

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Lenox china is used in the White House, in the Presidential Palace in Cuba and in many of the finest homes and clubs throughout the world.

In 1923 General Murray formed the Crescent Armored Wire Company, building a \$350,000 plant, alongside of his Crescent Insulated Wire plant. In the same year the Maddock Pottery Company, makers of fine hotel china, was sold to D. William Scammell and his brothers for \$700,000 and was changed to the Scammell China Company. An addition, costing \$250,000, had been made to the pottery in 1920. The Scammell brothers likewise control the Belle Mead Sweets Company.

Shortly after the sale of the Cook linoleum plants to the Certain-teed Products Company, in 1923, W. & J. Sloane, New York manufacturers, importers and dealers in furniture, carpets and rugs, bought a farm along the Pennsylvania Railroad and erected a \$2,000,000 linoleum factory. The Sloanes are now erecting an addition costing \$1,000,000. In the same year, 1924, the Thomas Maddock Sons Company, which had been, back in 1873, the first producers of sanitary earthenware, built a new plant along the Pennsylvania Railroad, costing \$2,600,000.

In 1923 the Standard Fire Insurance Company, incorporated by Act of the Legislature February 22, 1868, removed from 15 West State Street to its handsome new home at 39 North Clinton Avenue. This building of steel, brick and marble is devoted exclusively to the business of the company. Owen J. Prior, president of the chamber of commerce, and active in many lines of civic endeavor, is president of the company. Ferdinand W. Roebling, whose father was one of the original incorporators and directors, is first vice-president.

Herbert P. Margerum has acquired a controlling interest in the Golding Sons Company, founded in 1863 and the first flint and spar grinding mills in the United States. The company has just constructed a new plant, costing \$250,000, with a daily grinding capacity of one hundred tons.

Not only in steel and wire, pottery and linoleum, rubber, electrical porcelain, fine ceramics but a variety of other industries, Trenton occupies an important place in the manufacturing world. The proximity of vast metropolitan markets, exceptional transportation facilities, an abundance of good labor, intelligent direction at the top—these are the bases of the city's prosperity. Past attainment and present security guarantee something more than ordinary opportunity. They are auguries of progress.

PROGRESS IN THE CITY'S MERCANTILE LIFE

As in industry, so in the merchant life of the community there have been marked changes. Storekeepers prominent in 1900, but who since have died or retired, included Sering P. Dunham, F. S. Katzenbach, S. E. Kaufman, A. T. Williams, John R. Reynolds, J. Allan Southwick, Brand and Smith, Lawrence Farrell, Albert Clayton, Emanuel New, Lanning and Crook, John C. Tabram, Claffey and Slack, Louis Cohen, Smith and Walker, John H. Garwood, A. J. Coffield, S. S. Lee, Byron F. Gunson, Case, Rose and Case, Cole and Taylor, Jonathan H. Blackwell, Richard A. Donnelly, Manning and Brink, Joshua F. Hancock, Carlman Ribsam, Jonas D. Rice, Fred B. Yard.

Many of the houses of the period have ceased to exist. Others have been enlarged into institutions of the first class. The old Dunham house, estab-

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lished in 1864, continues in the family, with Edward W. Dunham the controlling owner. In 1905, through the purchase of the Hill Bakery property on North Broad Street, the Dunham store was expanded and, in 1927, with the acquisition of additional property on State Street, a modern front was placed on the building.

H. M. Voorhees and Brother Company, now operating one of the finest department stores in the State, was established March 4, 1897, on Broad Street, below State, by Harvey M. Voorhees. The following year the store was moved to 109 East State Street and Edmund D. Voorhees joined his brother. In 1902 the store was enlarged, with entrances on both Broad and State Streets. Two additional State Street properties were acquired in 1907 and, in 1914, the site of the present Voorhees store was acquired and the new building erected. At that time John G. Conner, William C. Voorhees and Charles C. Johnson became associated in the business. The Voorhees brothers were pioneers in the development of East State Street as a leading shopping district.

In 1902 the Nevius brothers leased the ground floor of the old Y.M.C.A. building, adjoining the Trenton Savings Fund Society on East State Street. With the coming of the new Y.M.C.A. home at East State Street and Clinton Avenues, the Nevius brothers acquired the entire old building, which they enlarged into a modern department store. The Nevius business, established fifty years ago in Flemington, is operated by the four sons of the founder. They likewise conduct stores in Flemington and New Brunswick.

Henry Wirtschafter, who founded the Philadelphia Bargain Store in 1899, has since acquired numerous properties on South Broad Street and on Front Street. The store has been remodelled seven times since its establishment. Mr. Wirtschafter, who continues to direct the business, now has associated with him his two sons, Jacob Wirtschafter and Arthur Wirtschafter.

In 1903 Frederick W. Donnelly purchased the clothing business that had been conducted by his father, General Richard A. Donnelly, since 1867. In 1919 he took his son, Frederick S. Donnelly, into the business, forming a corporation known as Frederick W. Donnelly & Son. In 1927 a new building was erected on the site of the old F. S. Katzenbach East State Street store, and the Donnelly business removed from Taylor Opera House where it had been located since the time of its birth.

In 1909 William J. Convery acquired the long established furniture house of Convery and Walker, located on North Broad Street. At Mr. Convery's death the business, then known as the William J. Convery & Sons Company, was acquired by his sons. Subsequently the business was taken over by Mr. Convery's oldest son, J. Ferdinand Convery, who continues to direct it. The furniture house was greatly enlarged in 1919, at which time a storehouse and modern workshop were established on North Montgomery Street.

Another of the successful early furniture houses that continues to be operated by the family of the founder is A. V. Manning's Sons on South Broad Street. This business, established by Alexander V. Manning in 1847, is now in the hands of his son, John W. Manning, and the latter's sons. In 1925 the Mannings rebuilt their store.

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Goldberg's, Incorporated, operated by the National Department Stores of New York, is the outgrowth of a single store established at the corner of Broad and Front Streets by Isaac Goldberg in 1910. Two properties on Broad Street and five properties on Front Street were acquired, from time to time, and added to the original store. Mr. Goldberg sold the business in 1925 to I. Sadowsky for the National Department Stores, Incorporated.

S. E. Kaufman sold his department store, in 1919, to Hoenig-Swern & Company, now Swern & Company, who have greatly enlarged the business and continue to operate it. It is located at Broad and Lafayette Streets, directly across from the old Washington Market property, recently converted into a group of new store buildings.

The Yard stores on North Broad Street were purchased by Charles Hydeman and a group of associates in 1912. Additional North Broad Street properties were promptly acquired and the business enlarged into the Yard department store.

Charles F. Hildebrecht, whose father for a generation conducted the leading restaurant business of the city, acquired, in 1918, several fine properties at West State Street and Chancery Lane and built an up-to-date establishment with banqueting and restaurant facilities. He is now expanding the building into a ten-story apartment hotel, costing, with furnishings, \$1,500,000.

In addition to the remarkable advances made by older houses many splendid new stores have been established in the city during the past few years.

II. The Second Decade, the World War, and After

TRENTON was the first New Jersey municipality to adopt the commission form of government. H. G. Stoddard, then president of the Trenton Iron Company, and now owner of a big steel mill and other important enterprises in Worcester, Mass., was responsible for the idea. Mr. Stoddard was, at the time, president of the Young Men's Christian Association, a director in the Trenton Banking Company and a citizen with many other activities. Following the inauguration of commission government in western communities there had been desultory talk of the plan among civic leaders in various parts of New Jersey. Reform was in the air; plans for readjusting the public and private morals of the country were at hand, ready-made chiefly by the Progressives of the western country. Theodore Roosevelt was stirring things up all over the land and Woodrow Wilson was preaching new political doctrines in his candidacy for governor of New Jersey.

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THE COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Shortly before the Wilson election, in November 1910, Mr. Stoddard returned from a business trip to the Middle West, a red-hot advocate of commission government. He began to interest people before any of them knew much about it. He was a live wire in the chamber of commerce and, within a few weeks, had a committee of solid citizens named from that body, ostensibly to study the new form of municipal government. Under the spell of Mr. Stoddard's enthusiasm the committee reported favorably. The chamber of commerce gave its endorsement to the plan, and a bill was prepared for introduction into the 1911 Legislature. Other sections of the State, weary of the wastefulness and inefficiency of the old top-heavy councilmanic governments, rallied to the support of the measure.

Allan B. Walsh, first Trenton Democrat to be elected to the House of Assembly in a generation, became the legislative sponsor of the bill. It was modelled largely on the Des Moines plan which included the initiative, referendum, recall and non-partisan primary. As editor of the *Trenton Times* I visited a number of the western communities where the new government was in successful operation. Frank Thompson, a clever *Times* reporter, was given the task of enlightening the public and, day in and day out, he wrote about commission government until everyone in Trenton knew all about it.

The proposed law did not have easy sailing in the Legislature. It was Wilson's first session. He had thrown overboard the old Democratic bosses who had brought about his nomination for governor. By this action he had alienated the master politicians of both parties who lined up against the Walsh bill. Then, too, Governor Wilson, in conjunction with the reform leaders newly gathered about him, had agreed upon a stiff legislative program that included an advanced primary and election law, a Corrupt Practices Act, a rate-regulating Public Utilities Act and an Employers' Liability Act. When this schedule was fixed upon the Wilson conferees had not reached a definite decision regarding commission government.

Without the Wilson support the committee, named by the chamber of commerce to steer the Walsh bill through the

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Legislature, made little progress. The old-line politicians, fearful that the idea would wreck their well-entrenched city machines, blocked the measure at every turn. In the closing days of the session Mr. Stoddard and I came home from a vacation trip to Pinehurst and were told of the dilemma. Together we called on Governor Wilson to ask his support. He bluntly told us that he was not inclined to add anything to the program he was then engaged in forcing through the Legislature. We urged upon him that the commission idea had taken firm root in the West and that his advocacy of it would help in his campaign for the presidency. He knew how to seize an opportunity and to make the most of it. He played the game to win; that is the object of every candidate, whether for the office of constable or president.

Martin P. Devlin, an upstanding Democrat who had the admiration and confidence of Wilson, helped convince the governor that the commission plan was in direct line with the other new ideas for which he was fighting.¹ Through the years Devlin, unafraid of the consequences, battled to make Trenton a better place in which to live. He had great weight with Wilson who, when finally convinced of the political wisdom of throwing his support to the commission plan, took hold of the job and forced the measure through. There was pending, in the Legislature, a measure completely reorganizing the State's complicated school system and Wilson had prepared a message strongly advocating its passage. To this school bill message he added three paragraphs calling for the enactment of the commission government bill. Although, in his earlier preachments at Princeton, he had strongly opposed the initiative, referendum and recall, he now declared himself flatly in favor of them as having proved efficient and necessary and added that the changes proposed in municipal government had been tested by abundant experience.

"I am sure that it would afford all thoughtful persons," he said, "cause for serious disappointment if the Legislature should not avail itself of this opportunity to show itself allied in this matter, as in all matters, with the impulses of progress now so handsomely manifest in our bodies politic."

¹ See Chap. VII, *The Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*.

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Under the driving force of the Wilson steam-roller the commission government bill went through the Legislature and, following a lively campaign by the *Trenton Times*, the voters of the city adopted the new idea at a special election held June 20, 1911. There was passive opposition to its adoption by the leaders of both the local political organizations. For more than a year the city had been stirred by a lively warfare waged by the *Times* for improved street railway service. This played no small part in the battle for a change. A non-partisan Commission Government League, with Robert A. Messler as president and Frank Thompson as secretary, thoroughly organized the city and conducted an aggressive open campaign in favor of the new plan.² Other cities of the State quickly followed Trenton's example. Newark, Camden, Jersey City, Hoboken, Passaic, Atlantic City, Bayonne, New Brunswick, Asbury Park—practically all New Jersey municipalities now have commission government.

The first Trenton commission to be chosen under the new law was elected August 15, 1911, and consisted of Frederick W. Donnelly, George B. LaBarre, Edward W. Lee, William F. Burk and J. Ridgeway Fell. With the exception of Mr. Donnelly, who was made mayor, all of the new commissioners had been in active political life. Mr. Donnelly had been a conspicuous leader, for upwards of six years, in a movement to deepen the Delaware River and make it navigable for shipping as far as Trenton. The city government was reorganized into five comprehensive departments, the mayor being placed in charge of the department of public affairs; Mr. LaBarre the department of public safety, including health, police and fire; Mr. Lee the department of finance; Mr. Burk the department of parks and public property; and Mr. Fell the department of public works, including water, streets and sewers. Messrs. Donnelly, LaBarre and Lee have been reelected four times for terms of four years each. Messrs. Burk and Fell were reelected in 1915

² A detailed account of the early workings of commission government, now so firmly established in the leading cities of New Jersey, is to be found in an article prepared by Arno Dosch for *World's Work* of July 1914, and reprinted in the *Trenton Sunday Times-Advertiser*, July 5, 1914.

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and 1919. Mr. Burk died shortly after the latter election and was succeeded by George W. Page, who has been twice reelected for terms of four years each. Mr. Fell did not seek reelection in 1923 and was succeeded by Abram Swan, Jr., who had been in the city engineering department for thirty-five years and who has since been reelected for another term of four years.

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT TRENTON

Trenton is a \$28,000,000 corporation. That is the value of property owned by the city. Since 1911 there has been handled, in collections and expenditures, approximately \$180,000,000. A scientific budget system has been in operation, and the credit of the city in the financial markets ranks with that of any other municipality in the State, regardless of size. Trenton's water department, with its 30,000 separate accounts, shows an annual operating profit. The Pierson legislative committee on municipal financing, after a survey of the cities of New Jersey, highly complimented Director Lee on the Trenton accounting system.

THE DEEPENING OF THE CHANNEL

The deepening of the Delaware River, as far as Trenton, was effected through persistent promotional work on the part of the newspapers, the chamber of commerce and a committee named by Mayor Katzenbach, February 8, 1905. Leaders in the agitation were Mayor Donnelly and Adam Exton. Largely through the energetic labors of Mayor Donnelly an appropriation of \$200,000, for the development, was made by Congress May 31, 1910. A twelve-foot channel, between Trenton and Philadelphia, was completed May 28, 1913, and the city, conforming to the requirements of the federal government, constructed a municipal dock, basin and freight passenger shed, the latter equipped with modern unloading devices. The harbor department of Trenton was created and placed under the general supervision of Mayor Donnelly. The federal government has appropriated \$1,300,000 for the further deepening of the channel, while the city of Trenton will expend approximately \$750,000 for the construction of additional terminals. The channel is to have a depth of twenty feet, making Trenton virtually a seaport community. Mayor Donnelly has likewise been a potent factor in the promotion of the New Jersey Ship Canal, which project is on the way to fulfilment. His plan contemplates the erection of municipal terminals and the development of manufacturing sites and warehouses on the city-owned land below Riverview Cemetery, with suitable railroad connections that have already been pledged.

Farmers' markets have been established by Mayor Donnelly, the largest being situated near the Municipal Wharf, while the others are distributed throughout the populous sections of the city. As high as 300,000 sales have been made in a single season at these markets.

Pictures of the ex-mayors from the time of Thomas Cadwalader, who served as chief burgess of Trenton under a direct grant from the King of England, have been gathered by Mayor Donnelly and are on exhibition in the reception room of the executive department. Views, depicting the "before and after" appearance of major improvements, since commission govern-

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ment was adopted, are included in this collection. The entire exhibit will be turned over to a municipal museum to be established within the next few years.

In the city clerk's office are documents of historic importance. The minutes of the old Common Council reveal local conditions back in the early eighteenth century when Trenton was a village. Ordinances and resolutions, yellow with age, are carefully preserved and are of much interest in disclosing the development of Trenton to the present day.

Under Commissioner Page there has been an entire revision of the street lighting system. All the lamps in the center of the city are fed by underground circuits, the cost of installation having been borne by the Public Service Corporation. Public comfort stations have been established in the city and in the parks. Trenton's park system totals approximately 250 acres with an estimated value of \$1,600,000.

The approximate number of consumers supplied by the Trenton water department, including those outside the city limits, is 150,000. For many years, prior to commission government, the matter of a pure water supply had forced public attention. Typhoid fever and other intestinal diseases had been on the increase. Between 1906 and 1911, inclusive, the typhoid fever cases averaged 247 a year, while the death average from the same cause was twenty-five a year. A filtration plant, costing \$450,000, was built and placed in service the latter part of 1914. Since that time the yearly average of typhoid cases has been reduced to thirty-four and the death rate to an average of five. The filtration plant is located adjacent to the City Pumping Station at the foot of Calhoun Street.

THE WATER SUPPLY

During the decade 1900 to 1910 there was a general inquiry, by the water departments of American cities, concerning the excessive amount of water furnished the inhabitants of such cities. It was found that in older communities, as those of Europe, one-half of the amount used per capita in this country was considered quite sufficient. The inquiry showed that with us the idea prevailed that water, like air, was a thing of small monetary value, that with pumping plants and mains installed it made no difference whether water was squandered or not. During the first year of commission government a careful study of water conditions showed that in 1902 the per capita consumption per day was 122 gallons and that in each succeeding year there had been an increase over that figure. The city, in 1915, began the installation of water meters in buildings where inspection showed a great number of leaks due to faulty plumbing or carelessness, and meters have been insisted upon for houses located outside of the city limits. At the end of 1927 a total of 9866 meters had been installed. About eighteen per cent of the services in the city are metered and one hundred per cent in the townships. Director Swan can point with some pride to the fact that with an increase, since 1913, of fifty per cent in the population served, only 76.4 per cent of the amount of water then pumped is now necessary.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of Director Swan's department was the building of the sewage disposal plant, located on a tract of sixty acres, below Riverview Cemetery. This improvement, costing upwards of \$1,000,000, was placed in service in May, 1927. Experts agree that there is, at this time, no better plant of its type, nor one more skilfully operated in

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this country. The ordinary dry-weather flow passes through at about 16,000,000 gallons per day. It is designed to take a maximum of 37,500,000 gallons per day and should provide for the treatment of the city sewage up to 1950.

THE CITY'S STREETS AND HIGHWAYS

The street paving department, under Director Swan, is doing approximately half a million dollars worth of paving and re-paving annually. On account of the requirements of present-day traffic much heavier types of paving construction have been adopted. Since the advent of commission government, when the total paved area amounted to 756,000 square yards, the growth in paving has increased over two hundred per cent. The above figures relate to hard top surfaces, such as sheet asphalt, brick, granite block and concrete. The total length of Trenton's streets is approximately 145 miles, of which 93 miles are improved with hard surface pavements.

In addition to the above, the city has improved by the use of stone and oil approximately 300,000 square yards of street surface which is maintained in first-class shape by seasonal oil treatments. The growth in this class of roadway surface is a direct result of the demands of modern traffic and this type of work has developed almost entirely within the last five years.

In connection with the subject of paving, it is worthy of note that the city's already growing burden was materially added to by the passage in 1927 of an Act relieving traction companies of all paving and maintenance obligations. This means the saddling upon the city of an annual expenditure, for paving reconstruction and maintenance, of upwards of \$50,000.

In 1915 Mayor Donnelly proposed, and named, the Assunpink Way improvement. This project contemplates fluming of the Assunpink Creek from Stacy Park to Clinton Street Station and the creation of a highway over the bed of the stream. It will provide an additional east and west artery of travel, free from any delays at the canal and railroad crossing, such as are so frequent at all of the present crossings.

In 1916 the engineering department conducted a survey and study of the mayor's suggestion and reported favorably on the feasibility of the project. Later, in 1919, C. C. Vermeule, a consulting hydraulic engineer of New York City, was called in for a report on the hydraulics of the problem, and his conclusions confirmed in every substantial detail the previous report of the city engineers.

In 1916 the Legislature passed an enabling Act authorizing cities to lay out and open highways over and along non-navigable natural streams. This Act had a referendum provision attached. The Act was approved on March 17, 1916. At the general election held on November 4, 1919, the question of the construction of the Assunpink Way was referred to the voters and the measure was carried by a large majority. On January 16, 1920, the board of commissioners passed a resolution adopting the lines of the proposed Assunpink Way and fixing the width at seventy feet.

The only remaining obstacle to the consummation of this improvement is the city's inability to finance it. The last estimate of the cost of carrying out this project was made in 1920. At that time, it was estimated that Assunpink Way could be built for about a million dollars. Just what a present-day estimate would show is problematical. However, due to the

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rapid increase in property values in recent years, it is highly probable that a revised estimate would exceed the 1920 figures.

THE ZONING ORDINANCE

In September 1922, Herbert S. Swan, a zoning expert of New York City, was employed by the city to formulate a zoning ordinance. An advisory zoning commission was appointed by Mayor Donnelly to collaborate with Director Swan in the preparation of the ordinance. Meetings of the commission, with Mr. Swan in attendance, were held during the summer and fall of 1923 and the ordinance was completed and submitted to the board of commissioners late in the year. The ordinance was never adopted in its original form due to numerous adverse court decisions in other cities bearing upon certain fundamental features of the ordinance. A modified ordinance was passed by the board of commissioners July 8, 1927, in which no distinction was made between the different classes of residential zones and all regulations dealing with set-back lines, court areas, height of buildings, etc., were omitted. In 1927 the Legislature passed an Act authorizing submission to the voters of certain constitutional amendments among which was one designed to broaden the police powers of the State in the interest of zoning. These amendments were submitted to the voters at an election held September 27, 1927, and the zoning amendments were successfully carried. The city is now in a position to adopt the original ordinance as presented by the zoning commission and Mr. Swan with every hope of it passing muster in the courts, and this will doubtless be done in the very near future.

For the past two years surveys and title searches have been under way looking toward the purchase by the city of the Trenton Water Power. The ordinance by which purchase of this property will be authorized is practically completed and its introduction and passage should take place at an early date.

THE FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

Under Director LaBarre the fire department, consisting of twenty-seven pieces of apparatus, was completely motorized October 1, 1918. Daily inspections are made of mills, factories, mercantile establishments and other places to correct all fire hazards. Trenton enjoys the distinction of having the first organized fire department in the United States. It was formed at a meeting held in a blacksmith shop at South Broad and Front Streets on the evening of February 7, 1747. Trenton's paid fire department came into existence April 2, 1892. Important activities of the department are now centered in the modern Fire Headquarters on Perry Street, opposite Stockton. This building was completed and occupied September 12, 1927.

Director LaBarre has likewise modernized the police department. An effective training school has been established, with daily classes and instruction in the laws and ordinances pertaining to police work. The First and Second District Police Stations have been remodelled into handsome buildings. Headquarters for the electrical bureau have been located at 29 West Hanover Street. In this central office all emergency calls of the city are received and distributed to both the fire and police departments. Likewise the fire-fighting apparatus is dispatched from this office by fire alarm operators. There are now in service in the city 200 public fire-alarm boxes on the

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streets, 75 master auxiliary boxes on the city circuits, connecting with 500 private auxiliary fire-alarm boxes in buildings, 38 electro-mechanical gongs, 22 street vibrating warning gongs. There are also in use 75 police patrol boxes and 85 police red signal lights. The electrical bureau represents an investment of \$250,000.

SANITATION

The bureau of health has been brought to a high degree of efficiency, the statistics for the year 1927 showing: 25,900 investigations made by the sanitary inspection service; 4,117 inspections by the plumbing inspector. 38,976 animals examined by the meat inspector; 1,914 inspections of dairies by the milk inspector; 2,488 visits by emergency nurses; 676 vaccinations performed in clinic; 4,598 visits to tubercular cases by nurses; 3,794 cases treated by the dental clinic; 15,455 home visits made by baby welfare nurses; 7,532 home visits made by the nurses assigned to the parochial and private schools.

Through Director LaBarre's efforts Trenton was the first city in the country to adopt an ordinance requiring the draining and wrapping of garbage before it is collected and taken to the crematory. This system has proved not only highly satisfactory from a sanitary standpoint, but has materially lessened the cost of incineration. Twelve motor trucks and thirty-two wagons are used in the collection of garbage and ashes.

THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Following the inauguration of commission government, the *Times* led a crusade for a like comprehensive system in Mercer County. The Legislature enacted a law for a board of freeholders of seven members, elected at large in the County, to replace the unwieldy old body consisting of representatives chosen by wards and townships. At a referendum election the new plan was adopted by the voters. Mercer County was the first in the State to adopt this system, which provides that each member of the board has definite responsibilities as the head of a separate governmental department. The County covers an area of 228 square miles and has a population of approximately 175,000. The voters of Trenton, as well as the voters of the County, have likewise adopted civil service regulations.

GAS AND ELECTRICITY

Since June 1, 1903, when the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey began to function, its gas and electric utility subsidiaries have played a useful part in the growth of Trenton.

The Trenton Gas and Electric Company, which was a consolidation of all the earlier gas and electric properties of Trenton, was itself merged into the South Jersey Gas, Electric and Traction Company in 1901 along with most of the other gas, electric and traction properties of South Jersey. The South Jersey company was leased to the Public Service June 1, 1903.

An indication of the service being provided by the Public Service for the Trenton District at the present time and also the increase in the past ten years may be had from the following figures:

For the twelve months of 1927, the total of electric sales, measured in kilowatt hours, was 96,480,135. The sales for 1917 were 19,698,599. Of these the metered lighting sales were 22,885,760 kilowatt hours for 1927 and

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4,964,546 kilowatt hours for 1917. The power sales were 69,869,839 kilowatt hours for 1927 and 13,000,739 kilowatt hours for 1917.

The total gas sales for 1927 were 1,094,667,892 cubic feet and for 1917 were 614,461,400 cubic feet. The gas used in industrial fuel consumption in 1927 amounted to 213,536,100 cubic feet and for 1917 they were 79,146,600 cubic feet.

Electric lighting meters in service December 31, 1927, were 35,494, of which 2,349 were power meters. On December 31, 1917, the lighting meters numbered 7,172 and those for power 639. Gas meters in service December 31, 1927, were 35,542 and on December 31, 1917 were 25,588. Connected load, in horse power, on December 31, 1927 amounted to 70,245 and on December 31, 1917, only 15,110, showing the progress of Trenton as an industrial center.

Some of the larger power customers in Trenton are John A. Roebling's Sons Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the Murray Rubber Company, the W. & J. Sloane Manufacturing Company, the Crescent Insulated Wire and Cable Company, the Hamilton Rubber Company, the Thermoid Rubber Company, the Joseph Stokes Rubber Company, the Acme Rubber Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Essex Rubber Company, the Agasote Millboard Company and the Westinghouse Lamp Company.

A few of the large users of gas are the Westinghouse people, the potteries, the State Prison and the State Hospital.

When the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey was organized in 1903, the Chauncey Street Station furnished all the electricity for power and light in Trenton and vicinity. The total maximum load for Trenton was only about 1,000 kilowatts. Today Trenton is supplied by power from the new Trenton Switching Station and from Burlington Generation Station. Trenton Switching Station gets its electricity from the Philadelphia Electric Company through a tie-in arrangement effected between the Public Service and the Philadelphia company. The electricity is brought from Philadelphia through cables under the Delaware River, and over a transmission line strung on steel towers from Camden to Biles Island and thence to the switching station. At the switching station the power is transformed, or stepped down, to a lower voltage and distributed to sub-stations at Chauncey Street, Fernwood, Liberty Street and Olden Avenue. From these sub-stations the current is further stepped down and redistributed for lighting and power uses.

Gas for Trenton use is manufactured at the Brunswick Avenue Gas Works, the equipment and facilities of which have been increased from time to time to meet the demand necessitated by Trenton's growth. In addition to the output of the Brunswick Avenue works, it is possible to supply Trenton with gas from other sources. A few years ago there was built by the Public Service a ninety-mile trunk main stretching from Camden through the Delaware River towns to Trenton, thence by way of New Brunswick, Plainfield, Bound Brook and Somerville to Raritan. At Plainfield there is a line extending by way of Summit into Newark. This is the longest main used for distributing manufactured gas in the world and its construction marked a forward step in the evolution of gas distribution methods. Most of the large Public Service gas plants pour their output

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into this artery and therefore it is possible for Trenton to get gas from this source, whether manufactured in Camden or in Newark.

TELEPHONES

In 1900 the total number of telephones in the Trenton area was 1900. The Bell System, then known as the Delaware and Atlantic Company, was operated by a force of twenty-two employees, located on the third floor of the building at the northeast corner of Warren and State Streets. The Home Telephone Company (which later became the Inter-State Telephone), following receivership proceedings, was consolidated with the Bell System in 1914. The Bell System in 1913 erected a handsome office building on East State Street between the postoffice and the Public Service Building.

The Delaware and Atlantic Company became the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company on October 1, 1927, when it purchased the northern properties of the New York Telephone Company, so combining the State's Bell telephone service under one management.

Trenton, center of a district composed of twenty-four communities, is also telephone headquarters for the southern part of New Jersey. The Trenton district by 1928 had 22,500 telephones. The service had become one of Trenton's large business institutions, operated by more than four hundred Trenton residents, under the management of a state organization, and backed by the national resources of the Bell System.

In 1900 the number of telephones in other places that could be reached by a Trenton subscriber was strictly limited by distance. Twenty-eight years later, anyone in Trenton could make calls to any of 600,000 and more telephones in New Jersey alone, to any of 18,000,000 and more in the Bell System in this country, and to about 25,000,000 of an estimated 31,000,000 telephones in the world.

TRENTON'S PART IN THE WORLD WAR

Before word reached Trenton that the United States had finally decided to enter the World War on the side of the Allies (April 6, 1917) the city began raising men and money. Under President Wilson's preliminary call for an emergency force to protect railroad, utility and other essential war property, the first troops were mobilized in Trenton March 28, 1917. These consisted of the old Second Regiment of the National Guard, who, following the declaration of war, were mustered into the United States Army where they became the 113th Infantry Regiment and the 104th Engineers. The guardsmen were mobilized at the Inter-State Fair Grounds and later Camp Donnelly was established on Brunswick Avenue, from which points they were shortly transferred to Sea Girt, and still later to Camp McClellan, Anniston, Ala., whence they went overseas. The 113th Infantry left for Anniston September 30, 1917, and the

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104th Engineers October 3, 1917. As part of the 29th Division these units sailed for France June 15, 1918.

Registration for the National Army, under the Selective Draft Act, was held June 5, 1917. It was a solemn day in many Trenton homes. Inductions into the National Army came September 4, 1917. These Trenton soldiers were trained at Camp Dix, most of them being assigned to the 311th Infantry Regiment of the 78th Division. The first Trenton men to go overseas were included in a National Army force which sailed May 19, 1918.

Altogether Trenton had 5,200 men in the active fighting service of which number 148 lost their lives. They served chiefly in the combats on the Alsace front and in the Meuse-Argonne campaign.

Following the Armistice thrilling receptions were prepared for the returning soldiers. Men of the 113th Infantry arrived home May 20, 1919, followed by the 311th Infantry and 104th Engineers May 26, 1919. Appropriate honors were paid them as they gaily marched through the streets in their service uniforms.

For unusually heroic service one Trentonian was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and six were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. The citations accompanying these war decorations to Trenton men by the Government of the United States, as recommended by General John J. Pershing, were as follows:

Congressional Medal of Honor: Sergeant Benjamin Kaufman, Company K, 308th Infantry, for conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy in the Forest of Argonne, France, October 4, 1918. Sergeant Kaufman took out a patrol for the purpose of attacking an enemy machine gun which had checked the advance of his company. Before reaching the gun he became separated from his patrol, and a machine gun bullet shattered his right arm. Without hesitation he advanced on the gun alone, throwing grenades with his left hand and charging the enemy with an empty pistol, taking one prisoner and scattering the crew, bringing the gun and prisoner back to the first aid station.

Distinguished Service Cross: First Lieutenant Henry Welling, 316th Infantry, for extraordinary heroism in action near Montfaucon, France, September 27, 1918. After being severely wounded in the side, Lieutenant Welling refused to be evacuated, but continued to lead his platoon in the attack. Throughout the afternoon and evening he remained with his men,

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inspiring them by his courage and fortitude in spite of pain, it being necessary to carry him when a temporary withdrawal of the line was made.

Distinguished Service Cross: Private Adam Patercity, Company F, 114th Infantry, for extraordinary heroism in action near Verdun, France, October 12, 1918. He held his position in the face of an enemy attack, silenced with his pistol one machine-gun nest, and, unaided, brought in three prisoners from another.

Distinguished Service Cross: Private Howard R. Conover, Company A, 311th Infantry, for extraordinary heroism in action near Grand-Pré, France, October 20, 1918. Although painfully wounded in the hand, Private Conover went to the assistance of a wounded comrade who was lying helpless in an exposed position. He carried him from the front a distance of 400 yards on his back, and when forced to relinquish his burden because of exhaustion, he informed and directed stretcher bearers, thus assuring the safety of his comrade.

Distinguished Service Cross: Sergeant Paul J. Karwoski, Company M, 311th Infantry, for extraordinary heroism in action near Grand-Pré, France, October 26, 1918. Acting as a scout Sergeant Karwoski obtained valuable information as to the location of enemy positions, and single-handed attacked a machine-gun crew, killing one of the enemy and taking the remaining two prisoners.

Distinguished Service Cross: Private Giuseppe Santarsiero, Company M, 311th Infantry, for extraordinary heroism in action near Grand-Pré, France, October 26, 1918. Private Santarsiero rushed ahead of his company and single-handed flanked a machine-gun nest, which was causing losses to his company, killing the gunners.

Distinguished Service Cross: Sergeant Raymond A. Schroth, for extraordinary heroism in action near Grand-Pré, France, November 1, 1918. He was directed to lead an attack against an enemy machine-gun nest which was impeding the progress of his company. Reaching a point within fifty feet of the stronghold, he ordered an attack and six Germans near the gun sought to surrender until they saw the strength of the force, now reduced through casualties to two or three men. The enemy was then reinforced by twenty men and launched a severe counter-attack, which forced Sergeant Schroth to abandon his attack. After ordering his men to safety, he remained at his post alone, fighting against the superior forces until he drove a prisoner back to our lines at the point of his empty pistol. Despite his desire to provide safety for his patrol, he was the only survivor to return from the mission.

Sergeant Schroth also received the *Croix de Guerre* from the French Government.

A score of Trenton women served overseas with the troops. Some of these were nurses and others were with the American Red Cross and the Young Women's Christian Association. Handsome gold pins, designed to commemorate their service, were presented to them at a testimonial dinner given by the Federal Club April 30, 1923. Gold Star Mothers of Trenton

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were special guests of honor at the dinner. The presentation was made by Governor George S. Silzer. The women thus honored were Mrs. Daniel Evans, Miss Mary W. Oliphant, Mrs. Samuel Sica, Miss Mary T. Green, Miss Mary Kerney, Miss Mildred H. Apgar, Miss Loretta Terradell, Miss Mercedes Terradell, Miss Bertha H. Johnson, Mrs. James J. Collins, Miss Fannie M. Gerson, Miss Emily A. Jummel, Miss Margaret L. Lucky, Miss Linda Meirs, Miss Annie Nugent, Mrs. William J. Schnorbus, Mrs. Rose Lewis Maple, Mrs. W. W. Stevens, Mrs. Samuel Gordon and Miss Catherine A. Deitz.

On the same occasion the Federal Club presented to the writer, who had served overseas for nine months as Director of American Information in Europe, and who had just celebrated his fiftieth birthday, a magnificently set ring of green gold. This presentation was made by former Governor Edward C. Stokes and was accompanied by the reading of the following letter from former President Woodrow Wilson, addressed to Factory Inspector James H. Tallon, Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Federal Club:

2340 S Street, N.W.,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Tallon:

I am very much interested in what you tell me of the plans for April thirtieth, and wish that I might be present to express my affectionate regard for Mr. Kerney, and my profound admiration for the splendid women who served overseas during the war. But unhappily circumstances prevent, and I can only send in this way my most cordial greetings to the assemblage, my admiring salutations to the ladies concerned and my congratulations to my friend Kerney on his birthday. I shall be only sixteen years ahead of him and intend that there shall be no difference apparent between us in vigor and fighting spirit.

With best wishes for the occasion,

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

To an earlier Community Dinner given the writer, on his return from France, President Wilson had sent a generous message referring to "his successful labors for the United States on the other side." Like messages of commendation were also sent by General Pershing, General Bliss and William S. Sharp, the war-time American Ambassador in France.

While the World War wrought considerable havoc it edu-

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cated people in generous giving. Under the auspices of the evangelical churches of the city the Rev. Billy Sunday conducted a seven weeks' religious campaign beginning January 2 and ending February 20, 1916. An enormous temporary tabernacle was erected on Greenwood Avenue and the city at large took a lively interest in the revival. At its conclusion, in addition to the moneys expended on the campaign itself, a fund of \$32,000 was raised and presented to the evangelist.

The first general drive for funds, on a large scale, was for the American Red Cross. The city was asked to raise \$100,000 in May 1917. At that time the Red Cross was without an effective organization in Trenton. John A. Campbell, who had served as treasurer for the New Jersey Red Cross, volunteered to take command. As associates to direct the drive he enlisted General C. Edward Murray, Charles A. May, Karl G. Roebling and James Kerney. The community was quickly organized and within less than a week subscriptions aggregating \$159,257 were secured. From that day forward no worthwhile community campaign for funds has failed.

Under a resolution adopted by the city commission the Trenton Committee for War Emergencies was officially set up with headquarters in the City Hall. This body, organized June 7, 1917, continued its activities until long after the Armistice. Members of the executive committee were Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly, chairman; Karl G. Roebling, vice-chairman; Richard Stockton, vice-chairman; John A. Campbell, treasurer and chairman of finance committee; Frank Thompson, secretary; James Kerney, R. V. Kuser, Mahlon R. Margerum, Charles A. May and General C. Edward Murray.

By resolution of the city commission the Trenton Committee for War Emergencies was given complete authority over all local activities, including raising of funds. Drives were conducted for all of the big campaigns for overseas work of the Red Cross, Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A., K. of C., Y.W.C.A., National Catholic Welfare Association and Y.M.H.A. In these drives Mr. Campbell acted as treasurer. The Trenton quota in all Liberty and Victory Loan drives was oversubscribed.

In addition to the subscriptions for the special drives a fund

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of \$85,480 was raised, on weekly instalments extending over a period of ten months, for the immediate use and care of Trenton soldiers and their dependents. Contributions totalling \$27,021 were made to soldiers' funds at home and abroad, for comfort kits, clothing and knit goods, such as sweaters, helmets and the like. Kitchens were provided for the Second Regiment and every selective service man, when he entrained for camp, was presented with a comfort kit and other useful articles. In this work of directly caring for the soldiers the committee had the unceasing cooperation of the Trenton Branch of the National League for Women's Service.

To dependents of Trenton soldiers a total of \$29,907 was disbursed. Every case was promptly cared for, Trenton being one of the few cities where the dependent families had their needs quickly supplied, thus supplementing the allowance of the government, or rather anticipating government allowance, which was oftentimes delayed many months. Community kitchens, for which \$1,700 was expended, were maintained in the schools where instructions were given and materials supplied for conserving and preserving food. At various points in the city emergency food gardens were established, seed and fertilizer being furnished for the demonstrations. For this work \$3,725 was expended. Under the direction of Howard L. Hughes, city librarian, \$2,000 was contributed to help place libraries in various buildings at Camp Dix for the use of our soldiers. Other disbursements were made for meals for soldiers and to the various recognized war agencies.

Trenton women not only organized various useful activities at home but played a conspicuous part in caring for the soldiers at Camp Dix, located sixteen miles outside of the city. Hundreds of women went from Trenton to nurse soldiers in the camp during an attack of influenza there. Day and night women volunteers gathered in the Old Barracks and at other points where thousands of surgical dressings and other useful articles were made. The Motor Messenger Corps, organized by the women of the community, busied itself with all kinds of activities incident to aiding the government in war plans. Everywhere the spirit of helpfulness and sacrifice manifested itself.

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THE WAR MEMORIAL

Shortly after the Armistice Mayor Donnelly enlarged the War Emergency Committee into a Memorial Committee, with John A. Campbell as chairman. The object of this body was to devise a fitting memorial commemorating the service that Trenton men and women had given to their country. Under the leadership of Mr. Campbell ten years of study and consideration were given to the idea. By this process the committee was able to profit by the failures and successes of numerous other memorial ventures throughout the land. It was ultimately decided to erect a building which would combine, with striking effectiveness, the values of beauty and utility and which, in addition to being a tribute to the inspiring service of all those who entered America's wars from this section, would fill important civic needs.

In order that both the City of Trenton and the County of Mercer might officially participate, a law was enacted by the New Jersey Legislature, providing for the creation of a permanent commission. Under the terms of this law, which was sponsored by Senator A. Crozer Reeves, the city and county each appropriated, by bond issues, the sum of \$200,000. The community raised, by popular subscription, an additional \$423,000.

This drive was conducted along the same general lines of the active war campaigns. No professionals were employed, the detail work being in charge of Frank D. Schroth, executive secretary, and a corps of volunteer assistants. The officers of the drive were John A. Campbell, general chairman; James Kerney, vice-chairman, James C. Tattersall, treasurer; General C. Edward Murray, chairman of the executive committee; Colonel Edward C. Rose, chairman of the finance committee. A contribution of \$75,000 by Siegfried Roebing, at the solicitation of General Murray and Adjutant General Gillyson, topped the subscription list.

The State agreed to provide an acre of ground as a site for the memorial. This land, immediately adjoining Mahlon Stacy Park at the foot of Willow Street, was acquired at a cost of approximately \$100,000. In addition the State agreed to turn

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over a fund of \$75,000, which was raised by the school children for a New Jersey memorial, immediately after the close of the war. From these figures it will be seen that the memorial, a part of Trenton's historic community center, represents an outlay in excess of a million dollars.

Under the legislation, authorizing city and county to act, the permanent Trenton and Mercer County Memorial Building Commission was created. Provision was made, in the law, that this body should consist of two members of the Trenton city commission and two members of the Mercer County board of freeholders, these four, in turn, to elect five citizens as members of the permanent commission.

The city commission elected Mayor Donnelly and Director of Finance Edward W. Lee. The board of freeholders elected Director William S. Borden and Freeholder F. Alex Crawford. These representatives of the governing bodies unanimously elected as the five citizen members Mr. Campbell, Mr. Kerney, General Murray, Newton A. K. Bugbee and Colonel Rose. The governmental representatives serve only through their membership on the official bodies, while the civilian members are permanent. In the event of the death or resignation of any civilian member the vacancy is filled by the vote of the balance of the commission.

Mr. Campbell has been chosen as president of the permanent commission, with Mayor Donnelly, vice-president, Mr. Borden, secretary, and Mr. Lee, treasurer. A special building committee consisting of Mr. Kerney, General Murray and Mr. Bugbee, with Mr. Campbell a member ex-officio, has been named. William A. Klemann has been designated as the architect, and a monumental community building of the Italian Renaissance style has been agreed upon.

THE STACY-TRENT HOTEL

The civic spirit engendered incident to the war, proved helpful in many directions. It gave an added impetus to the promotion of the Stacy-Trent Hotel, built by public subscriptions at a cost approximating \$1,800,000. For years the newspapers had been agitating for an up-to-date hotel. The chamber of com-

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merce had joined in the suggestion but found it difficult to interest the necessary capital. Sometime in 1917 Maxwell G. Rockhill induced the Rotary Club to take up the project. Fired with enthusiasm Mr. Rockhill preached new hotel, in season and out. He appealed to the United Hotels Company (which later became



STACY-TRENT HOTEL, BUILT 1921. WEST STATE AND WILLOW STREETS.

the operating lessee) only to be advised that the company had voted against Trenton as a likely prospect. About a year later the United Hotels Company reported more favorably.

Mr. Rockhill then enlisted L. L. Woodward, president of the chamber of commerce, and a Rotarian. Together they went to work in deadly earnest, Mr. Woodward naming a chamber of commerce committee with Mr. Rockhill as the chairman. At the instance of John A. Campbell, who had been encouraging Mr. Rockhill, the bank presidents of the city met and, after mature consideration, gave the project their approval. Then came the formation of a corporation to own the property, and this body picked W. J. B. Stokes for president, with Mr. Rockhill as secretary and H. Arthur Smith, treasurer.

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Now began the real job of getting the money necessary to finance the hotel. The bank presidents, with Messrs. Stokes, Woodward and Rockhill, worked on the plans with great energy, and the first public subscription of \$10,000 came unsolicited from the *Trenton Times* on January 14, 1919, accompanied by an urgent appeal to investors, large and small, to make the hotel "in the truest and best sense a monument to all of the people of the city."

The Roebling interests became the largest subscribers. Smaller investors responded cheerfully until the total number of subscribers approximated 571. An agreement was signed with the United Hotels Company, March 22, 1919, to operate the hotel. The actual cost of the hotel was \$1,772,749. It was opened September 21, 1921. There was some controversy as to name. At the suggestion of Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker, "Stacy-Trent" was agreed upon, thus perpetuating the memories of Mahlon Stacy, first settler here, and William Trent for whom the city was named. After a careful survey the choice of a site eventually narrowed down to the old Washington Market, at Broad, Front and Lafayette Streets, and the location at State, Willow and Front Streets. The latter site was finally agreed upon.

Mr. Stokes continues to be president of the company owning the hotel, with Mr. Rockhill, secretary and Mr. Smith, treasurer. Charles S. Maddock, Jr., is vice-president, and these four, together with the following, comprise the board of directors: John A. Campbell, Herbert Sinclair, Arthur H. Wood, William T. White, James Kerney, William E. Green, Edward C. Stokes, Newton A. K. Bugbee, George A. Katzenbach, Alfred K. Leuckel, Howard F. Tomlinson.

THE Y.M.C.A. AND Y.W.C.A.

A campaign to raise \$500,000 for a new central building for the Y.M.C.A. was launched January 20, 1920. The organization had disposed of its downtown property, later remodelled into the Nevius store building on East State Street, and had acquired a spacious tract at the corner of East State Street and Clinton

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Avenue, the site of its present home. General C. Edward Murray, who had been so effective in all the war drives, was selected to direct the campaign. Before the public drive was formally launched eight business leaders of the community agreed to subscribe \$25,000 each. General Murray headed the list, the others being Frederic A. Duggan, Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., and Karl G. Roebling (\$30,000 jointly), W. J. B. Stokes, Washington A. Roebling, J. Oliver Stokes, O. O. Bowman and George R. Cook. The drive was highly successful and the cornerstone of the handsome new building was laid July 31, 1921, by H. Arthur Smith, energetic president of the association and president of the Trenton Trust Company. By the time the building was completed it was conservatively estimated that, including site and equipment, the property represented approximately \$750,000. A second drive was made by the Y.M.C.A. May 18, 1925, under the leadership of Frederic A. Duggan, and \$60,000 additional was raised for extensions and maintenance. Each succeeding year the maintenance drive for deficits in operating costs has met with a cheerful public response.

General Murray, in February 1923, successfully directed another drive by which \$600,000 was raised for the building of the new home of the Y.W.C.A. on East Hanover and Academy Streets. This beautiful structure was finished January 25, 1925. A pleasing feature is Julia Silvers Dunham Hall, a residence building on the Academy Street end, which serves as a fine type of Christian home for Trenton girls employed or studying here. It is designed to give the girls every comfort and facility and is even planned so that they may entertain friends of both sexes in pleasant surroundings. The Hall is named for Mrs. Edward W. Dunham, for many years the well-beloved president of the Y.W.C.A. Like the Trenton Y.M.C.A. building, the Y.W.C.A. home is equipped with a fine swimming pool, cafeteria and all the most up-to-date conveniences. It should be noted, in passing, that General Murray directed two drives in which upwards of \$1,100,000 was raised within less than three years. An annual campaign to meet operating deficits of the Y.W.C.A. is conducted.

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CATHOLIC ACTIVITIES

Following the example of the Y.M.C.A. the Trenton Council of the Knights of Columbus erected on State Street, just east of Clinton Avenue, a fine home intended primarily for the care of boys and young men. The building was opened June 24, 1923, the total cost, including the ground and furnishings, approximating \$250,000. The decision to take up welfare work among the Catholic youth of the city was inspired by Bishop Thomas J. Walsh, then head of the diocese. The opening drive for the building was in the form of a banquet held in the Trenton House June 3, 1920. Father Francis P. Duffy, Chaplain of the old Sixty-ninth Regiment of New York, was the chief speaker. He had recently returned from his service overseas. General C. Edward Murray was the only banquet guest not a member of the Knights of Columbus. General Murray and James Kerney, who introduced the speakers, succeeded in getting subscriptions totalling \$40,000. Bishop Walsh pledged \$2,500, the largest individual gift.

Bishop Walsh had previously launched among the Catholic women of the city the Mount Carmel Guild, which has a splendid home on North Clinton Avenue, known as the Catholic Community House. Bishop Walsh organized the Mount Carmel Guild in January 1920. There are no paid workers in the Guild. Volunteer members operate twenty-five departments and get effective results along various welfare lines.

THE HEBREWS OF TRENTON

Like the Catholics, the Hebrews of Trenton operate their own home for young people. The Community House is conducted by the Y.M.H.A., which has a Women's Division. People of the city, regardless of creed, are welcome. The general public has been attracted in large numbers to the open Sunday night meetings, where a high standard of programs is maintained. The Community Home is located on South Stockton Street in a fine building, acquired in 1917. Many non-Jewish business leaders are included in the membership.

This institution resulted from a consolidation of the memberships and activities of the many Jewish organizations exist-

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ent in Trenton before and during the war. The Y.M.H.A. entertained the Jewish soldiers at Camp Dix during the war, and, in the post-war period, applied itself to supplementing the social and educational life of the community. Two of its major accomplishments, outside of its regular program, were the establishment of a forum lecture series at which lecturers of national importance spoke, and the *Community Messenger*, in which a history of the Trenton Jews ran serially for many years. No other single group has made such notable progress in the twentieth century.

From 1900 to 1928 the city's Jewish population increased by approximately 10,000. In 1905 the Jewish community numbered but 1500 individuals; it grew to 4,000 in 1907 and 7,000 in 1917. In 1928 it had reached approximately 12,000. Immigration accounts in large part for the growth in the first half of this period; operation of the birth rate accounts for the increase in later years. For the most part those who settled in Trenton after 1900 came from eastern Europe.

The Jewish community first centered in Fall, Union and South Warren Streets. As their number increased the Jews moved to Chambersburg and then, in 1914, to the western section of the city. By 1925, West State Street, Stuyvesant Avenue and their intersecting and parallel streets were settled by those families whose material existence had bettered; Hamilton and Greenwood Avenues, as well as the new River Road sections, also saw their presence. Some families of affluence remained in the old Jewish sections, Union Street and Chambersburg.

For the most part, Trenton Jews, from 1900 to 1910, earned a living by soliciting house-to-house trade or running small retail establishments. From these modest beginnings came an expansion both in scope and variety of business activities. Some early became interested in motion-picture theater management and conducted the first cinemas in town. Small retail stores grew into large department stores, and small traders entered the clothing and notions business. Real estate also captured the interest of the Jew, partly because of his desire to move into better sections and house his family more comfortably and partly because of the business opportunities thus offered.

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The early Jews were anxious to give their children the education which they themselves had not received. One finds a relatively large proportion of Jewish children going to high school rather than to work after graduating from grammar school. As early as 1912 Jewish parents sent their children to the colleges and professional schools, with the result that, after the World War, a large number of Jews entered the professions. In 1928 there were twenty-nine Jewish lawyers (22% of the total number in Trenton), twenty physicians and surgeons (13%), twenty dentists (25%) and four accountants (25%). In the post-war period Jewish daughters were sent to finishing school, college, and normal school, there to round out their studies or to take up teaching.

ST. FRANCIS' HOSPITAL

There could be no finer evidence of the tolerance and generosity that came to Trenton in the twentieth century than the \$500,000 drive made for St. Francis' Hospital in February, 1925. This hospital, oldest institution of its kind in the city, was the result of the initial struggling labors of four Sisters of the Order of St. Francis, who had come, more than half a century earlier, to Trenton—when straggling farms reached almost into the very heart of the city.

At the time of the 1925 drive Sister Hyacinth, foundress and first mother superior, was still living. She was present at one of the noon-day meetings in the Stacy-Trent Hotel and was introduced to the enthusiastic workers by the Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. Together with her co-workers, she had started, back in 1869, to beg the money for the erection of the original hospital, located "near Trenton"—that part of the city being then in Hamilton Township. The hospital was opened May 31, 1874. From time to time, through house-to-house solicitations by the nuns, the institution had been enlarged.

Until the drive of 1925 no general campaign for the hospital had ever been conducted, although Trenton citizens, regardless of race or creed, had been generous supporters. It ministered to all. An interesting sidelight on the cosmopolitan character of the community itself is found in the fact that at the time of the

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drive in 1925 fifteen nationalities and nine religious denominations were represented in the hospital's lists of patients. The institution was then caring for an average of six hundred charity patients a year.

Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., whose family had, from the beginning, been benefactors of St. Francis,' acted as general chairman of the 1925 drive. The Roeblings, together with their employees, made contributions of \$150,000, and the grand total of the drive reached \$590,000. The community joined with great goodwill in the movement. The Rev. George H. Ingram, executive secretary of the Trenton Council of Churches, embracing practically all of the Protestant denominations, addressed a letter to the members urging that they call the attention of their congregations to the drive. On the Sunday preceding the opening of the campaign all the pulpits, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, rang out with splendid appeals emphasizing what St. Francis' meant to the community.

The entire city was organized. Frank D. Schroth, acting as executive secretary, in conjunction with a band of loyal volunteers, carried on the detail work usually done by professional campaign organizers. No one connected with the drive received any remuneration. It was all a labor of love freely given. At the close a message came from Mrs. Edward W. Dunham, president of the Y.W.C.A., saying: "The Young Women's Christian Association sends joyous congratulations to 'GOOD OLD ST. FRANCIS' and all the workers in this splendid victory. We rejoice with you!"

An advisory building committee was selected from among the active leaders in the drive, consisting of Mr. Roebling, Mr. Schroth, C. Edward Murray, Edward C. Rose, Charles H. Baker and James Kerney. This committee supervised the construction of a modern home for nurses and the new administration building and wing to the hospital itself.

Edmund Roebling, who made a contribution of \$25,000 to the St. Francis drive, at the same time made donations of \$25,000 each to Mercer Hospital and McKinley Hospital. The latter institution had then but recently conducted a successful drive for \$200,000 for hospital additions. Mr. Roebling like-

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wise gave \$2,500 each to the Orthopaedic Hospital and the Widows' and Single Women's Home; \$2,000 each to the New Jersey Children's Home Society and the Union Industrial Home; and \$500 each to the St. James' Day Nursery and the Trenton Day Nursery.

THE MERCER HOSPITAL

Within a year of the St. Francis campaign, another big drive, this time to raise \$500,000 for Mercer Hospital—second oldest city institution of its kind—was under way. The officers of this campaign were Horace B. Tobin, president of Mercer Hospital; E. C. Stokes, general chairman; Kenneth W. Moore, executive chairman; Frank J. Eppele, executive vice-chairman; Mrs. F. W. Roebling, Jr., chairman of the women's executive committee; W. Meredith Dickinson, chairman of the men's corps; Bruce Bedford, chairman of the industrial corps; Senator A. Crozer Reeves, chairman of the allied towns corps; Nelson L. Petty, memorial committee chairman, and William E. Green, building fund treasurer. The grand total of subscriptions amounted to \$562,000.

Mercer Hospital has had many notable large benefactions. In May 1924, James B. Dayton made an outright gift of \$100,000 for the building of the magnificent maternity home. Wesley W. Whittaker, in 1897, bequeathed the hospital \$100,000. Edward Grant Cook, who died in 1899, bequeathed the hospital \$300,000. Henry C. Kelsey, subject to a life interest of relatives, left \$60,000 which will eventually go to the hospital. William S. Hancock, who died in 1915, gave the hospital, subject to life interest, the residue of his estate amounting to approximately \$600,000. This fund will eventually all go to the hospital. Hampton W. Cook, who died in 1925, left the hospital for the maintenance of free beds the income of one-fifth of his \$850,000 estate, after the payment of certain annuities. By the terms of Mr. Cook's will the following likewise each receive the income of one-fifth of his \$850,000 estate, after the payment of certain annuities: Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., New Jersey Children's Home Society, Westminster Presbyterian Church.

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OTHER COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

In a popular drive for the New Jersey Children's Home Society, which has erected a substantial new orphanage on the Scotch Road, Trenton raised \$58,000. At the close of the war public drives for \$20,000 for Polish sufferers, \$15,000 for Hungarian relief and \$12,000 for relief of German children, under the leadership of Senator A. Crozer Reeves, were successfully carried on. Trenton raised \$25,000 in June 1925 towards a campaign for \$5,000,000 for the relief of orphans of American World War Veterans. The drive was conducted by the



SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS, BUILT 1914. WEST STATE AND SOUTH WILLOW STREETS, GIFT OF HENRY C. KELSEY.

American Legion. The Rev. Gill Robb Wilson was general chairman of the drive, and the division generals were Colonel Edward C. Rose, Frank D. Schroth and James Kerney.

Each year Trenton raises by popular subscription approximately \$40,000 for the maintenance of the Orthopaedic Hos-

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pital, of which sum \$10,000 is given by F. W. Roebing, Jr. For a considerable time Crescent Temple, of the Mystic Shrine, made an annual donation of \$10,000 to this institution.

Other large community benefactions, in this century, include the building of the School of Industrial Arts, at a cost of \$140,000, by the late Henry C. Kelsey; \$80,000 each to St. Francis' and McKinley Hospitals, by Mr. Kelsey, subject to life interest; \$20,000 each to St. Francis' Hospital and the Union Industrial Home by the late Charles G. Roebing as memorials to his son, Washington A. Roebing, 2d, who was lost on the steamship *Titanic*; \$80,000 for the Cook Y.M.C.A. branch at Greenwood and Olden Avenues by the late William G. Cook; the Carolyn Stokes Day Nursery, costing \$25,000, given by W. J. B. Stokes in memory of his daughter; \$45,000 to the Free Public Library by John L. Cadwalader; \$18,000 for the Trenton Poor Fund from the estate of Mrs. Elmira Bellerjeau; \$10,000 by John G. Conner for an organ at the central building of the Y.M.C.A.; and a provision in the will of the late J. Oliver Stokes that his residuary estate, estimated at \$1,000,000, subject to life interest of his widow, shall go to the city for the erection of a memorial school to his late son, J. Oliver Stokes, Jr.

THE PARK ON THE DELAWARE RIVER

With the effective backing of Governor Woodrow Wilson, Adjutant General Wilbur F. Sadler was chiefly responsible for making Trenton's dream of a Delaware River park come true. Edmund C. Hill, father of the city's park system, and Francis B. Lee, who spent years in acquiring title to the property along the river front between the Assunpink Creek and Brookville, share honors with Governor Wilson and General Sadler in the glorious accomplishment.

Persistent newspaper agitation played no small part in producing Mahlon Stacy Park and the lovely ramble that extends from Calhoun Street to Brookville. As far back as 1874 the *Trenton True American* took the lead in urging that the land lying between the Water Power and the Delaware River, beyond Calhoun Street, should be acquired and reclaimed for park purposes. Ten years later Mr. Hill made the first concrete sug-

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gestion. In the *Trenton Times* of October 18, 1884, Mr. Hill presented a comprehensive plan for a boulevard, promenade and park extending from the South Trenton bridge to the new bridge at Calhoun Street. At his own expense he had a topographical survey made, and also a plan by the well-known landscape artist, Olmstead. Reliable estimates of builders of the day placed the cost of the entire operation at less than \$100,000, which would have been more than offset by the reclaiming of valuable ratables. The plan called for four main entrances—at the lower bridge, at Factory Street, at the State House and at Calhoun Street. It also included a floating bath, similar to those at the Battery in New York, which would have been within twelve minutes walking distance of any part of the then city.

Mr. Hill's idea was looked upon as visionary at the time. Three years later Mr. Hill was elected to Common Council, where he resumed his park agitation. He finally forced through the Council, on May 15, 1888, an ordinance for the purchase of what is now Cadwalader Park. No definite move, however, was made concerning the purchase of river-front land, although the newspapers kept up the agitation and the Board of Health frequently condemned the unsightly and unsanitary conditions existing between the two river bridges. Bernard J. Ford, custodian of the State House, made an extensive "fill" with dirt taken from the cellar of the Assembly Chamber erected 1891-92, upon the lands under water belonging to the State. Trees and grass were planted on this new-made land, located immediately in the rear of the State House. This was the physical beginning of what is now Stacy Park.

Early in the present century the *Trenton Times* began a crusade, conducting a running bombardment for three years. At the suggestion of the *Times*, Mr. Lee, energetic and unselfish citizen of his day and a member of the board of health, was given the task of acquiring title to the lands lying between the Delaware River and the Water Power from the State House to Brookville. A special committee, which included members of the health and park boards, was set up by Common Council to cooperate in the work. William F. Burk, member of Council

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and later city commissioner, was made chairman, with Mr. Lee secretary, of this committee, at a meeting held June 24, 1903.

Hugh H. Hamill, one of the influential property owners of West State Street, joined in securing options at a price of \$3.25 per lineal foot for all lands between the State House and Calhoun Street. The only condition attached to this generous offer was that the river-front property, when reclaimed, should be used as a mall, free from vehicular traffic. Mr. Lee promptly made an arrangement with Walter Firth, superintendent of the crematory, to fill in the marshes with ashes collected by the city.

Title to the lands, along the river beyond Calhoun Street, was acquired at a price of \$6.50 per lineal foot, some of the lands in that section having considerable acreage. Common Council at its meeting of July 15, 1904, authorized the issuance of bonds in the sum of \$10,000 for the initial purchase of lands needed between the State House and Brookville. Subsequent appropriations were made and all the lands needed acquired. City Solicitor Charles E. Bird and Frederic L. Hulme did an excellent job in clearing the many complications incident to getting perfect titles. The State added to its holdings and has in excess of nineteen acres. All told, Mr. Lee and those associated with him in the work acquired upwards of thirty-five acres of land (exclusive of the State lands), with riparian rights, at a cost approximating \$33,000. It was a splendid public service.

Several years were required for the reclamation of the lands under water, eastward of Calhoun Street. Then, for a time, the project drifted aimlessly. There were political upheavals, incident to the trolley controversies and the coming of commission government. Woodrow Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey in November 1910. He quickly showed a fondness for Wilbur F. Sadler, Jr., who had, a year earlier, been made adjutant general of the State by Governor John Franklin Fort.

General Sadler was a young man of energy, vision and fine civic spirit. He had come to Trenton from Carlisle, Pa., in 1898 with—to use his own words—“\$75 and a load of sand.” His business was promoting trolley lines and he constructed the first electric railway extensions into the suburban territory within a

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twenty-mile radius of the city. A decade after his arrival he had accumulated a fortune and been elected president of the Broad Street National Bank. General Sadler took a lively interest in all phases of community life, rehabilitating the chamber of commerce, of which he became president.

Mr. Hill enlisted him in the park project and together they interested Governor Wilson who joined in getting speedy action by the State. Governor Wilson was a great walker, and, from the time of his inauguration, had made a practice of journeying daily, late in the afternoon, along the ramble that had been laid out by Mr. Lee and the park authorities of Trenton, extending from Calhoun Street to the old Log Basin. On these trips Governor Wilson was invariably accompanied by his secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty. Shortly after the 1911 Legislature adjourned, a series of conferences was held at the State House, having for their purpose the coordinating of State and city interests in the Mahlon Stacy Park project. Prior to the adoption of commission government the Trenton Common Council had, in April 1911, appropriated \$45,000 for the construction of a sea-wall along the city lands below Calhoun Street. As a result of the State House meetings the Olmstead plan was presented July 30, 1911. The newly elected Trenton city commission gave its complete endorsement to the plan August 25, 1911. From that time forward General Sadler took personal command, having the complete cooperation of both the city commission and the State House commission, of which latter body Governor Wilson was the head.

When the sea-wall and fill of the marsh-lands were nearing completion a jarring note was sounded by the *Ladies' Home Journal* of Philadelphia. In the issue of November 1912, a full page of photographs showing unattractive spots in the city was published under the caption "Isn't Trenton a Dirty City?" Two of the outstanding pictures depicted conditions at the rear of the State House, while the work of filling in with city ashes had been under way. Describing one view, the author, J. Horace McFarland, president of the American Civic Association, had a line reading "Trenton cares nothing for the dignity or the dirtiness of the surroundings of its State government nor for the possible

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advantage of its water scenery." Accompanying the other picture was this observation by Mr. McFarland: "As one approaches Trenton the golden dome of her Capitol is seen from afar. Fortunately the dirty dumps on the river do not appear from the same distance. Surely the banks of the Delaware were not so nasty when Washington crossed on that fateful night."

These ungracious misrepresentations naturally aroused indignation. The *Trenton Times* promptly printed facts refuting the falsehoods; Mayor Donnelly and the chamber of commerce at once opened a correspondence with the publisher of the *Ladies' Home Journal* seeking to have the injustice remedied. In a letter to the mayor, Mr. McFarland admitted that his pictures, with the accompanying descriptions, had been prepared in January 1911—almost two years prior to the date of their publication. Mr. McFarland came to Trenton and when shown the improvements that were under way, frankly admitted his error, disclaiming at the same time responsibility for the misleading caption printed in the Philadelphia publication. Commenting on this visit, Mr. McFarland in his letter of November 19, 1912, to Mayor Donnelly, said:

I was shown the details of the work being undertaken in respect to the improvement of the waterfront of Trenton, in part by the combined action of the city and the State and in part by the city itself. I regard this work as commendable in the highest degree, and regret that when I went over the territory with Mr. E. C. Hill and with Mr. A. V. Robinson in January 1911, the action had not been taken, according to Mr. Hill's statement of yesterday, which made this possible. The statement made in the *Ladies' Home Journal* was true at the time it was made, but has done an injustice to Trenton as of November 1912, which injustice I shall take pleasure in remedying in a statement to be printed in the February 1913 number.

GENERAL SADLER'S MANY SERVICES TO TRENTON

General Sadler visualized not only a great park for Trenton but the restoration of the Old Barracks and the creation of an artistic historic center. Out of his dreamings and persistent labors has come the restoration of the first Masonic Temple, at Lafayette and Willow Streets, as well as the building of the handsome new Masonic Temple immediately adjoining. The removal to Mahlon Stacy Park of the Douglass House, in which General Washington and his officers held a council of

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war on the night of the second battle of Trenton, was another of his pet hobbies. This quaint old building, formerly located on South Broad Street, was purchased and renovated with funds raised, at General Sadler's suggestion, by the Catholic Club and the school children of Trenton, directed by Doctor William A. Wetzel, principal of the high school.

The Old Barracks, erected in 1758, by authority of the Legislature of the Colony of New Jersey, had not been used for military purposes since Revolutionary times. Front Street had been cut through the middle of the original structure and that part of the building on the north side of the street converted into four dwellings. The part standing on the south side, which had, for more than a century, been used for business and dwelling purposes, was purchased November 3, 1902, by the "Old Barracks Fund Committee" and cared for by the Old Barracks Association. General Sadler, in conjunction with Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker, induced the State to purchase and beautify all the property on Front Street between Willow and the Capitol building. It was necessary to abandon that section of Front Street, as well as all of Delaware Street, which then extended from Front to State Streets. The Old Barracks Association deeded the part of the original building owned by that organization to the State. Under the personal supervision of General Sadler the Barracks were restored and are now cared for by the Old Barracks Association.

The first Masonic Temple, built in 1793, and located at the corner of Willow and Front Streets, directly across from the Old Barracks, was removed and restored, under the direction of General Sadler, to the foot of Willow Street, the main entrance to the Mahlon Stacy Park. The old hall had long been used as a private dwelling. Since its restoration it serves as a memorial museum. On the original site of the old hall now stands the fine Grecian temple that houses all the Masonic lodges of Trenton.

Outshining General Sadler's other splendid deeds for Trenton, however, was his successful endeavor in reclaiming the lowlands in the rear of the State Capitol, resulting in the creation of Mahlon Stacy Park. It took years of personal service and

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brave work to secure the necessary city and State appropriations to complete the job. Night and day he labored for the cause. He did not live to see all his hopes accomplished. But before he passed away, in 1916, he did see Mahlon Stacy Park converted into a veritable paradise for the Trenton that he had come to love.

Director of Parks Page has given close attention to the increased use of the park, by installing recreation centers and inaugurating band concerts. Its broad acres of beautiful sward offer an appealing spectacle; nor has there been any mistake of policy in permitting space to be given over to field sports, primarily exhibitions of baseball and football. The State House commission has cordially cooperated with the municipality at every step.

The flourishing growth of handsome shade trees, the ornamental shrubbery and the well-kept flower beds all contribute to the enjoyment of visitors, and occasional concerts draw a multitude of music lovers. Its close proximity to the business center adds to this elegant park's usefulness, since it is thus easier of access than Cadwalader Park. With the old raceway closed and the ancient factory buildings torn away, Stacy Park will provide a splendid site for the coming Memorial Building, without encroaching upon the present spacious grounds as a public recreation resort.

No permanent memorial has been erected to General Sadler, but a bridge over the Assunpink connecting Stacy Park with South Trenton is to be named for him. Following his death the city commission, December 1, 1916, unanimously adopted resolutions emphasizing his unselfishness in restoring the "hallowed shrines of Trenton's historic fame" and the debt of gratitude owing to him by Trenton's inhabitants for "bringing to successful fruition his project to give them a river-front redeemed to purposes of utility, recreation and enjoyment, by which project an unsightly waste tract was converted into the now beautiful Mahlon Stacy Park." Lee Avenue was named for Francis B. Lee, and a tablet to his memory was placed on the bridge over Sanhican Creek at that point.

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OTHER CIVIC IMPROVEMENTS

The new Masonic Temple, facing the Barracks, is one of the handsomest buildings in the city. It is in effect a luxurious club house joined with a full outfit of chambers devoted to the ceremonials of the fraternity. Few American cities can show its equal. It cost upwards of \$700,000, subscribed by members, under the leadership of Adam Exton, president of the Masonic Temple Association. Shortly after the completion of the building, in February 1928, a remarkable evidence of the community spirit of goodwill was displayed. Bishop Thomas J. Walsh, who had then recently been advanced from the diocese of Trenton to the more important diocese of Newark, was given a great public dinner under the auspices of the Trenton chamber of commerce, and Mr. Exton, on behalf of the Masons, tendered the use of the fine new banquet hall in the Temple for the Catholic prelate's testimonial. The offer was not accepted, other plans for the banquet having already been advanced too far to make a change feasible.

Incidental to the restoration of the Old Barracks and the completion of Mahlon Stacy Park, the State House Commission acquired several properties on State Street, eastward of the Capitol building. The old houses were demolished and the lands converted into a park. During the past twenty-five years many costly improvements have been made at the State Capitol. A new Senate Chamber was erected in 1903 and was ready for occupancy in 1904 at a cost of about \$182,000. Another addition was made to the Capitol in 1907, costing \$100,000. In 1911 the Legislature appropriated \$60,000 for the extension of the west wing of the front part of the building and in 1912 \$70,000 was appropriated for the extension of the east wing. Following the World War the State erected an office building on West Hanover Street, directly north of the Capitol, at a cost of \$375,000. Later the Henry C. Moore property on West State Street, directly across from the main entrance of the State House, was purchased and the building razed to provide an entrance from West State Street to the West Hanover Street Office Building. Subsequently the fine old homes of the Greens,

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Vrooms and Daytons, west of the State House, were purchased at a cost of \$215,000 and still later the Blackwell home was acquired for \$105,000. The Green, Vroom and Dayton houses have already been demolished. On the lands a fine new State Office Building is in course of construction.

III. Notable Events and Civic Progress in the Twentieth Century

THUS far, in the twentieth century, there have been two outstanding celebrations commemorating the Battles of Trenton. The 125th Anniversary, December 26, 1901, was signalized by the presence of Woodrow Wilson, Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics at Princeton University, as the chief orator. For the 150th Anniversary celebration, December 29, 1926, President Calvin Coolidge came to deliver the address. He was the ninth President of the United States to visit Trenton while actually occupying the White House.

WOODROW WILSON AT THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. Wilson's appearance in Taylor Opera House, for the 125th Anniversary celebration, December 26, 1901, did not attract more than passing attention. A great sham battle, reproducing, in detail, the original Battle of Trenton, was the stellar attraction of the day. It was enacted by companies of militia of the Second and Third Regiments of the State. The rôle of General Washington was assumed by General William H. Cooper, while that of Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall was taken by Colonel Quincy O'Malley Gillmore.

As in the battle of old, General Washington and his band of staunch patriots entered the town by way of Pennington Avenue, while General Sullivan's division was pushing forward by way of West State Street. At the "Five Points," where Warren and Broad Streets converge with Pennington, Princeton and Brunswick Avenues, the sham battle became so realistic that windows in the vicinity were shattered. The Hessian surrender took place, in due form, at the Friends' Meeting House, East Hanover and

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Montgomery Streets—near the scene of the apple orchard of Washington's time.

There was a big parade of those participating, including the Philadelphia City Troop. A stand was erected in front of the State House, at which point the marchers were reviewed by Governor Foster M. Voorhees, his military staff, Mayor Frank O. Briggs, the Committee of Fifty which engineered the celebration, members of the Legislature, New Jersey Congressmen and the Trenton Common Council. Luncheon was served the National Guardsmen at the Trenton House and the Philadelphia City Troop was entertained at Turner Hall on South Broad Street.

At the evening exercises in Taylor Opera House Governor Voorhees and Mayor Briggs were in attendance. The opening prayer was by Bishop James A. McFaul, of the Catholic Diocese of Trenton, and the benediction was by Bishop John Scarborough of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey. There was also a reading from the Scriptures by the Rev. Samuel M. Studdiford, pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church. Miss Caroline E. McGuire recited "The Surprise at Trenton" and music was provided by Winkler's Band and the Arion Glee Club.

Mr. Wilson had not then become President of Princeton University. It was his first public appearance in Trenton. He never spoke in the city again until September 15, 1910, the day he was nominated for governor of New Jersey. On the latter day, following the turbulent convention that had named him, he appeared on the very same platform in Taylor Opera House that he had rather modestly occupied for the historic celebration, less than nine years before. Meanwhile he had been elected President of the University and had passed through his tempestuous career as head of that institution of learning.¹

Mr. Wilson's address at the 125th Anniversary celebration made only brief reference to the military side of Washington's Trenton accomplishment. It was full of political ideas. "The

¹ See early chapters of the writer's *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson*.

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long war," he said, speaking of the Revolution, "with its bitter training of the thoughts and its hard discipline of union had not made a nation but only freed a group of Colonies." He went at length into the changed conditions of government since the days of the fathers. "The form of the union itself," he declared, "is altered to the model that was in Hamilton's thought rather than to that which Jefferson once held before us, adorned, transfigured, in words that led the mind captive." And he added that "we are no longer strenuous about the niceties of constitutional law; no longer dream that a written law shall save us, or that by ceremonial cleanliness we may lift our lives above corruption."

Political bosses, who in after years were the theme of so many bitter attacks by Mr. Wilson, were treated as a natural and inevitable product of our politics. Mr. Wilson's later heroic onslaughts, in connection with his battles for the direct primary, have a strange sound when compared with this language of December 26, 1901:

The power to govern and direct primaries, combine primaries for the control of conventions, and use conventions for the nomination of candidates and the formulation of platforms agreed upon beforehand is an eminently useful thing in itself, and cannot be dispensed with, it may be, in democratic countries where men must act, not helter-skelter, but in parties, and with a certain party discipline, not easily thrown off.

The Wilson speech was printed in full in the *Trenton True American* of December 27, 1901, and excerpts from it were printed in the *Trenton Times* and the *State Gazette* of the same date. A few months later Mr. Wilson wrote to a friend: "I was born a politician and must be at the task for which by means of my historical writings I have all these years been in training." Mr. Wilson was then forty-five years old and in the summer of 1902—six months subsequent to his delivery of the Trenton Battle Anniversary address—he was made President of Princeton University. Under the title "The Ideals of America" the Trenton Anniversary address was elaborated and published as an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December 1902, and has been reprinted in the official *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (page 416) published by Harper's.

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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND THE SESQUICENTENNIAL

Several days were given over to celebrating the Sesquicentennial of the Battles of Trenton.² There was a reawakening of the lively ardor of ancient times in recalling mighty deeds that were enacted in behalf of American independence one hundred and fifty years earlier. It was a well-rounded celebration in which many elements blended to ensure success. Pulpits rang with eloquent declarations of loyalty on Sunday. On Monday a pilgrimage to the scene of the picturesque Washington Crossing and a splendid reenactment of Revolutionary incidents by means of moving pictures were engineered by local fraternities.

Chief interest centered in the coming of President Coolidge, who spoke at a community banquet held in the Stacy-Trent Hotel Wednesday evening, December 29, 1926. Mr. Coolidge was accompanied by Mrs. Coolidge, who was everywhere given hearty ovations. The dinner was under the auspices of the Trenton Historical Society and was limited to the comfortable seating capacity of the banquet hall. Requests for places at the dinner out-numbered the seating capacity four to one. Besides President and Mrs. Coolidge the list of distinguished guests included Governor and Mrs. A. Harry Moore, of New Jersey; Governor Robert P. Robinson of Delaware; Governor John H. Trumbull of Connecticut; General Hugh A. Drum of the United States Army, and Admiral Thomas P. Magruder of the Navy.

President and Mrs. Coolidge, with their party, arrived at Clinton Street Station at 6:30 o'clock in the evening. They were received by a committee comprising Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker as chairman, former Governor Edward C. Stokes, Attorney General Edward L. Katzenbach, Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly and William J. Backes, president of the Historical Society. An entire floor of the Stacy-Trent was set apart for the presidential party, and the gracious Colonel

² There were two battles of Trenton and some historians contend that the second—the Battle of the Assunpink, January 2, 1777,—was the more important. However, the Surprise of the Hessians, December 26, 1776, occupies first place in the public mind. Both engagements are fully treated in Chap. III of this History, "The Two Battles of Trenton," by Frederick L. Ferris.

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Mahlon R. Margerum, whose delightful smile has, for half a century, been one of the wholesome features of every big Trenton celebration, saw that none of the comforts was missing. The dinner started promptly at 7:30 o'clock, with former Governor Stokes as toastmaster. The proceedings were broadcast by radio station WOR of Newark.

Bishop Thomas J. Walsh, of the Catholic Diocese of Trenton, delivered the opening prayer and Bishop Paul Matthews, of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey, pronounced the benediction. Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly presented President Coolidge with a gold key to the city. A striking feature of the evening was the reading of "The Battle of Trenton,"³ an historical narrative in verse inscribed to the Trenton Historical Society and read by the author, the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, member of the society and rector of Trinity Church. Governor Moore expressed the honor done New Jersey at large by the visit of President and Mrs. Coolidge.

A phase of President Coolidge's address which attracted world-wide attention was his grave admonition that the United States ought not to resume a competition of armaments with other nations of the world. "I do not believe we can advance the policy of peace by a return to the policy of competitive armament," said the President. "While I favor an adequate army and navy, I am opposed to any effort to militarize this nation."

President Coolidge insisted that altogether too much of international relationship was based on fear. "Nations rejoice," he said, "in the fact that they have the courage to fight each other. When will the time come that they have the courage to trust each other?" Continuing, the President declared:

The world has been striving to advance in this direction, to discard the old theory of relying entirely on force and to adopt the method of relying more on reason. We are in danger of slipping back into the old formula. The habit and tradition of ages call us in that direction. We cannot establish the new principle unless we are willing to make some sacrifices, unless we are willing to put some courage into our convictions. We have met to celebrate some of the events which secured our independence. I believe we

³ These verses are printed in full in this History, in Chap. XV, "Journalism and Literature," by John J. Cleary.

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are strong enough and brave enough to resist another domination of the world by the military spirit through our own independent action.

After reviewing the events that took place in Trenton one hundred and fifty years earlier, Mr. Coolidge referred to the emphasis being placed on present-day prosperity. Something more than prosperity, however, was necessary, he declared, and that thing was character. There was no way, he added, by which character can be attained in individuals but through the influences of religion and education.

"By religion," declared the President, "I do not mean either fanaticism or bigotry; by education I do not mean the cant of the schools; but a broad and tolerant faith, loving thy neighbor as thyself, and a training and experience that enables the human mind to see into the heart of things."

President and Mrs. Coolidge, with their party, left late the same evening for Washington. The speech of the President was recorded in full in the newspapers of the country, December 30, 1926.

A parade, including in its personnel the entire strength of the New Jersey National Guard, the Naval Militia, in addition to Regular Army troops, many historic military organizations from other States, and organizations of ex-service men of the World War, was a feature of the Sesquicentennial program, which was arranged by Adjutant General Frederick Gilkyson. Through bunting-clad streets packed with humanity the parade, a blaze of color and a blare of martial music, streamed the entire afternoon. Governor Moore headed the procession, covering the entire route. He was escorted by the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry. At the Battle Monument the parade was halted while a wreath was placed at the foot of the shaft. The National Guard troops were under the command of Major General Quincy A. Gillmore, of the 44th Division, son of Colonel (afterward Brigadier General) Quincy O. Gillmore, who had portrayed the part of Colonel Rall in the Battle Anniversary celebration twenty-five years earlier. Siegfried Roebling turned the Washington Roebling mansion, West State Street, over to General Gilkyson for the entertainment of distinguished visitors.

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An unhappy incident of the military celebration was the death of Major Gurney Williams, of the Medical Detachment, 112th Field Artillery, National Guard. Major Williams was thrown from his horse at West State Street and Delaware Avenue and died before an ambulance, in which he had been placed, reached Mercer Hospital. He was a resident of Ventnor, Atlantic County.

A tablet was placed in the main corridor of the State House, honoring the New Jersey Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the United States Constitution. The memorial, a gift of the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the Revolution, was accepted by Governor Moore on behalf of the State.

Thursday, January 30, the Federal Club followed with a Sesquicentennial banquet, attended by five hundred members and guests, at the Stacy-Trent Hotel. Dr. Henry van Dyke and Congressman Charles A. Eaton were the chief speakers, with the writer acting as toastmaster. And so the program came to a close.

An organization for the adequate celebration, in 1929, of the 250th Anniversary of the settling of Trenton, has already been perfected. Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly is honorary chairman; Chancellor Edwin Robert Walker, general chairman; Colonel Edward C. Rose, general vice-chairman, and James Kerney, chairman of the executive committee. The week of October 27 to November 2 will be given over to a program of historic pageants and pilgrimages, under the direction of the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler. City, County and State will all participate in the Celebration Week.

OTHER PRESIDENTS AND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN TRENTON

There is every reason to believe that George Washington, while President, was in Trenton in July 1793. In the old files of the *State Gazette* of July 24, 1793, appears a copy of an "Address of the Inhabitants of Trenton to the President of the United States" and the President's reply. It is known that President Washington was in Philadelphia for several weeks in the early part of July 1793, and that he returned to Virginia

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early in August. Washington had previously visited Trenton on April 21, 1789, and again on September 1, 1790.

President John Adams came to Trenton November 9, 1797, and again on October 9, 1799. President James Monroe arrived in Trenton on the evening of June 7, 1817, and stopped over night at the Rising Sun Tavern. President Andrew Jackson was here in June 1833, coming up the Delaware in the old steamboat *Philadelphia* and landing at the Lamberton Wharf, from which point he went in a carriage, drawn by four grey horses, to deliver an address at the State House. President James K. Polk came to Trenton July 6, 1847, to participate in a Fourth of July celebration. President Franklin Pierce, accompanied by his Cabinet, was given a great reception at the State House July 13, 1853, followed by a banquet in the old United States Hotel.

In the primary campaign of 1912 President William H. Taft visited Trenton to make an address in the interest of his own renomination, and was a guest at the home of General C. Edward Murray on Greenwood Avenue. President Taft spoke in the Armory, May 23, 1912, and the following Saturday evening former President Theodore Roosevelt spoke from the same platform in the interest of his candidacy against President Taft.

The Republican Party split wide open at the time. A host of aggressive young Republicans formed the Mercer County Roosevelt League, with Newton A. K. Bugbee as president and Frank Thompson as executive secretary. Mr. Taft was badly beaten in the election, but later the party rupture was healed and Mr. Bugbee was elected state comptroller, in which office he is now serving his fourth term. Mr. Bugbee was the party candidate for governor in 1919, but was defeated by Edward I. Edwards, the Democratic candidate.

In the 1912 campaign, Woodrow Wilson, then governor of New Jersey and Democratic candidate for President, delivered an address in Trenton in his own interest, as also did Senator Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, the presidential candidate of the Radical Progressives. Because of the bitter Republican quarrel, Wilson carried Mercer County, with Roosevelt outdistancing Taft.

William Jennings Bryan made speeches in Trenton, in all

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three of his campaigns as the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. His first appearance was September 23, 1896, shortly after his spectacular nomination at Chicago, where he had delivered his famous Cross of Gold speech. Mr. Bryan was accompanied by Josephus Daniels, later Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson cabinet, and Congressman Billy Sulzer, who subsequently was elected governor of New York, and thrown out of that office by impeachment proceedings. Mr. Bryan's speech was delivered at ten o'clock in the morning, from the rear end of a special train at the Warren Street Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Under the stimulating scare that Mark A. Hanna, McKinley's manager, had worked up in the East because of Bryan's advocacy of free silver, most of the substantial Democrats of Trenton lined up against the Nebraskan in 1896. I accompanied Mr. Bryan on his tour of New Jersey and the old *True American*, for which I was political reporter, made a savage campaign against his election. The *True American* was then at its peak in circulation and influence, and the fight it made on Bryan materially injured its prestige with the New Jersey Democracy, of which it had been, for a generation, the newspaper spokesman.

Four years later, in 1900, I spent several days travelling through the East with Mr. Bryan, the *True American*, in that campaign, being a red-hot advocate of his election. Mr. Bryan was given a rousing reception in the old Taylor Opera House, where he spoke. The streets of Trenton were jammed with crowds, but he utterly failed to win votes. Mr. Bryan came to Trenton again in 1908, and was given a mighty ovation, but lost Mercer County to Mr. Taft, who had visited the city a short time previously to speak at the annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce.

In marked contrast to the Trenton meetings addressed by Mr. Bryan in his three presidential campaigns was a visit he made in 1915, following his break with President Wilson over the Lusitania note to Germany, and his resignation as Secretary of State. Bryan took the position that no ship carrying contraband of war, such as the *Lusitania* did, should rely upon passengers to protect her from attack—"it would be like putting

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women and children in front of an army," he wrote Wilson. While America did not actually enter the conflict until almost two years later, the war passion was already pretty well under way in the East. Bryan sought to justify his conduct by making a tour of the United States. He was a pathetic figure when, in the summer of 1915, he came to Trenton and addressed a handful of followers in Association Hall, in the old Y.M.C.A. building on State Street. Realizing that he could not breast the onrushing war fever, then being stirred by Roosevelt and other preparedness boosters, Bryan gave up his efforts in the East. He was given mighty ovations in the West, and the reception accorded him at the St. Louis Convention that renominated Wilson in 1916 and where Bryan was presented as "America's Greatest Democrat" appeared to be a temporary vindication of his stand against preparedness.

Following his retirement from the Presidency, Mr. Taft twice visited Trenton and spoke in the Assembly Chamber of the State House, in advocacy of the League to Enforce Peace, of which he was the national president. On the first of these occasions he was the guest of Governor Walter E. Edge. That was in February 1918. On his second visit, in May of 1919, Mr. Taft was the guest of the writer.

Warren G. Harding, while President of the United States, delivered a speech, June 9, 1921, to an immense gathering at the Clinton Street Station. President Harding had been at Princeton, that day, to make the address at the dedication of the Battle Monument and to receive an honorary LL.D. degree from the University. Mr. Harding made a campaign speech in Trenton when he was a candidate for President in 1920. Mr. Coolidge, while Vice-President of the United States, made a campaign speech in Trenton for the Republican State ticket October 21, 1921. Both Herbert Hoover, the successful presidential candidate in 1928, and Alfred E. Smith, his Democratic opponent, had visited Trenton prior to their nominations, Mr. Hoover coming to speak at a chamber of commerce banquet, and Mr. Smith having spent an afternoon at the State House, when his friend Governor George S. Silzer occupied the executive office.

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With the election of Governor Wilson to the Presidency, in 1912, Trenton was visited by distinguished seekers for office, high and low. Shortly after his election, in November, the Wilson family went to Bermuda, where they remained upwards of a month, returning December 16. In the absence of the President-elect, Secretary Joseph P. Tumulty met the hosts of hopeful aspirants.

William Jennings Bryan, Albert Burleson, A. Mitchell Palmer, William Gibbs McAdoo, Carter Glass, Lindley M. Garrison, Josephus Daniels—all of whom became members of the cabinet—were among the outstanding Democrats who, at one time or another, journeyed to the State House to talk with Governor Wilson.

Bryan was the first party chieftain to be actually tendered a cabinet place. He came to Trenton from his winter home in Florida, December 21, 1912, and spent four hours closeted with Wilson in the private office of the governor. Later Bryan and Wilson went to luncheon together at the Hotel Sterling, which Wilson then frequented daily with Tumulty. Charles J. Fury was proprietor of the hotel at the time. During the luncheon the formal tender of the secretaryship of State was made by Wilson and the portfolio accepted by Bryan.

In his memoirs Bryan relates that at this meeting he told Wilson he was concerned regarding the excluding of intoxicating liquors at diplomatic functions given by the Secretary of State and that Wilson assured him he was perfectly free to do what he thought right. Subsequently Bryan's serving of grape juice, in place of champagne, to noted foreign representatives, attracted world-wide attention. But Wilson did not offer any criticism. Wilson was not himself a dry, using alcohol in moderation and enjoying wine with his meals. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who intensely hated Bryan, following his own defeat at the Baltimore Convention that gave Wilson the Presidential nomination, made a pilgrimage to Trenton, three days after the Bryan visit of December 21, and spent the greater part of Christmas Eve in a futile effort to head off the Bryan selection for Secretary of State. A detailed review of the Wilson political activities then centering in Tren-

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ton will be found in Chapters XVII, XVIII and XIX of my *Political Education of Woodrow Wilson* published in 1926 by the Century Company.

Wilson held on to the office of governor until the last day of February 1913, and he never again returned to Trenton. Nor did he ever spend a night at Princeton, following his departure to be inaugurated President. He did not have any homing impulse. His last public appearance in Trenton was at a big gathering of Sunday-school workers, the week before he quit the State House.

Under the leadership of the chamber of commerce, a serious attempt was made to have him come back to Trenton for a Wilson Old Home Day in the fall of 1914. For a time he appeared to hesitate, and to a Trenton delegation of which John E. Gill was chairman, and which waited upon him at the White House, October 26, 1914, he expressed something akin to affection. "All the politics that are in me I learned in New Jersey; I have been so near to Trenton all my life that I have always felt that deep sense of identification with it," he declared. Throughout the winter months repeated efforts were made to get a definite decision from the President. It was not forthcoming until April, when I received the following letter:

April 1, 1915.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington
Personal

My dear Kerney:

I have been hoping and hoping that it would be possible to come to Trenton and dine with the Chamber of Commerce, but it really is not and I cannot any longer conceal that from myself. Even the day I spent away this week trying to cultivate our relations with Argentina has cost me arrears of important work which should not have been piled up.

I am sure you know how heartily I should like to be there and that I would not have come to this decision if it were not absolutely necessary.

Always,

Cordially and faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. James Kerney,
c-o *Trenton Evening Times*, Trenton, New Jersey.

Until he entered the White House, he had lived practically all of his adult life nearby. But he never returned to Trenton

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save occasionally to detrain and take a motor for Long Branch, during the summer of 1916, when he occupied Shadow Lawn.

WASHINGTON CROSSING PARK

New Jersey and Pennsylvania, after more than a century and a quarter of neglect, have acquired the lands immediately adjacent to the spot where Washington made his memorable crossing of the Delaware River, seven miles above Trenton, and have created beautiful memorial parks. The name of the little hamlet on the Pennsylvania shore has been officially changed from Taylorsville to Washington Crossing, the latter being the name also of the settlement on the Jersey side. The State of New Jersey has expended \$215,000, by legislative appropriation, for the purchase of the necessary lands, which have been beautified. Formal dedication of the park took place June 5, 1927, the project having been completed under the State board of conservation and development. Howard F. McConnell, president of the board, in presenting the park, alluded to the fact that its accomplishment had resulted from seventeen years of agitation and effort. He paid high compliment to the work of John L. Kuser, Owen Winston and Henry L. Moeller, members of the conservation commission, for their zealous endeavors in furthering the realization of the park. Under provisions of an Act sponsored by Senator A. Crozer Reeves in the Legislature of 1928, the department of conservation and development is empowered to add some fifty acres to the three hundred and fifty acres previously authorized to be incorporated in New Jersey's Washington Crossing Park. At the same time the annual appropriations bill included an item of \$12,000 for the acquisition of Bear Tavern—one of the most important landmarks connected with the Battle of Trenton. Bear Tavern belongs to the few remaining authentic Colonial structures and its restoration and preservation will provide another valuable Revolutionary memorial.

The initial move to establish a park was made October 12, 1909. In the one hundred and thirty-three years intervening between that date and the fateful Christmas night that Washington and his tattered troops crossed the stream no serious

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attempt was made to have the national government or the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania acquire and conserve for posterity this hallowed spot along the Delaware. Usually when distinguished visitors came to Trenton they asked to be taken to the Crossing. Abraham Lincoln, on his way to be inaugurated President in 1860, stopped off at Trenton and, in an address delivered at the State House, referred to the fact that "away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, Weems' *Life of Washington*. I remember all the accounts there given of the battlefields and struggles for liberty of the country, and none fixed my imagination so deeply as the struggle here in Trenton." Mr. Lincoln emphasized "the crossing of the river" as among these early lasting impressions. Charles W. Fairbanks, Vice-President of the United States, visited Trenton in 1907 to speak at the annual dinner of the chamber of commerce, and the first point he asked to see was Washington Crossing. William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, came for the chamber of commerce annual dinner March 23, 1908, accompanied by Baron Takahira, Japanese Ambassador to the United States, and they made a like request.

But the only markers at the spot were two tablets,—one on the Pennsylvania shore, placed by the Bucks County Historical Society, and the other on the Jersey shore, placed by the Society of the Cincinnati. At the celebration of the first Columbus Day anniversary, October 12, 1909, I was asked by William L. Doyle, Grand Knight of the Trenton Council, Knights of Columbus, to emphasize the neglect. A big meeting was held in Taylor Opera House, in the evening, at which Governor John Franklin Fort of New Jersey, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Diomede Falconio, then papal delegate to the United States, and Bishop James A. McFaul were the speakers. At the close of the meeting, following a recital of the conditions at Washington Crossing, I offered the following resolution which the audience of upward of two thousand enthusiastically adopted:

WHEREAS, the crossing of the Delaware River by General Washington and his army, in the early morning of December 26, 1776, at a point seven miles above Trenton, was the strategic move that made possible the subsequent victory of the American arms over the British at Trenton—a victory

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that is recognized as having been the turning point in the Revolution; and WHEREAS, nothing has been done either by the national government or the governments of New Jersey and Pennsylvania to acquire and preserve the historic lands on either side of the river at this point where Washington made his memorable crossing; be it

Resolved, That the Governor of New Jersey be and he is hereby respectfully petitioned to invite a number of representative citizens, including our Senators and Representatives in Congress and the presidents of the Revolutionary societies of the State, to come together and formulate plans with the object in view of having the national government and the governments of Pennsylvania and New Jersey cooperate in acquiring and preserving as a public park the lands along the Delaware River at what is known as Washington Crossing; and be it further

Resolved, That all patriotic organizations be urgently invited to lend their active and earnest support to the movement.

Governor Fort gave the plan his ardent support and promptly appointed a preliminary commission to carry it into effect. At the following session of the New Jersey Legislature (Laws of 1910) a statute was enacted creating The Washington Crossing Commission with power to acquire the necessary lands and develop the park. This first commission, named by Governor Fort, included representatives of all the historical and patriotic organizations of the State, as well as of many civic bodies. An appropriation of \$25,000 was made by the Legislature and the first land purchased was one hundred acres from Alstyn and Eleanora Blackwell for \$18,000.

The State of Pennsylvania was invited to join in the movement. At a meeting of members of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Daughters of the Revolution, and Bucks County Historical Society, held in the old mansion at Taylorsville in 1913, the first Pennsylvania organization was set up. It was designated as the Washington Crossing National Park Commission and succeeded in having the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1913 pass a bill appropriating \$25,000 for the purchase of land covering historic sites in and around Taylorsville. The measure was lost, however, by the failure of Governor John K. Tener to sign it.

For several years the project languished in both States. Attempts were made to interest Woodrow Wilson when he succeeded Governor Fort as chief executive of New Jersey. He was so busily occupied with his reform program in his first legislative session (1911) that it was not possible to enlist his

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aid. In his subsequent two sessions as governor he was largely concerned with his campaign for the Presidency and was mostly on the wing.

In 1915 the balance of the funds in the hands of the New Jersey Washington Crossing commission was turned over to the State commission of conservation and development. In 1917 the Pennsylvania Legislature passed an Act appropriating \$25,000, which was promptly signed by Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh who, on October 23 of the same year, appointed an official commission. This body promptly organized and in the spring of 1918 began the purchase of historic houses and lands for the beautiful park that now adorns the Pennsylvania shore. The Pennsylvania section was formally dedicated in October 1921.

The agitation in Trenton was kept alive largely through the zeal of Charles K. Hammitt, who headed a chamber of commerce committee. Legislative appropriations were made until the total aggregated \$215,000. The department of conservation and development acquired approximately two hundred and fifty acres in addition to the initial Blackwell farm, restored the old McKonkey Ferry House, furnishing it in the style of the Colonial period, and brought out the natural beauty of the rich historic shrine. Thus far nothing has been done by the national government, but official representatives of New Jersey and Pennsylvania are energetically at work, hoping to secure eventually a fine Washington Memorial Bridge to span the river.

TOLL BRIDGES ELIMINATED

Another noteworthy accomplishment of civic leaders of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, working in cooperation, is the elimination of toll bridges crossing the Delaware River. Like all such movements, the freeing of the bridges has involved persistent labor. Altogether eleven of the seventeen toll bridges, between Trenton and Milford, Pa., have been acquired jointly by the two States at a cost of \$1,250,000. Many years of patient endeavor on the part of unselfish community leaders and constant agitation on the part of Trenton newspapers are represented in this development. John A. Campbell, E. Smith

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Lamson and S. E. Kaufman were among the pioneers in advocating elimination of toll bridges across the Delaware. In later years all three served as members of the joint New Jersey-Pennsylvania commission on free bridges, and performed useful service for Trenton and the State.

Legislative interest in the acquisition of the bridges by the States was first manifested in 1908. But no appropriation was made. In 1912 the New Jersey Legislature provided half a million dollars for the freeing of the bridges. Each year there was to be an appropriation of \$100,000 until the work had been finished. All of the appropriations were contingent upon like action by the Pennsylvania Legislature. But Pennsylvania did not act.

Mr. Campbell was appointed to head the New Jersey free bridge commission and, for several years, sought effective cooperation on the part of Pennsylvania. Louis Focht, engineer of the State board of taxes and assessments, likewise became a member of the commission and has rendered invaluable service as superintendent and engineer. The chamber of commerce, the Rotary Club and other civic bodies joined ardently in the movement, and the Trenton newspapers kept up an unceasing agitation. Mr. Campbell, accompanied by Frank Thompson of the *Trenton Times*, made numerous pilgrimages to Harrisburg. Governor Brumbaugh finally took hold of the matter for Pennsylvania and a program was worked out between himself and Mr. Campbell and their associates.

A joint New Jersey-Pennsylvania free bridge commission was set up. The initial New Jersey appropriations having lapsed, new legislation was necessary. The financial policy agreed upon between Mr. Campbell, Governor Brumbaugh and their associates, provided that each State should expend \$1,000,000, the money to be available in annual instalments of \$100,000 until the job had been completed.

Under this plan a fund of \$400,000, each State having made appropriations over a two-year period of \$200,000, became available November 1, 1917. Immediately thereafter Mr. Campbell opened negotiations with the Pennsylvania Railroad for the purchase of the old South Trenton-Morrisville bridge.

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The railroad, having erected a new bridge lower down the river, offered to sell to the two States at a price fixed by the joint commission. Early in 1918 the bridge was taken over by the public, the States paying \$240,000 for it.

Nine years later, the bridge having become an important link in the Lincoln Highway carrying the heavy trucking traffic between Philadelphia and New York, Senator A. Crozer Reeves secured an appropriation of \$325,000 for the rebuilding of the structure. A similar appropriation of \$325,000 was made by Pennsylvania and the span was doubled in width, providing four traffic lanes and two foot-ways. Inasmuch as the greater part of the damage to the bridge had been caused by heavy motor trucks, the New Jersey appropriation for rebuilding was taken from the receipts of the motor vehicle department.

With the exception of the war period, the Trenton chamber of commerce has maintained on the Free Bridge the largest electrical municipal sign in the world, proclaiming "Trenton Makes—The World Takes" to literally millions of passersby.

Following the purchase of the lower Trenton-Morrisville bridge in 1918, the joint free bridge commission had careful appraisals made of the bridges between Trenton and Milford. Tentative valuations were placed on all the bridges and as appropriations became available offers to purchase were made. Eleven bridges have thus far been acquired through amicable negotiations and without resort to condemnation.

In addition to the lower Trenton-Morrisville bridge the Delaware bridges now free, their purchase price and the time of purchase are: Point Pleasant-Byram, \$30,000, 1919; Lambertville-New Hope, \$225,000, 1919; Easton-Phillipsburg, \$300,000, 1921; Milford-Montague Township, \$31,000, 1922; Washington Crossing, \$40,000, 1922; Yardley-Wilburtha, \$67,500, 1922; Reigelsville, \$50,000, 1923; Center Bridge-Stockton, \$10,000, 1925; Portland-Columbia, \$50,000, 1927; Calhoun Street, Trenton, \$250,000, 1928.

After eight years of distinguished service, Mr. Campbell resigned as a member of the joint bridge commission January 12, 1921. He was succeeded by Mr. Lamson, who served until the time of his death in December 1923. Mr. Kaufman con-

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tinues to be a member and president of the commission. Other Trentonians to serve on the commission included the late Watson H. Linburg and Fred R. Parker.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD IMPROVEMENTS

In the past few years notable improvements, involving several million dollars, have been undertaken in Trenton by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Due to the alliances between railroad officials and political leaders, the city, although one of the big earners in both freight and passenger revenues, was long neglected. The Reading Railway from New York to Philadelphia was the outcome of differences between the old Trenton Board of Trade and the Pennsylvania—then the single railroad serving the city. The matter of a competitive road was first broached in the board of trade, and despite considerable opposition a company was formed to build a new road from Bound Brook to Philadelphia, connecting both ends with already existing railroads. Thereby the present line of the Reading Railway, serving Trenton with a branch line from Trenton Junction, was created as a competitive system.

With the development that signalized the opening of the twentieth century in Trenton, there came a partial awakening on the part of the Pennsylvania. November 28, 1900, the railroad began the purchase of land in South Trenton as preliminary to the construction of its new passenger bridge over the Delaware and the straightening and making a four-track system of the main line through the city. The first train crossed the new railroad bridge August 23, 1903, and the old bridge, later acquired by the State, was abandoned for railroad purposes September 13, 1923. The following year the company decided to locate car shops in Trenton and a large tract, adjacent to the Inter-State Fair Grounds, was acquired. Work on the building of the car shops began April 4, 1904.

With the coming of commission government in 1911, there began a serious demand, on the part of the press and municipal officials, for relief. Mayor Donnelly and City Engineer (now director of public works) Swan, undertook to interest President Samuel Rae of the Pennsylvania in the idea of providing

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better freight facilities. President Rae and Assistant Chief Engineer Edward B. Temple inspected the antiquated depot on East State Street and looked over sites which might afford a chance to expand without adding further to the traffic congestion in the center of the city. It was found that the depot could handle only forty-three cars at a time and furthermore that the traffic converging at the point was a serious menace to the community. Mr. Swan suggested the removal of the depot to a point west of Olden Avenue, along the main line tracks of the company. No definite action was taken, the railroad company having then in contemplation the construction of a low-grade freight line, which would skirt the city, thus obviating the necessity of hauling heavy freight trains over the main line within the city limits.

City officials and representatives of the railroad company reached an understanding, July 17, 1915, for the elimination of drawbridges over the canal feeder at congested centers. The city agreed to aid in securing the passage of necessary legislation for abandonment of the feeder for navigation purposes. This plan was consummated and concrete street-wide bridges have taken the place of the old-style narrow wooden drawbridges at Prospect, Calhoun, Willow, Warren and Broad Streets.

The low-grade freight line, noted above, was in course of building when the United States entered the World War in 1917. Piers for a new bridge below Duck Island had been completed when the job was brought to a halt by the government. Owing to the many other demands for funds this construction work has not been resumed and several three-year extensions of the federal permit to bridge the Delaware River have been granted. One of these is now before Congress and if it is approved the railroad announces itself ready to proceed with construction not later than next year.

For several years following the close of the war, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the city commission and the chamber of commerce to get improved passenger facilities. When all other persuasive methods had apparently failed the *Trenton Times* began a crusade, October 28, 1922, by printing

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conspicuously each day at the foot of the first page, in two-column measure:

TRENTON'S WORST ADVERTISEMENT IS THE CLINTON STREET STATION
OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD. NO OTHER AMERICAN CITY OF LIKE
SIZE AND IMPORTANCE IS SERVED SO BADLY.

The railroad authorities professed to be unconcerned. Taking up the fight, Frank J. Eppele, president of the chamber of commerce, named a committee to confer with President Rae. Secretary Walter Lochner, of the chamber, wrote Mr. Rae November 20 asking for a conference date. Three weeks later Elisha Lee, vice-president of the Pennsylvania, advised the chamber of commerce that Mr. Rae would be absent for some time but that he, Mr. Lee, would be glad to meet the committee. Mr. Lee in his letter declared that he did not wish to hold out any unwarranted hopes "as the situation at the present time is not particularly propitious for the building of large new passenger stations."

Finally on December 20 a conference of the chamber of commerce committee with Mr. Rae and Mr. Lee was held at the Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, at which it was pointed out by the railroad officials that the financial situation was such as to prohibit the building of the new station. Mr. Lee was induced to come to Trenton for "Railroad Night" at the chamber of commerce, January 19, 1923, but he declined to make any definite promise. Meanwhile the *Times* kept daily repeating the first-page announcement about "Trenton's worst advertisement."

By March 7, 1923, word came from the railroad that certain minor changes would be undertaken at the Clinton Street Station. This was inconclusive and the crusade by the *Times* proceeded until May 31, 1923, when, at a further conference between the railroad officials and the chamber of commerce committee, announcement was made that improvements costing approximately \$1,000,000 would be started at once. For seven months the *Times* had continued daily to carry the message and on the day the definite word of the improvements came, May 31, 1923, the *Times* substituted in equally conspicuous type:

TODAY BRINGS THE CHEERING NEWS THAT THE TIMES' CONSTRUCTIVE
CRUSADE IS TO BE REWARDED, AND THE TIMES, IN TURN, IS GLAD TO

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BROADCAST THE FACT THAT, TOGETHER WITH THE STACY-TRENT HOTEL AND OTHER BIG DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST FEW YEARS, THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD STATION PROMISES TO BE ONE OF TRENTON'S BEST ADVERTISEMENTS.

At a meeting of the Pennsylvania directors, June 27, 1923, \$300,000 was voted for the initial work of rebuilding the station. The plans included three island platforms, each thirty feet wide and eleven hundred feet long, bigger than any others on the system. Two of these platforms have already been built at an estimated cost of \$600,000. The plans likewise called for two concrete concourses over the tracks with steel frames and enclosed in glass. The first of these concourses, intended for outbound passengers, has already been completed. It contains a cafeteria and a waiting room and is fifty feet wide. The other concourse will be located three hundred feet to the eastward and will be equipped for use of incoming passengers and for baggage. When completed the improvements will represent an outlay of more than one million dollars.

The controversy, while at times a trifle strenuous, resulted in a better understanding between the railroad and the public. Railroad officials, freed from political annoyance, were glad to deal candidly with the community. The old atmosphere of suspicion quickly gave way to one of square-dealing. Each side recognized the difficulties and the rights of the other and an era of good feeling ensued.

Upwards of another \$1,500,000 is now being expended by the Pennsylvania Company in building a new freight depot. It is located on the site, along the main line tracks, west of Olden Avenue, suggested by Director Swan in 1911. Frank J. Wetzel, chairman of the New Industries Committee of the chamber of commerce, and Archibald M. Maddock deserve a large measure of credit for securing the new freight depot at this particular time. In their zeal for bettering city conditions, they took the project up with leading officials of the railroad system—Vice-President Lee and Jules L. Eysmans, vice-president in charge of traffic. Mr. Eysmans had recently been made a director in the Trenton Banking Company and at once began showing a lively interest in community affairs.

General W. W. Atterbury, who had won fame as American

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director of transportation in France during the World War, had become president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, with which corporation he had been identified since his graduation from Yale in 1886. He was related to the Atterburys of Trenton and was a frequent visitor to the city in his boyhood days. It was not difficult to enlist his support.

Mr. Wetzel, who subsequently became a director in one of the railroad's chief subsidiaries, gave a dinner in honor of General Atterbury, Mr. Lee and Mr. Eysmans, March 17, 1928, to which he invited a number of prominent citizens of Trenton. During the evening Mr. Lee made the formal announcement that, earlier in the day, the board of directors of the Pennsylvania had authorized an initial appropriation of \$1,108,718 for the building of the new Trenton freight depot. Construction work was commenced immediately and is being energetically pushed to completion.

The new plant, costing approximately \$1,500,000, will include an inbound and an outbound freight house, with three island platforms between. Eight tracks will serve the two freight houses and the island platforms, giving the depot a total capacity of 120 cars. A team track delivery yard of fifty cars capacity is also being constructed immediately adjacent to the freight houses. The buildings are of brick and steel, entirely fireproof throughout. Adequate room is provided for future extension and expansion.

Within a short period, also, the passenger service over the main line of the Pennsylvania system operating through Trenton will be electrified.

Another early improvement contemplated by the railroad is the construction, in cooperation with the city and county, of an underpass crossing at Hermitage Avenue. This will provide relief similar to that at Parkside Avenue where the street is crossed by an overhead bridge and aqueduct. Pennsylvania officials have long desired the elimination of the dangerous Hermitage Avenue crossing. Both the railroad and the public at large are likewise anxious to see the Delaware and Raritan Canal abandoned. It is a menace to traffic and no longer serves any useful transportation purpose in Trenton.

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TRENTON'S FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

There have recently been consolidations into two groups of three of the older and two of the younger banking houses of the city. The Mercer Trust Company, incorporated in 1905, and the Colonial Trust Company, incorporated in 1919, were merged with the Trenton Trust Company, incorporated in 1888, under the title of the Trenton Trust Company, which had been in control of the two former institutions. This provides a bank with capital and surplus of approximately \$4,500,000 and deposits aggregating approximately \$25,000,000. The Real Estate Title Company, with assets of \$500,000, is controlled by the Trenton Trust Company, which likewise owns the American Mortgage Company, loan correspondent of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

A month after the merger of the above three banks, announcement was made, April 12, 1928, of the consolidation of the Mechanics National Bank, incorporated in 1834, with the First National Bank, incorporated in 1864, under the title of the First-Mechanics National Bank. This institution has a combined capital and surplus of approximately \$6,800,000 and total deposits of approximately \$31,000,000. Closely affiliated with the new First-Mechanics National Bank is the First National Company, organized December 8, 1927, to take over the investment banking business of Colonel Edward C. Rose, who had then recently become president of the First National Bank.

The aggregate capital, surplus and undivided profits of the banks existing in Trenton in 1900 was \$3,643,987, and the aggregate deposits \$11,148,899. At the close of 1927 the total capital, surplus and undivided profits of the Trenton banks, now numbering fourteen, had increased to \$17,291,402 and the total deposits were \$103,237,400. Postal Savings Banks were established in Trenton July 1, 1910, and at the end of 1927 had deposits of \$56,427.

Trenton had, in 1900, only one Building and Loan Association, with total resources of \$117,000. At the end of 1927 there were fifteen, with \$8,174,000 resources. The Standard Fire Insurance Company, incorporated in 1868, and of which Owen



TRENTON TRUST COMPANY BUILDING, BUILT 1925. WEST STATE STREET AND
CHANCERY LANE.

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J. Prior is president, had total assets in 1900 of \$291,000 and at the end of 1927 the total assets aggregated \$2,726,000.

There has been a striking change in the rosters of the banking institutions. Edward C. Stokes is the only Trenton bank president of 1900 to continue as an active official. He was then president of the Mechanics Bank and is now chairman of the board of the First-Mechanics National Bank. Another rugged survivor of the era is John A. Campbell, who became president of the Trenton Banking Company in 1904 and is now chairman of the board. Under Mr. Campbell, the Trenton Banking Company enjoyed its greatest era of prosperity and development. It is the oldest bank in the State, having been organized in 1804. The artistic building, on the site of the old Masonic Temple, at Warren and State Streets, contains one of the finest banking rooms in New Jersey. Mr. Campbell was succeeded as president of the Trenton Banking Company, in 1928, by William E. Green, who, following his graduation at Princeton, had always taken a lively part in the management of the sterling old institution.

It is interesting to note how many outstanding men who were serving in the bank directorates at the opening of the new century have since passed on. The list includes F. W. Roebing, Sr., Foster C. Griffith, Washington A. Roebing, Frank O. Briggs, Karl G. Roebing, Hugh H. Hamill, Barker Gummere, Jr., William S. Hancock, Elmer E. Green, Richard A. Donnelly, Charles A. May, Harry S. Maddock, Isaac F. Richey, Henry C. Kelsey, Edmund D. Cook, Richard P. Wilson, William H. Skirm, Benjamin F. Lee, William S. Stryker, Samuel K. Wilson, Watson H. Linburg, William I. Vannest, William Brokaw, Levi B. Risdon, Jonathan H. Blackwell, O. O. Bowman, G. D. W. Vroom, John H. Scudder, S. P. Dunham, William M. Lanning, Thomas S. Chambers, Abner R. Chambers and John C. Chambers.

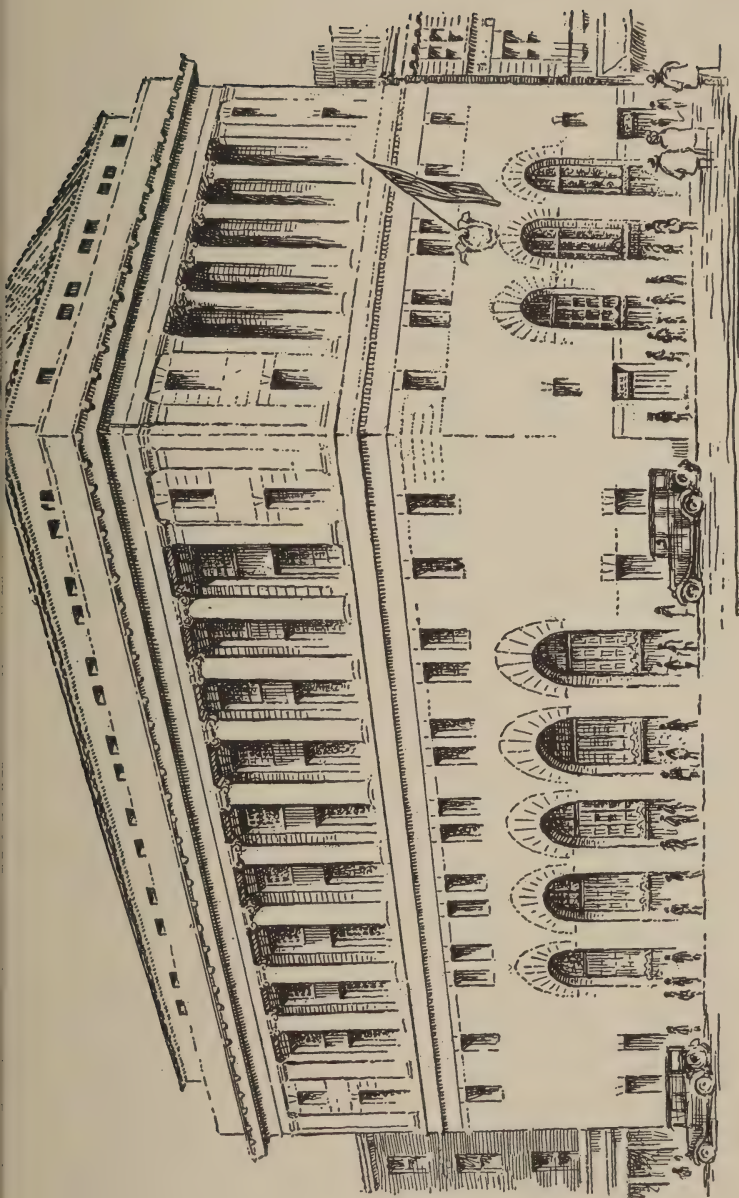
Early in 1911 negotiations were entered into with the controlling stockholders of the Trenton Trust Company by an out-of-town institution for the purchase of control. The Trenton Banking Company, with a desire in mind of keeping Trenton banking institutions in the hands of Trenton citizens, purchased

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the control, holding it until 1915, when it was resold to interests identified with the Trenton Trust Company. This sale was made without profit and exemplified the fine civic spirit of Trenton's oldest banking institution.

By the recent consolidations three men who are still young have attained conspicuous positions in Trenton's financial world. H. Arthur Smith, who began modestly as a junior clerk, was elevated to the presidency of the merged Trenton Trust Company banks. By patient industry and demonstrated capacity he worked his way up. In April 1914 he was made president of the Trenton Trust Company and occupied that office until the consolidation with the Mercer Trust and Colonial Trust. Arthur H. Wood, who started as an office boy in the First National Bank, had a like career. He was cashier of the First National when the new century opened and later succeeded to the presidency, from which latter position he retired December 8, 1927, to become chairman of the board of both the bank and the then recently formed First National Company. He was succeeded as president of the First National Bank by Colonel Edward C. Rose, an aggressive civic leader who had established an investment banking house of his own. Mr. Rose likewise became president of the First National Company. With the merging of the First National and the Mechanics National Banks, Mr. Wood was made president of the new institution and Colonel Rose chairman of the executive committee.

In the matter of architectural beauty the banks have blazed the way among commercial buildings. The Trenton Trust Company occupies the handsome new fourteen-story building at West State Street and Chancery Lane. It is the tallest building in the city, having been erected at a cost of \$2,000,000, on the site of the original home of the bank. Three adjoining properties on West State Street have been acquired for the enlargement necessitated by merging of the banks. The First-Mechanics National has plans for an imposing building, at the corner of State and Warren Streets, site of the original home of the Mechanics Bank. The valuable property owned by the First National Bank, at the corner of State and Broad Streets, will be used for a new office building.



THE PROPOSED FIRST-MECHANICS NATIONAL BANK BUILDING, FROM THE ARCHITECT'S DRAWING. TO BE ERECTED ON THE PRESENT SITE OF THE MECHANICS BANK, SOUTHWEST CORNER OF WEST STATE AND SOUTH WARREN STREETS. ON THIS SITE STOOD THE FAMOUS FRENCH ARMS TAVERN, WHERE THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET IN 1784 AND MANY OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS OCCURRED.

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General Wilbur F. Sadler became president of the Broad Street Bank in 1909, continuing in that office until his death in 1916. Oliver O. Bowman, who since its incorporation in 1887 had been the moving spirit in the bank, conceived the idea of removing the institution from its first location on South Broad Street to the present location at State and Montgomery Streets. It was under his guidance that Trenton's first skyscraper was there erected and the Broad Street Bank moved into it March 29, 1900. During General Sadler's term as president a twelve-story addition was made to the bank. This was done in 1915 and a further addition of nine stories, at the rear of the building, was made in 1924. Recently the Bowman interests in the bank have been acquired by a group of directors, some of whom have been identified with the institution since its founding. This group, which has a majority control of the stock and operates the bank, includes Senator A. Crozer Reeves, James J. Wilson, John V. B. Wicoff, W. J. B. Stokes, Edmund D. Voorhees, Charles S. Maddock, Jr., Ogden D. Wilkinson, Robert A. Messler and E. C. Hutchinson. George A. Katzenbach is president.

The Mercer Trust Company, of which Howard F. Tomlinson is the head, was started by interests associated with the Broad Street Bank and the Trenton Trust Company, and commenced business in the building formerly occupied by the Broad Street Bank at 201 South Broad Street. Its first president was William G. Howell, who served until 1925, and its first treasurer was H. Arthur Smith. At the end of 1915 the Mercer Trust Company purchased a site at the northeast corner of South Broad and Market Streets, where a new banking house was erected and opened to the public August 1, 1918. Alterations and additions to this building were made in the closing months of 1925.

In 1919 the Colonial Trust Company was organized through interests connected with the Trenton Trust and Safe Deposit Company and the Mercer Trust Company. This was located in the old Borough of Chambersburg, commencing in temporary quarters at 706-708 South Broad Street and moving to its present banking house at the corner of South Broad and Hudson Streets on January 2, 1922. This was followed by the incor-

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poration of the Capital City Trust Company, which opened for business at 7 South Broad Street May 2, 1921. Soon afterward there was chartered the Wilbur Trust Company, which opened for business in its new banking house at the corner of East State Street and Olden Avenue, January 10, 1922.

The first president of the Colonial Trust Company was Alfred K. Leuckel; of the Wilbur Trust Company, Frank J. Eppele; of The Capital City Trust Company, Isaac Goldberg. The first two are still serving, Mr. Goldberg having in the meantime become chairman of the board of directors of the Capital City Trust Company. Harry D. Leavitt succeeded Mr. Goldberg as president.

The next bank to open its doors was the Hanover Trust Company, at the corner of Perry and Broad Streets, February 25, 1922, its president being Newton A. K. Bugbee. This company's growth made it necessary to build an addition, which was occupied December 12, 1925.

In 1926 the Prospect National Bank, located on Princeton Avenue, was incorporated, its president from the beginning being George C. Crossley. Two new banks were incorporated in 1927—the Chambersburg Trust Company, at the corner of South Broad and Liberty Streets, its president being Bentley H. Pope; and the Security National Bank, at the corner of Brunswick and Olden Avenues, its president being J. Henry Fell.

Coincident with the passing of the federal law granting branch banking facilities under certain restrictions to national banks, there came into force a law of New Jersey allowing State banks to establish branches in the municipality in which they were doing business. Under the Federal Act the Mechanics Bank established a branch at 42 North Hermitage Avenue in September 1927 and under the State Act the Trenton Banking Company in the same month established a branch at 116 North Hermitage Avenue. The Mechanics Bank, June 24, 1928, opened another branch, to be known as "The Old Borough Branch," and located on South Broad near Dye Street.

In 1912, the First National Bank commenced a Christmas Savings Club, which was the first of the present-day popular clubs to be started in the city. In the same year, the School

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Savings Plan was inaugurated by the Trenton Trust Company, the Cadwalader School being the first to adopt the system. In 1914 there were three schools using this plan and at the end of 1925 there were sixty-two schools operating it, with a total of 26,750 pupils having accounts.

It was late in 1913 that the establishment of the Federal Reserve System was officially approved. Under its requirements all national banks became members of this system. It showed its value during the war period. Under its operation no currency stringency, like that of the 1907 panic, could exist. In addition to furnishing an elastic currency its chief benefits have been the getting together of reserves of the banks, the establishment of the rediscount market and the giving of a more effective supervision to banking.

A run on the Trenton Trust Company was started October 26, 1905. The bank was kept open until five o'clock in the afternoon and all demands were paid in full. The run was practically over at noon of October 27. Every other bank in the city extended its assistance. An editorial appearing in *The Trenton Sunday Advertiser* of October 29, 1905, said:

In so easily weathering the storm that suddenly broke upon it last week the Trenton Trust and Safe Deposit Company justified its own official reports of its soundness and the certification of the State banking commissioner and as a consequence must benefit largely by the experience. A fine feature of the occurrence was the readiness of capitalists, not connected as officers or customers with the company, to lend any assistance that might be needed in the emergency. No better tribute to its character and standing could have been offered and no action did more to allay the excitement that prevailed.

The loss of deposits was not great, as shown by the comparison of the published statements of about that time. The deposits on the published statement of August 25, 1905, were \$2,844,947 and on the published statement of November 9, 1905, they were \$2,533,000.

Almost without warning, a great financial panic broke upon New York in October 1907, and soon spread steadily to all parts of the country. While in most cities the banks declined to pay currency to their depositors, except for emergency, giving instead checks on their New York and Philadelphia correspondents, the Trenton banks continued to pay currency in full to

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their depositors. It was soon learned that some of them were taking advantage of this and selling the currency in New York at premiums running from two to ten per cent, which made it necessary thereafter for each depositor who wanted to draw currency to explain for what purpose it was to be used. The banks weathered this panic as they had all others in their history and took care of local business requirements, as well as the demands of their depositors.

The Trenton Clearing House Association was organized in 1907. It is a valuable part of the banking system, not only in facilitating the daily exchanges and settlements, but through its membership bringing about a fine cooperative spirit that not alone helps the banks but through this cooperation assures to the public the continuation of high standards.

During the period of the war the banks subscribed liberally to the Liberty Loans. They took care of the bonds for subscribers free of cost and paid for advertisements in the newspapers to further their sale. In addition they contributed to the various Red Cross war drives and did everything possible to further the success of the United States in the war.

In 1923 there was organized in Trenton a chapter of the American Institute of Banking in which great interest was taken amongst the younger bankers of the city through its educational classes. In the term ending June 1928 there were two hundred and forty-six students enrolled in the following courses: Banking Fundamentals, Commercial Law, Negotiable Instruments Law, Economics, Standard Banking.

TRENTON'S EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

There is no finer barometer of Trenton's advance than the recent progress in the public school situation. At its meeting of June 22, 1928, the city commission, without a dissenting ballot, voted to appropriate \$2,500,000 for the first unit of the new Central Senior High School, to be located on the Chambers tract of thirty-six acres, acquired in October 1922 at a cost of \$299,000. The first unit is planned to accommodate three thousand pupils.

When completed this High School will consist of a group of independent buildings and will be the peer of any like institution

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in the country. It will be a monument to Dr. William A. Wetzel, for twenty-eight years principal of the Senior High School and to Dr. William J. Bickett, city superintendent of schools for the past eight years. Dr. Wetzel conceived the idea and energetically directed the promotional work over a period of years. Dr. Bickett, who came into the situation when political and other differences seriously menaced Trenton's school system, was a persistent advocate of the new Central Senior High School from the time he became city school superintendent in September 1920. Against what appeared to be staggering odds, they eventually carried the day and are deserving of a large measure of credit.

They likewise are entitled to much of the glory that goes with the establishment of Junior High Schools in Trenton. Dr. Bickett, in 1922, formulated a school program, which embraced three modernly equipped Junior High Schools and the new Central Senior High School. In February 1922, the *Times* had inaugurated a crusade for adequate school facilities.

Back in 1916 Dr. Wetzel had succeeded in having the first Junior High School opened on Princeton Avenue and for a number of years he served as principal of the new school in addition to carrying on as principal of the Senior High School. It was the first building for junior school purposes erected in the State of New Jersey.

Before the Trenton board of education gave its approval to the Junior High School system, March 21, 1914, Dr. Wetzel had promoted the idea for about a year through newspaper articles, addresses and a document prepared at the request of Dr. Calvin Kendall, state superintendent of public instruction, and published by the New Jersey Council of Education.

While Dr. Wetzel was responsible for the pedagogical presentation of the project, Herman Mueller, of the board of education, made the chief contribution towards the future training of intelligent artisans. Mr. Mueller had the courage to visualize a new building with shops, laboratories, drawing rooms, cooking and sewing rooms that would provide a useful and diversified education for all types of children. He grasped the educational significance of the shop as few school men did. He also

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saw the significance of teaching the fundamentals of drawing, including perspective drawing, to all children, with the possibility of later discovering the few who might have creative skill and of turning these in the direction of further study of design and art.

When their somewhat novel educational plan had matured, Dr. Wetzel and Mr. Mueller were given fine cooperation by Joseph L. Bodine, Henry C. Buchanan and Samuel H. Bullock, members of the Trenton board of education.

Shortly after the completion of Junior School No. 1, in 1916, there began an unwholesome controversy in school circles. It was engendered chiefly by the empty hatreds and passions incidental to the World War. The net result was the enforced retirement of several solid members of the board of education, who had served the community well, and the complete demoralization of the educational system.

Between 1916 and 1920 Trenton appropriated no moneys for school buildings save an item of \$37,922 for alterations at the Skelton School in 1919. In the latter year Ebenezer Mackey, city superintendent of schools since 1902, died. Zenos Scott was named as his successor, but, owing to the bitter political muddle existing in the school situation, he retired at the end of a year. He was succeeded by Dr. Bickett in September 1920, and a better era dawned. Doctor Bickett promptly displayed patient and intelligent energy and a stiff backbone. Responsible citizens had naturally been reluctant to accept membership on the board of education. The community was given an added shock when Counsellor James Hammond, president of the board, and a pseudo reformer, absconded, having misappropriated approximately \$80,000 of clients' moneys, chiefly building and loan funds. Hammond was a professional patriot, with considerable political importance. He had come up from a potter's bench, had been state senator and assistant prosecutor of the pleas. His speculations only affected uninfluential working folks, and the efforts to apprehend him were none too diligent. He is still missing. In time the personnel of the board of education was improved and public confidence restored.

With the passing of 1926 the three Junior High Schools,

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urged in the 1922 Bickett program, had been completed and were in use. These three schools cost the city approximately \$3,200,000. The Junior High School on Princeton Avenue, completed in 1916, had cost, with furniture, approximately \$300,000. Junior High School No. 2, built in 1922-23—the Lincoln School for Colored Children, on North Montgomery Street—cost \$618,171. Junior High School No. 3, at West State Street and Parkside Avenue, built in 1923-24, cost \$1,035,372. Junior High School No. 4, located on Dayton Street and built in 1925-26, cost \$1,316,529.

In their various campaigns, Dr. Bickett and Dr. Wetzel had the untiring support of the *Trenton Times*, always interested in anything making for the betterment of the Public School system. It was a labor of love and devotion to an appealing cause, requiring infinite patience until the victory came.

The chamber of commerce and the Rotary Club, as well as other civic bodies, gave helpful encouragement. Under the leadership of Bruce Bedford, president of the chamber of commerce, who subsequently consented to serve on the board of education, a meeting of business leaders, with the city commission and educational authorities, was held at the Carteret Club, in the winter of 1928. There was a frank discussion of the new Central High School project as well as of other school needs. This conference was enlightening and played a useful part in cementing community support.

The enormous cost of the new Central Senior High School, together with the multitude of other contemplated municipal developments being stressed, naturally caused the city commission to proceed with deliberation and caution. Before the final appropriation was made, June 22, 1928, a public hearing was given in the Commission Chamber of the City Hall to which all citizens were invited. There was a large outpouring. All expressed approval. The only dissent came in form of a written communication from the Trenton real estate board, which expressed opposition because of the high cost of the project. The city commission courageously met the situation by voting the appropriation, which required a bond issue to be made sometime within the year.

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An idea of the changing conditions may be had from the fact that the old Senior High School, constructed and opened in 1900, cost \$139,653, including the lot, building and furniture. Dr. Wetzel became principal of that high school December 18, 1900. Trenton expended for the entire operating costs of the public schools in 1900 the sum of \$167,272. For the year 1928 the city appropriated the sum of \$2,413,324 for the operating costs of the public schools. The first graduating class in the present high school building, in June 1901, numbered seventy-four. The graduating class in June 1927 numbered three hundred and eighty-one, and the class in June 1928 exceeded four hundred in number.

In 1901 the High School was regarded as select, consisting largely of college preparatory students. Today it has been expanded into a school offering suitable courses for many types of pupils. In 1901 pupils with low scholastic ability were eliminated; today special courses are planned for such pupils. For the last sixteen years Dr. Wetzel has taken each senior class to Washington and the school has inculcated a spirit of service. A number of historic places have been marked with bronze tablets by the pupils of the High School and, as noted elsewhere, under the leadership of Dr. Wetzel the school children of Trenton raised the money to restore the Douglass House and remove it to Mahlon Stacy Park.

Since 1905 every class has left a worthwhile memorial. Among these gifts are an athletic field, 1906; field house, 1910; pipe organ in Senior High School, 1910; mural decorations in Senior High School, concert grand piano with Ampico attachment, memorial gate at the athletic field, pipe organ in Junior School No. 1, and Swayze memorial in the high school building. This latter memorial is a bronze tablet erected in honor of Jacob Lawrence Swayze (father of Justice Swayze) once a citizen of Trenton, member of the constitutional commission of 1873, and the author of the resolution which led to the amendment of the State constitution in a clause which insures a thorough and efficient system of "Free Public Schools to all children between the ages of five and eighteen years." This tablet includes a

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portrait of Mr. Swayze modelled by Herman Mueller. The tablet was erected on June 9, 1916.

In the years intervening between 1900 and 1928 Trenton built, besides the four handsome junior high schools, seven fine grammar schools. Seven additional grammar schools were remade, the alterations for the Jefferson School enlargements alone costing \$307,097.

For the purpose of assisting worthy students, of the High School the *Trenton Times* in 1919 announced that three college scholarships would thereafter be annually awarded. Selection of the winners is made by the faculty of the school. The basis of the awards is scholarship and school leadership. The plan has now been in operation for ten years. The number of recipients, however, totals thirty-one, because in 1927 two students were tied for third place and the award was divided between them. The winners, with the higher institutions they have attended, are:

1919—Charles Bunting, A.B. Bucknell University; John Dewar Cochrane, Jr., B.Sc., Ch.E. and M.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Charles Schragger, B.Sc. Lehigh University.

1920—Sidney Goldmann, B.S. Harvard, LL.B. Harvard Law School; Isadore G. Black, A.B. Harvard; Miss Elizabeth Ford, graduated in Accountancy from Rider College.

1921—Thomas Walker, Lafayette College; Mannie Mallowitz, Rutgers, Harvard and Tulane Universities, from which latter institution he was graduated in medicine in 1927; Lewis M. Parker, A.B. Princeton University.

1922—Carrol R. Wetzel, A.B. Wesleyan University; George W. Acock, B.Sc. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, M.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Robert Applestein, Lafayette and Jefferson Medical Colleges, graduating in medicine in 1928.

1923—Miss Frances B. Norton, A.M. New Jersey College for Women; Edmund W. Burroughs, A.B. Princeton University; Bernard Forer, A.B. Rutgers.

1924—Robert J. Boyd, B.Com.Sc. Rider College; Alfred Habas, Columbia University, Hebrew Union College and A.B., University of Cincinnati; William G. Bahr, A.B. University of Pennsylvania.

1924—Paul Hartman, Springfield College; Henry Levin, University of Pennsylvania; Covert Hunter, Yale.

1926—Malcolm G. Leigh, Rutgers; Robert B. Pinerman, Rutgers; Aaron J. Axelrod, Philadelphia College of Pharmacy.

1927—Lester J. Finkle, Philip E. Albert, Morris Robinson and Joseph Forer. All are now at higher institutions of learning.

1928—Maurice Donahue, Simon Bahr and Frank Kunca.

Annual scholarships are likewise awarded at the High School

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by the Contemporary Club and the Trenton College Club. These scholarships are for young women. The winners of the Contemporary scholarships are: 1923, Elizabeth Ledden; 1924, Beatrice Shill; 1925, Marjorie Lang; 1926, Margaret E. Vliet; 1927, Phoebe Gaskill; 1928, Doris Swain. When the College Club first inaugurated the plan in 1916 a single annual scholarship was awarded. In 1924 the College Club doubled the award and two annual scholarships are now given. The winners of the College Club scholarships are: 1916, Florence Rogers; 1917, Alice Hartman; 1918, Cora Hughes; 1919, Helen Carey; 1920, Anna P. Gulette; 1921, Lynette Maas; 1922, Mildred Pruitt; 1923, Mary Lapin; 1924, Eleanor Lee and Ethel Young; 1925, Dorothy Woodruff and Bessie Hunt; 1926, Dorothy Gardner and Elsie Randall; 1927, Louise Swain and Frances Weibel; 1928, Katherine Vliet and Margaret Sykes. The Trenton Business and Professional Women's Club annually awards a silver cup to the girl with the highest scholastic record in the commercial department during her senior year.

Trenton Rotary has established the Lion L. Woodward Educational Fund, in memory of a former president of the organization. The purpose of this fund is to provide, either by means of a loan or a direct gift, moneys for the assistance of boys to pursue their preparatory school or college education. For the present one thousand dollars annually is being expended. Rotary is raising a permanent fund of \$25,000. When this is obtained the interest, amounting to approximately \$1,500 annually, will be expended.

In addition to its city schools Trenton is singularly blessed with a group of excellent parochial grammar and high schools, but in this chapter I have not touched upon the many church and religious developments during the twentieth century. These activities are comprehensively considered in another chapter, compiled by the Rev. Hamilton Schuyler, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church.

The State Normal School, located on North Clinton Avenue, is shortly to be replaced by new buildings at Hillwood Lakes, which will be the last word in an institution especially designed for the training of teachers. Rider College, with its handsome

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building at East State and Carroll Streets, is one of the foremost commercial schools of America. It attracts students from many parts of the world.

Another advantage, in an educational way, is the proximity to Trenton of institutions of higher learning. Princeton University is ten miles distant in the wealthy residential and historic borough of Princeton. Lawrenceville, one of the outstanding preparatory schools of America, is less than five miles away. Other secondary schools located within Mercer County are Peddie Institute, at Hightstown, and Pennington Seminary, at Pennington. In addition there are various private, finishing and preparatory schools in Princeton.

THE CIVIC CUP

With a view of honoring the type of citizenship that renders ennobling and unselfish service to the community, the *Trenton Times* early in 1922 announced that it would annually award a civic cup. The handsome trophy, designed and made by Tiffany, is decorated with the city seal surrounded by the words "Propter Amplissima In Urbem Merita" ("Because of Conspicuous Service for the City"). Six of these civic cups have now been presented, the recipients being Andrew J. Berrien, 1922; Mayor Frederick W. Donnelly, 1923; Mrs. Julia Silvers Dunham, 1924; Ferdinand W. Roebling, Jr., 1925; John A. Campbell, 1926; Rev. Gill Robb Wilson, 1927. Governor George S. Silzer made the official presentations to Mr. Berrien, Mayor Donnelly and Mrs. Dunham, while the cups to Mr. Roebling, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Wilson were presented by Governor A. Harry Moore.

A board of judges, representing the city commission and leading professional and civic organizations makes the award. Each year a new board is named. The award is announced January 1. Nominations for the cup are open to all citizens of Trenton. These nominations are for the guidance of the board of award and in no sense binding. The board of award has the power to consider other names and pass the final judgment.

There is no service barred. Moral, spiritual, physical and material service are taken into consideration. It is the primary intent of the donors that the cup shall be awarded for some out-

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standing and unselfish act of service, either to the community or to mankind, during the year of the award. If, however, any board of award finds that no service, in a given year, merits the honor, it is empowered to award the cup to the person it shall deem best qualified on the basis of exhibiting a high type of citizenship as revealed in personal character, excellence of example and continuous service to the community, whether manifested in public or private life. In general the aim of the award is to indicate a representative type of fine citizen who may be commended to the community as worthy of public esteem.

Announcement was made, on the occasion of the presentation of the first cup, that the *Trenton Times* would set up a special fund for the creation of the Trenton Children's Foundation. All unexpended balances in the Ice Fund for the Poor, conducted during the summer by the *Times*, and the Poor Kiddies' Christmas Fund are turned over to the Foundation, of which the members of the first board of award and officers of the *Times* are the trustees. Judge Joseph L. Bodine, who represented the Symposium on the board of award, is the president of the fund and Edward W. Lee, who represented the city commission, is treasurer. The other trustees and the organizations they represent are Charles S. Maddock, Jr., chamber of commerce; Edward L. Katzenbach, Rotary; Miss Helen G. Laffan, Business and Professional Women's Club; Mrs. Edwin H. Ginnelley, The Contemporary; Miss Grace Dunn, Teachers' Club; Hervey S. Moore, Lions; George E. Hoffman, Kiwanis; A. Crozer Reeves, James Kerney and Thomas L. Kerney, the *Times*; and John A. Campbell, representing the Trenton Banking Company, custodian of the fund. The present balance is in excess of \$14,000 and the moneys will eventually be used either as the nucleus for a children's hospital, a swimming pool, or other project of direct benefit to the children of the community.

THE HOTELS, THEATERS AND CLUBS

All of the old hotel properties in the city changed hands during the early part of the twentieth century. William S. Hancock and Barker Gummere, who had long been dominant factors in Taylor Opera House, purchased the United States Hotel in

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1902, for the purpose of erecting on the site the Trent Theatre, which was opened September 7, 1903. Ogden D. Wilkinson at the same time erected the State Theatre (now Ten Eyck's Thropp Theatre), which was opened December 9, 1903.

This produced a lively theatrical war and, when the marvel of moving pictures burst upon an astonished public sometime later, the pace was quickened until Trenton now has thirty-one playhouses. The Taylor Opera House and the Trent Theatre, together with numerous others, have been taken over by Frank V. Storrs and Walter Reade, becoming a part of the Keith circuit. The palatial new Lincoln Theatre on North Warren Street, opened in 1928, was built by Milton Hirschfield, Charles C. Hildinger and their associates, pioneers in the moving-picture field in Trenton. George B. Ten Eyck is likewise successfully operating a group of excellent theaters.

About the time he built the State Theatre Mr. Wilkinson purchased several large blocks of business property in the center of the city. Included in his purchases was the old State Street House, now the Hotel Sterling, at the corner of West State Street and Chancery Lane. Mr. Wilkinson bought this property from the Samuel K. Wilson Estate in May, 1902, for \$16,000.

Colonel Mahlon R. Margerum purchased the Hotel Windsor March 27, 1905. After operating the property for several years he sold it to the Trenton Trust Company, which contemplated erecting a banking house there. Subsequently the Trust Company decided to remain at the corner of State Street and Chancery Lane, where its original home stood, and erected its fourteen-story banking house, costing \$2,000,000. In 1908, in association with John L. Kuser, R. V. Kuser and B. C. Kuser, Colonel Margerum purchased the old Trenton House, long controlled and operated by the Katzenbachs. Under the management of Peter Katzenbach it had acquired considerable fame among eastern hotels. In 1912 the Kuser interests purchased the American House at the corner of Warren and West Hanover Streets.

The Contemporary Club was the first organization to acquire a home on West State Street. The present building was bought

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in April 1912 and The Contemporary occupied it in the fall. That was the beginning of a marked change in the character of West State Street.

Up until that time West State Street, beyond the Capitol, had continued to be exclusively residential. In 1921 the Carteret Club, foremost among the city's social bodies, acquired the spacious Charles G. Roebling mansion, remodelling and enlarging it. In 1922 the Progress Club acquired the Broughton house, adjoining The Contemporary, which was converted into a fine club house. In 1923 the Trenton Club took over and occupied the Karl G. Roebling home.

Erection of a \$300,000 mosque by Crescent Temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, is now under way. The new mosque is located at the southeast corner of Clinton Avenue and Wall Street. The splendid mosque, just across the way on Clinton Avenue, erected a few years earlier at a cost of \$100,000, is to be transferred to the Trenton Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite Masons, which body contemplates razing the building and erecting a fine temple on the site. Several of the city's leading social organizations have substantial homes of their own. The Moose, with a membership approximating five thousand, erected a commodious home on East State Street, close by the Municipal Building. The Elks, the Eagles and the Ancient Order of Hibernians each have substantial homes on North Warren Street.

The Trenton Press Club has a limited membership of one hundred, including associate members. The veteran editorial writer for the *Trenton Times*, Henry C. Buchanan, is president and Thomas F. Riley, treasurer of the board of trustees of the School of Industrial Arts, is treasurer. They have successfully managed the Press Club for upwards of a quarter of a century.

Another organization that plays an important part in advancing the community is the Federal Club, which annually gives a banquet in recognition of useful service on the part of some citizen. The Federal Club, knowing no race or creed, entertains the great and the ungreat. It has existed for twenty years, without a change in officers. Joshua Delaney is president, Harry Klag, secretary, and James H. Tallon, treasurer.

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The so-called luncheon or service clubs have contributed much to the promotion of a more vigorous and forward-looking civic spirit. Each club lays emphasis on high ethical standards in business and professional life. The general scheme of membership is to have only one or two members from any single business or profession.

The Rotary Club, first in the field, acquired Park Island which, in 1920, was renamed Rotary Island. The *Trenton Times* made the first contribution of \$1,000. For many years the *Times* had raised the money to conduct a summer camp at Avon for anemic and under-nourished children. This work was transferred to Rotary Island, where it is carried on under the direction of the Mercer County Health League.⁴ During the presidency of the Rev. Peter K. Emmons, several Rotarians were induced to accept membership on the school board and aid in the rejuvenation of the educational system, following the disastrous muddling of the post-war period.

A constructive work among future citizens is carried on by the Kiwanis Club, which, in 1923, established a camp for Boy Scouts at Pahaquarra. Much of the credit for this is due to the untiring efforts of Christopher Cartlidge, treasurer of the Boy Scouts and chairman of the camp committee of Kiwanis. Shortly after its organization, December 4, 1918, the Kiwanis Club agreed to underwrite the financial needs of the Boy Scouts. Since that time an annual drive for approximately \$20,000 has been conducted by Kiwanis to provide for the operation of the Scout movement.

In 1923 the *Trenton Times* donated \$1,000 towards a fund for a camp site. This was promptly followed by gifts of \$1,000 each from Mr. Cartlidge, S. E. Kaufman and Siegfried Roebling. Clifford H. Oakley and Charles S. Maddock, Jr., gave \$500 each. Mr. Cartlidge, who had investigated more than seventy-five sites, proceeded to purchase 1,500 acres along the Delaware River at Pahaquarra for approximately \$20,000. With the \$5,000 that had been donated he made the initial payment. Since the camp was established as many as 108 Trenton boys have gone

⁴ See Chap. IX, "Charitable Institutions, Public Welfare and Social Agencies."

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there in a single season. Facilities for taking care of two hundred boys at one time have recently been installed. Annual deficits for maintenance and equipment, ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,000, are provided personally, in equal shares, by Mr. Cartlidge and Mr. Roebling.

Robert C. Roebling has given his cruiser, *The Ballantrae*, for the Sea-Scouts, under command of Clifford H. Oakley. Mr. Roebling has had the boat reconditioned and Mr. Oakley has enlisted a group of citizens to provide \$10,000 for the operation of the Sea-Scouts during a three-year period.

Another factor in the life of the community is the Inter-State Fair, which has had its biggest development during the present century. R. V. Kuser, president of the Fair Association since 1920, served as treasurer of the institution from 1900 to the time of his election to the presidency. Colonel Mahlon R. Margerum has been secretary during the period since 1900. There is an erroneous impression obtaining that the Kuser family, which has always been active in the development of the Fair, owns a control. The stock is widely scattered. The Kusers own 2,042 out of a total of 6,750 shares, John L. Kuser, with 885 shares, being the largest individual stockholder. Many new fireproof buildings, including two new grandstands, automobile show rooms, coliseum, and cattle barns have been erected in the past few years. The total appraised value of the buildings is \$700,000.

For the past thirty years the Kuser interests have supplied ice free of charge to St. Francis' Hospital, Mercer Hospital and McKinley Hospital. They likewise supply ice free of charge to the New Jersey Children's Home, St. James' Day Nursery and to the Trenton Times Ice Fund.

THE NEW POSTOFFICE

After years of aggressive agitation, Trenton is to have a new postoffice building. It will occupy the entire block on the northerly side of East State Street, between the canal and Carroll Street, including the site of the old Pennsylvania freight depot. The plot fronts 278 feet on State Street, with a depth of 347 feet, and the government contemplates the erection of a massive building, of ornamental design, that will supply the needs of the community for a hundred years or more.

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An appropriation of \$1,650,000 has been made by Congress, through the energetic work of Dr. Charles A. Eaton, Representative of the Fourth District. Dr. Eaton, at the beginning of his first term in Congress, in 1925, introduced a bill providing for the postoffice and the appropriation was finally made in 1928.

It was the original intention to erect the building on the site of the old postoffice at East State and Montgomery Streets. Owners of adjoining properties, necessary for an adequate site, sent the realty prices soaring. The government declined to accept the avaricious demands, and, after a careful survey, it was decided to take over the old Pennsylvania Railroad depot, with the needed adjoining properties.

Unprejudiced public sentiment backed the proposed new location because of the general eastward extension of business, as well as the promised relief of traffic congestion in the downtown section. Elimination of the freight depot will in itself provide two immediate and important traffic improvements: removal of heavy truck concentration during peak automobile traffic hours, and discontinuance of trains drilling across Perry Street, at the canal, the source of so many vexatious delays.

The new Federal Building will be strategically located for swift delivery of mail to all parts of the city. East Hanover Street is to be extended to Carroll Street with a street-wide bridge. But a single track of railroad will be continued along the canal, with only one or two freight trains a day passing over it. The postoffice will have direct railroad facilities for the expeditious loading and unloading of heavy mails. It is anticipated that many civic improvements will be instituted in the vicinity, the city having long contemplated some beautification development in connection with the Municipal Building and Armory, located on the westerly side of the canal.

When the site was decided upon, Pennsylvania Railroad officials offered splendid cooperation, but owners of other necessary property proceeded to demand enormous prices—some being two hundred per cent of the assessed taxable valuations. This course compelled the government to resort to condemnation proceedings and it seems probable that a period of two

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years will elapse before the building will be ready for occupancy. Meanwhile the postoffice and United States courts will continue to occupy the building at East State and Montgomery Streets.

This latter building, the first federal structure to be erected in Trenton, was completed in 1876. Prior to that time the postoffice was located at various points in the center of the city, usually in the neighborhood of Warren and State Streets—known then as the Postoffice Corner. As long ago as 1734 Andrew Reed, having been appointed postmaster, served public notice that he would conduct the business at the store of his father, Joseph Reed, at the northwest corner of King and Second Streets, now the site of the Trenton Banking Company at Warren and State Streets. From that time, the location shifted with the naming of each postmaster, until the construction of the Federal Building at State and Montgomery Streets, fifty-two years ago.

I am indebted to Winfield S. Fell, superintendent of mails in the Trenton Postoffice, for the early historical data. According to Mr. Fell, who made a thorough research, the postoffice was moved sixteen times before it was finally located in the present government building. All told, Trenton has had twenty postmasters.

Benjamin Franklin, who was appointed Postmaster General for the Colonies, in 1753, being removed by the Home Office in London in 1773, and named the first Postmaster General, when the Continental Congress established its own postal system in 1775, frequently came on inspection trips to Trenton. It was Franklin who established a "twice-a-week" mail service between Trenton and New York and Trenton and Philadelphia. Trenton was the connecting link for New York and Philadelphia mails.

"In Franklin's time," says Mr. Fell, "the twice-a-week mail service between Trenton and New York and Trenton and Philadelphia was quite an achievement, and when he made it three-times-a-week in summer and twice-a-week in winter, he accomplished his greatest feat as Postmaster General."

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THE NEWSPAPERS

Perhaps the writer's own personality should not intrude. But the history of Trenton in the twentieth century has been so closely interwoven with the history of the newspapers that it is well to be frank. The newspapers have played no inconspicuous part in the development of the community. In 1900 there were four well-established and well-edited journals in the city. I was not an editor or publisher then. I had been humbly born in South Trenton, twenty-seven years earlier, was married, and had, as a reporter on the old *True American*, been watching the parade go by for five years.

Back in the Civil War days my parents had hopefully emigrated from poverty-stricken Ireland. Two of my mother's brothers arrived in time to die fighting on the Union side and a third somehow managed to become an Augustinian priest and vice-president of Villanova College, on the outskirts of Philadelphia. The evening stenographic class of the Trenton High School, opened in 1891, made it possible for me to shift from the bench in a carriage factory to the newspaper field.

In 1900 Trenton was regarded as a morning newspaper town. There was a stiff rivalry between the *True American*, organ of the Democrats, and the *State Gazette*, which spoke for the Republicans. Each claimed to have the oldest newspaper. The odds seemed to favor the *State Gazette*, which had been published as a weekly or a daily since 1792. The *Trenton Evening Times*, established in 1882, had fallen into good hands after a somewhat hectic career, including two receiverships. The *Sunday Advertiser*, founded in 1883, was firmly established under the ownership and management of John J. Cleary, Thomas F. Fitzgerald and Charles H. Levy.

In February 1903 I became editor of the *Trenton Evening Times*, of which A. Crozer Reeves was president. The association has been continued down to the present writing. Meanwhile the *Times* has acquired all three of the other newspapers. The *Sunday Advertiser* was purchased December 5, 1912, the *True American* was purchased, at a receiver's sale, and discontinued August 8, 1913, and the *State Gazette* was purchased July 1, 1926. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation*

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and severe critic of American newspaper consolidations, has been kind enough to refer to it as "a benevolent monopoly."

The newspapers have prospered with the community. They have been with the vanguard in progress; encouraging and helpful in the counsels of the makers of the city, the captains of industry and among the busy workers. They have made an honest effort to fight for what they conceived to be the best; have battered public wrongs without malice and have accepted the return battering without losing their sense of humor. Perhaps they have been over-zealous at times. There is no human perfection. The newspaper staffs have experienced much joy as they observed, from the watchtower, the city's amazing growth in numbers and wealth as well as in civic righteousness.

In the decade between 1918 and 1928, wide-awake Trenton raised by popular drives upwards of \$6,000,000 for civic and humanitarian betterments. There has been no single public benefaction of great magnitude. Fine cooperation was developed in all walks of life. It was no uncommon thing to have five hundred enthusiastic men and women, diligently laboring in these popular drives, each trying to outdo the other in sacrifice and unselfish service for the community. In the allotted space, it is not possible to mention all by name, only the leaders can be singled out.

In presenting the 1926 Times' Civic Cup to John A. Campbell, for outstanding service, Governor Moore observed that one of the striking things about Trenton was the fact that those who prospered in the community continue to make their homes in Trenton and share their good things with their fellow citizens. Fortunate the editor whose lot has been so pleasantly cast among these happy, contented, God-fearing people, for "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

THE FUTURE OF TRENTON

Why predict the future of Trenton? Some sage has somewhere said "history is but the unrolled scroll of prophecy." If the city that is to come, in the remainder of the century, keeps pace with the tolerance, courage and enterprise of the past twenty-eight years, no forecast is needed.

And so we pass on—with the comforting realization that the

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Trenton of Today is better than the Trenton of Yesterday and the confident anticipation that the Trenton of Tomorrow will be better than the Trenton of Today.

December, 1928

APPENDIX A

Early Trenton Imprints and Maps

COMPILED BY CLAYTON L. TRAVER

I. Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, etc., Bearing Trenton Imprints 1778-1825

THERE were 186 issues of the Trenton press from its establishment in 1778 to 1800, according to Nelson's check-list of the issues of the press in New Jersey, 1723-1800.

The most of these were Acts and Votes of the Assembly and Journal of Council.

The other issues including those to 1825 were:

| DATE | ITEM |
|---------|---|
| 1778 | <i>The New Jersey Almanac for 1779.</i> Isaac Collins |
| 1778-86 | <i>New Jersey Gazette.</i> Isaac Collins First Issue, March 4, 1778; publication suspended July 1783; resumed, December 9, 1783, and continued until November 27, 1786; when with No. 446 publication was again and finally suspended. |
| 1779 | Case, The Rev. Wheeler, <i>Poems, On several occurrences in the Present Grand Struggle For American Liberty; Containing, 1. A contest between the Eagle and the Crane. 2. A dialogue between Col. Paine and Miss Clorinda Fairchild. 3. St. Claire's retreat and Burgoyne's defeat.</i> "Just published and to be sold at the Printing Office in Trenton (Price Five Shillings)." Isaac Collins |
| 1779 | <i>New-Jersey Almanac for 1780.</i> Isaac Collins |
| 1779 | [Benezet, Anthony], <i>The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, In some Account of the Dreadful Havoc made by the Use as well as the Abuse of Distilled Spiritous Liquors, by a Lover of Mankind.</i> 12mo. unbound. Trenton. Isaac Collins |
| 1780 | <i>Minutes of Joint-Meeting, August 30, 1776-May 1780.</i> Isaac Collins |
| 1780 | <i>New Jersey Almanac for 1781.</i> Isaac Collins |
| 1780 | <i>New Jersey Pocket Almanac 1781.</i> Isaac Collins |
| 1781 | <i>New Jersey Almanac for 1782.</i> Isaac Collins |

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- 1781 Smith, the Rev. Samuel S., *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of the Hon. Richard Stockton, Esq., of Princeton, March 2, 1781*. Title within mourning rules, 12mo., black wrappers. Isaac Collins
 This sermon, preached in Princeton at the funeral of the "Signer," contains on pp. 45-8 a "short elegy" to the memory of her husband by Mrs. Stockton and, also, a "sudden production" by the same hand.
- 1782 [Livingston, William], *Philosophic Solitude*. Isaac Collins
- 1782 *New Jersey Almanac for 1783*. Isaac Collins
- 1782 *New Jersey Pocket Almanac for 1783*. Isaac Collins
- 1782 Paine, Thomas, *Letter to the Abbé Raynal*. Isaac Collins
- 1783 *A Serious Address to the Rulers of America respecting Slavery*. Isaac Collins
- [1783] *Broadside Proclamation*, "By His Excellency William Livingston, Esq., Governor," etc. (Proclamation appointing the Second Thursday of December 1783, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress to the several States, to be observed as a Day of Public Thanksgiving for the restoration of Peace.) Dated, Trenton the eleventh day of November, 1783. Signed, William Livingston [Governor of New Jersey]. Isaac Collins
- 1783 *New Jersey Almanac for 1784*. Isaac Collins
- 1784 *New Jersey Almanac for 1785*. Isaac Collins
- 1784 *Wilson's Compilation of the Laws of New Jersey, 1776-1783*. Isaac Collins
- 1785 *New Jersey Almanac for 1786*. Isaac Collins
- 1785 Price, Richard, D.D., *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. Isaac Collins
- 1785 Ramsey, David, *History of the American Revolution in South Carolina*. 2 vols. Isaac Collins
- 1786 *New Jersey Almanac for 1787*. Isaac Collins
- 1787-88 *The Trenton Mercury and the Weekly Advertiser*. Frederick Quelle and George M. Wilson
 The first issue appeared probably May 15, 1787. The name was subsequently altered to *The Federal Post, or the Trenton Weekly Mercury*, and on October 3, 1788, on account of the scarcity of paper, was reduced in size to 9 x 15 inches, but printed twice a week, and the name abbreviated to *The Federal Post*. Apparently eighty-five numbers were issued in all and the latest number known is dated January 27, 1788.
- 1788 *Minutes of the Convention of the State of New Jersey [to ratify the Federal Constitution]*. Isaac Collins
 Reprinted 1888. Clayton L. Traver
- 1788 Minto, Walter, *Inaugural Oration at Princeton*. Isaac Collins
- 1788 *New Jersey Almanac for 1789*. Isaac Collins
- 1788 *New Testament*. 8vo. Isaac Collins
 The first New Testament printed in New Jersey.
- 1788 *New Testament*. 16mo., only one copy known. Isaac Collins
- 1788 *Proceedings of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New Jersey*. Isaac Collins
- 1789 *New Jersey Almanac for 1790*. Isaac Collins

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- 1790 *New Jersey Almanac for 1791*. Isaac Collins
 1791 *Holy Bible*, with Dr. Witherspoon's Notes to the Reader. 4to. Isaac Collins

The first Bible printed in New Jersey and one of the first two quarto Bibles printed in America.

- 1791 Hart, Oliver, *A Gospel Church Portrayed and Her orderly Service pointed Out*. Isaac Collins
 1791 *New Jersey Almanac for 1792*. Isaac Collins
 1791-96 (1800) *New Jersey State Gazette*. George Sherman and John Mershon

Sold to Matthias Day in 1794. Title changed in 1796 to *The State Gazette and New Jersey Advertiser*. On July 9, 1798, it was bought by Gersham Craft and William Black, who changed its name to *The Federalist New Jersey Gazette*. The next number contains the advertisement dated July 14, 1798, that William Black had sold out to Craft. The *Federalist* continued until June 23, 1800, the last issue being No. 103. In the meantime, George Sherman, John Mershon and I. Thomas started a new paper, also titled *New Jersey State Gazette*, the earliest known copy being No. 6, Vol. I, dated Tuesday, April 9, 1799, so that the first number probably appeared March 5 of that year. The two rival papers were combined and appeared June 30, 1800, as *The Federalist and New Jersey Gazette*. See 1799-1800, below.

- 1792 *New Jersey Almanac for 1793*. Isaac Collins
 1792 *Extract from the Epistles of the Meeting for Suffering in London*.
 1793 *Bible*, with Dr. Witherspoon's Notes to the Reader. 8vo. Isaac Collins
 1793 *New Jersey Almanac for 1794*. Isaac Collins
 1793 Phipps, Joseph, *The Original and Present State of Man*. Isaac Collins
 1793 Pariset, Nicholas, *The American Trooper's Pocket Companion: being A Concise and Comprehensive System of Discipline for the Cavalry of the United States*. Printed for the Author by Day and Hopkins
 1794 *Journal of Council, 18 Session, 1st and 2nd sitting*. Matthias Day
 1794 *Division Orders*, December 22. [Isaac Collins?]
 1794 *Laws of the College of New Jersey*. Isaac Collins
 1794 *New Jersey Almanac for 1795*. Isaac Collins
 1794 *New Testament*. 8vo. Isaac Collins
 1795 *Some Account of the Life and Religious Labors of Sarah Grubb*. Isaac Collins
 1795 *Power of Religion on the Mind*. Isaac Collins
 1795 *New Jersey Almanac for 1796*. Isaac Collins
 1795 *The Mother's Catechism*. Matthias Day
 1796 *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac for 1797*. Matthias Day
 1797 *American Ladies Pocket Book for 1797* [Matthias Day?]
 1797 *A Table of Stamp Duties*. [Matthias Day?]
 1797 *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac for 1798*. Matthias Day
 1797 *Theatrical Broadside*. [Matthias Day?]

"Mr. Edgar Most Respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Trenton that he will open his Theatre

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for One Night Only, On Thursday the 9th of April
with selected scenes from Lillois admired tragedy of
George Barnwell."

- 1798 *An Act Respecting Slaves*. G. Craft
- 1798 [Chauvet, David], *The Conduct of the Government of France Towards the Republic of Geneva*, Translated from the French by a Citizen of Trenton. Printed by G. Craft
- 1798 *Laws and Regulations of the Trenton Library Co.* Matthias Day
- 1798 Ewing, James, *The Columbian Alphabet, Being an attempt to New Model the English Alphabet in such a manner as to Mark every simple sound by an Appropriate Character*. Printed by Matthias Day
- 1798-1800 *The Federalist*. G. Craft
- 1798 *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac for 1799*. Matthias Day
- 1799 *An Act for the Regulation of the Militia of New Jersey*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1799 Griffith, William, *Essays on the Constitution of New Jersey*, by Eumenes. G. Craft.
- 1799 *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac for 1800*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1799-1800 *New Jersey State Gazette*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
The Federalist and New Jersey State Gazette (after June 23, 1800). Sherman, Mershon, Thomas and Craft
- 1799 *The Evidence in a Cause depending in the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey between Wm. Tatem et als., Complainants, and Jeffrey Chew et als., Defendants*. Gersham Craft
- 1799 *The Practice of the Courts of Law and Equity in the State of New Jersey*. G. Craft
- 1800 *Address to the Federal Republicans of the State of New Jersey*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1800 Griffith, William, *Oration on Washington delivered at Burlington*. G. Craft
- 1800 *Legacies of Washington*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1800 *New Jersey and Pennsylvania Almanac for 1801*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1800 *Serious Considerations on the Election of a President*. Sherman, Mershon and Thomas
- 1800 Smith, Samuel Stanhope, *Oration upon the Death of Washington*. G. Craft
- 1800 *Address of the Federal Republicans of the State recommending the choice of Aaron Burr (and four others) for Representatives in the Seventh Congress of the United States*.
- 1802 Knox, *Spirit of Despotism*. Wilson and Blackwell
- 1802 Sloan, President James, *Oration delivered at a Meeting of the Dramatic Association of the County of Gloucester, March 4, 1802*. Printed by Wilson and Blackwell
- 1803 Algernon, Sidney, *Vindication of the Measures of the Present Administration*. Printed and published by Wilson and Blackwell, printers, booksellers and stationers
- 1805 Newton, Rev. John, *The Christian Character*. James Oram

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- 1805 Ruddiman, Thomas, *Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*. James Oram
- 1805 Wilson, Rev. James, *Private Meditation and Prayers*. James Oram
- 1805 Ewing, James, *Treatise on the Office and Duty of Justice of the Peace*. Printed for the author by James Oram
- 1805 Macgowan, John, *Life of Joseph*. Printed by James Oram and for sale at his bookstore near the Presbyterian Church
- 1806 Branagan, Thomas, *Flowers of Literature*. Printed by James Oram for the Author and D. Fenton
- 1806 Clark, John, *Introduction to the Making of Latin*. James Oram
- 1807 Branagan, Thomas, *Political and Theological Disquisitions*. Printed for the Author
- 1808 Drelingcourt, Christian, *Defence against the Fear of Death*. James Oram
- 1808 *Charms of Literature*. Printed and sold by James Oram
- 1809 *Galloway's Commentaries*, 2 vols. Printed by James Oram for D. Fenton
- 1809 *The New Whole Duty of Man*. James Oram
- 1810 Wright, Paul, *Life of Christ*. D. Fenton. James Oram, printer
- 1810 Branagan, Thomas, *Flowers of Literature*. Philadelphia. Printed for D. Fenton
- 1811 Lendrum, John, *History of the American Revolution*. Reprinted by James Oram
- 1811 *Complete Letter Writers*. James Oram
- 1811 Watts, I., *The World to Come*. 2 vols. D. Fenton. Joseph Rakestraw, printer
- 1811 Watts, I., *A Guide to Prayer*. D. Fenton
- 1811 Watts, I., *Doctrine of the Passions*. D. Fenton
- 1811 Ramsey, David, *History of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. James Wilson
- 1811 *Bloomfield's Laws of New Jersey*. Printed by J. J. Wilson
- 1812 *Washington's Farewell Address*. George Sherman
- 1812 Wilson, Rev. John, *Sacramental Meditations*. D. Fenton
- 1812 Trumbull, Henry, *History of the Discovery of America*. D. Fenton.
- 1812 Smith, Rev. Samuel Stanhope, *Lectures on Moral and Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. Published by Daniel Fenton for the Author. James J. Wilson, printer
- 1812 Doctor Martinet, *Catechism of Nature*. Republished by D. Fenton
- 1813 *Constitution of the United States*. Moore and Leake. William and David Robinson, printers
- 1813 Baxter, *Saints Everlasting Rest*. Moore and Leake
- 1813 *A National Song Book*. James J. Wilson
- 1813 *State of Innocence and Fall of Man*. William Robinson and John C. Moore. William and David Robinson, printers
- 1813 *Flowers of Ancient History*. Bennet and Walton. James J. Wilson, printer
- 1813 Smith, M., *Geographical View of Upper Canada*. Moore and Leake. William and David Robinson, printers
- 1813 *Life of Peter the Great*. Moore and Leake

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- 1813 Kimpton, Rev. Edward, *Universal History of the Holy Bible*. 4 vols. J. J. Wilson and D. Fenton. J. J. Wilson, printer
- 1813 *Laws of the College of New Jersey, revised, amended and adopted September 30, 1813*. George Sherman
- 1815 *The Second Advent*, by an American Layman. D. Fenton and S. Hutchinson
- 1815 Blake, *The Private Instructor*. D. Fenton
- 1815 Slack, J. P., *The American Orator*. D. Fenton. Thomas H. Stiles, printer
- 1815 New Jersey and New York Steamboat Monopoly, *A History of the Steamboat Case lately Discussed by Counsel before the Legislature of New Jersey, Comprised in a Letter to a Gentleman at Washington*. 52 pp., unbound. Printed for the Author, 1815.
- 1816 Boudinot, Elias, *The Star in the West*. D. Fenton. S. Hutchinson and J. Dunham
- 1816 Scott, John, *A Visit to Paris*. George S. Sherman
- 1816 *Flowers of Literature*. D. Fenton
- 1816 *Constitution of the Trenton Female Society*. George Sherman
- 1817 *First Annual Report of the Trenton Female Tract Society*. George Sherman
- 1817 *The Olio*. D. and E. Fenton. Deare and Myer, printers
- 1817 Smith, Samuel Stanhope, *Oratio Inauguralis*. D. and E. Fenton
- 1817 Smith, Samuel S., *Oration on the Death of Washington*, 1800. 3rd edition
- 1818 Hanna, *The American Instructor*. Published by the Author
- 1819 Gibbon, Edward, *Memoirs of Alexander the First*. D. and E. Fenton
- 1819 Rudd, Rev. John C., *Compendium of Geography*. D. and E. Fenton
- 1820 Walker, Robert, *Sermons*. 3 vols. in 2. J. Justice and A. McKean. J. Justice, printer
- 1821 Miller, Samuel, *Letters on Unitarianism*. George Sherman
- 1822 Bickersteth, Edward, *A Scripture Help*. George Sherman
- 1822 Foster, John, *A Discourse, etc.* Printed by George Sherman
- 1823 *The Religious Tradesman*. Francis S. Wiggins
- 1823 Rogers, T. J., *American Biographical Dictionary*. Francis S. Wiggin
- 1824 Paley, William, *Natural Theology*. Daniel Fenton. Printed by D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton
- 1824 Payne, John, *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis. Francis S. Wiggins
- 1824 Slack, Joshua P., *The American Orator*. 2nd edition. D. Fenton

The following item, though not falling within the date limits set for this check list, is here included because of its special interest:

- 1845 *The New-England Primer Restored*, to which are added the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, the account of the Burning of John Rodgers and several other pieces interesting and useful copied chiefly from a London edition of 1771. Printed for the Rev. Eli F. Cooley by Sherman and Harron

Appendix A

II. Maps of Trenton

THE cartographic history of Trenton begins with the map of the present site of Trenton, drawn from surveys by William Emley in 1714 and found in Basse's *Book of Surveys*. A copy of this map is shown on page 26 and there is a facsimile on page 17 of Lee's *History of Trenton*. It was in this year that Mahlon Stacy, Jr., sold his plantation to Colonel William Trent. The title of the map is:

*Mahlon Stacy's Plantation
Surveyed by William Emley 6th month 12th 1714
Contents "beside Ways" 800 acres*

The next maps of which there is any record are those prepared by the Hessian Lieutenants Piel, Wiederhold and Fischer, and knowledge of which we owe to the exhaustive research of the late General William S. Stryker in his admirable *History of the Battle of Trenton*. The originals of these maps were found in the King's State Archives at Marburg, Germany, and General Stryker reproduced them in his *History*.

General James Wilkinson, who fought at the Battle of Trenton, supplies the next map of the city in the "Diagrams and Plans" accompanying his *Memoirs*, published in 1816.

Other maps are as follows:

- A Plan and Survey of Sundry pieces of Land adjoining the Delaware River and Assanpink Creek belonging to (D)an(iel) Cox 1789. (Manuscript.)*
A Plan of Sundry lots of Land the Property of Daniel W. Cox, Esq. Part of his Bloomsbury Estate. Circa 1800. (Manuscript.)
Thomas Gordon, *Map of Trenton and Vicinity*. (The first wall-map of the city.) 1835.
J. C. Sidney, *Map of Trenton*. Published by M. Dripps, with thirteen views of Trenton. Philadelphia, 1849.
Otley and Keily, *Map of Mercer County*. Published by Van der Veer, Camden, 1849. Includes map of Trenton and engraving of State House and State Asylum.
Map, Ferry Street north to Factory and River to Jackson Street. No date, circa 1845. Manuscript.
Charles Potts, *Plan of Lots near Canal and Railroad Depots*. 1849. Manuscript.
C. McGill, *Plan of Lots East and West of South Broad Street and East of the Canal*, showing Roebing's Mill. No date, circa 1850. Manuscript.
Plot of Lands belonging to Estate of John Dickinson between the Canal and Assunpink Creek. No date, circa 1853. Manuscript.

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- Robert Lamborn, *Plan of S. M. Higbee's Lots* between the Feeder and Spring Street. 1857. Manuscript.
- R. H. Lamborn, C.E., *Trenton and Part of Hamilton Township*, surveyed, drawn and published by R. H. Lamborne, C.E., Trenton. With twenty-five views of Trenton. No date, circa 1860.
- Lake and Beers, *Vicinity of Philadelphia and Trenton*, surveyed by Lake and Beers. Published by Stone and Pomery, Philadelphia. 1860. Inset map of Trenton.
- Plan of Lots of Homedale Land Association*. 1865. Manuscript.
- Plan of Lots of East Trenton Land Association*. 1865. Manuscript.
- Plan of Lots, Linden Park Land Association*, in Hamilton Township. 1869. Manuscript.
- Map of Trenton*. Published by F. W. Beers & Co. 1870.
- Plan of Building Lots and Manufacturing Sites*, between Brunswick Avenue and Clinton Avenue, surveyed by C. C. Haven. 1873.
- Lands belonging to Estate of Captain William E. Hunt*, Third Ward. No date, circa 1870.
- Plot of Lands belonging to Abner Chambers*, Chambers Street to Cook Alley. 1879. Manuscript.
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The Engineering Department of the City of Trenton has a large collection of manuscript and printed maps.

Many of the above maps may be consulted also at the Free Public Library.

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Important Events

- 1679 Mahlon Stacy settles at the Falls of the Delaware and builds a grist mill.
- 1684 Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends, formed.
- 1703 April 20. Deed given for property, Hopewell Episcopal Church (Breese farm), of which St. Michael's Church is the successor.
- 1704 April 3. Death of Mahlon Stacy.
- 1714 Hunterdon County created.
- 1714 August 16 and 17. Mahlon Stacy, Jr., sells 800 acres to William Trent.
- 1719 Bloomsbury Court built by William Trent.
- 1719 Hunterdon County Court House erected; first public building in Trenton.
- 1719 The name of Trenton first comes into general use about this time.
- 1719 Township of Trenton formed.
- 1719 March. County courts held at Trenton for the first time.
- 1724 December 25. Death of William Trent, at Bloomsbury Court.
- 1726 First Presbyterian Church built.
- 1732 September. First stage line runs from Trenton to Philadelphia.
- 1739 November. Friends' Meeting House on Hanover Street completed.
- 1745 First steel mill in New Jersey operated by Benjamin Yard.
- 1746 September 6. Trenton becomes a borough under the Crown.
- 1747 February 8. Union Fire Company organized.
- 1747-48 St. Michael's Church erected.
- 1750 Trenton Library Company established by gift of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader.
- 1750 April 7. Royal charter surrendered to the Crown.
- 1753 First common school erected on present site of First Presbyterian Church.
- 1758-59 Old Barracks erected.
- 1773 First Methodist Church building erected, corner of Broad and Academy Streets.
- 1775 May 23. First Provincial Congress of the Colony of New Jersey assembles in Trenton.
- 1776 July 2. Provincial Congress of New Jersey, meeting at Burlington, proclaims Colony's independence of Great Britain and adopts constitution.
- 1776 July 8. Declaration of Independence and Constitution of New Jersey read from steps of Court House.
- 1776 December 12-14. British and Hessian troops occupy Trenton.
- 1776 December 25. Washington and his troops cross the Delaware.
- 1776 December 26. Battle of Trenton and defeat of the Hessians.
- 1777 January 2. Second Battle of Trenton; Washington withdraws to Princeton.

Appendix B

- 1778 March. Isaac Collins establishes first printing press in Trenton.
- 1782 Trenton Academy opened.
- 1784 November 1-December 24. Continental Congress meets in French Arms Tavern.
- 1784 December 10-13. Lafayette in Trenton. Takes leave of Continental Congress, December 11.
- 1786 July 27. John Fitch operates first boat to be propelled by steam on the Delaware.
- 1787 July 4. Trenton Lodge No. 5, of the Masonic Order, granted dispensation.
- 1789 April 21. Washington's reception by the people of Trenton.
- 1790 November 25. Trenton becomes capital of New Jersey.
- 1792 September 4. *State Gazette* first published.
- 1792 November 13. Trenton incorporated as a city.
- 1793 Original State House first used by Legislature.
- 1793 August 26. Cornerstone of first Masonic Temple laid.
- 1799 August 26-November. Public offices of the United States removed to Trenton.
- 1801 March 10. *True American* first issued.
- 1803 November 26. First Baptist meeting house opened for worship.
- 1804 Trenton Banking Company organized.
- 1804 February 29. Trenton Water Works incorporated.
- 1806 January 30. First bridge over the Delaware opened for travel.
- 1814 June 12. First Roman Catholic Church, "Chapel of St. John the Baptist," dedicated.
- 1824 September 25-27. Lafayette's second visit to Trenton.
- 1829 First public schools organized and opened.
- 1834 Delaware and Raritan Canal between Trenton and New Brunswick completed.
- 1837 Horse cars first run from Hanover Street Railroad Station to Morrisville, connecting with trains to Philadelphia.
- 1837 Old City Hall, northeast corner of State and Broad Streets, built.
- 1837 Trenton township incorporated with city of Trenton.
- 1837 April 1. New city charter adopted.
- 1838 Camden and Amboy railroad station built at East State Street and the canal.
- 1838 February 22. Mercer County created; Trenton selected as County seat.
- 1839 Mercer County Court House erected.
- 1839 January 1. Camden and Amboy line between New York and Philadelphia opened.
- 1847 Trenton Iron Works incorporated.
- 1848 John A. Roebling erects a mill for the manufacture of wire rope.
- 1849 First Lutheran Church organized (German Evangelical Lutheran Trinity).
- 1851 Borough of South Trenton, consisting of Mill Hill and Bloomsbury, annexed to Trenton.
- 1852 Taylor and Speeler's pottery established.
- 1856 Lambertton annexed to Trenton.
- 1856 Young Men's Christian Association organized.
- 1859 March 9. Trenton Horse Railroad Company incorporated.

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- 1860 Calhoun Street Bridge opened for travel.
- 1860 First Jewish Synagogue organized.
- 1867 March 18. Taylor Opera House opened.
- 1874 May 31. St. Francis', Trenton's first hospital, dedicated.
- 1874 October. First high school building on Mercer Street opened.
- 1876 Postoffice building, at State and Montgomery Streets, completed.
- 1882 *Trenton Times* established.
- 1883 *Sunday Advertiser* first issued.
- 1884 June 25. Calhoun Street Bridge destroyed by fire.
- 1888 Cadwalader Park acquired.
- 1888 March 30. Borough of Chambersburg and township of Millham annexed to Trenton.
- 1888 July. Inter-State Fair Association organized.
- 1891 December 26. Cornerstone of Trenton Battle Monument laid.
- 1892 May 22. First electric railway in Trenton.
- 1893 October 19. Trenton Battle Monument dedicated.
- 1898 February 28. Borough of Wilbur annexed to Trenton.
- 1899 September 20. New city reservoir opened.
- 1900 Part of Hamilton township annexed to Trenton.
- 1900 March 23. Portion of Ewing township annexed to Trenton.
- 1901 April 8. New High school building at Hamilton and Chestnut Avenues dedicated.
- 1901 December 26. Woodrow Wilson speaks at the 125th Anniversary Celebration of the Battles of Trenton.
- 1902 Old Barracks Association formed.
- 1902 May 14. Cornerstone of new Court House laid.
- 1902 June 9. Free Public Library dedicated.
- 1903 State armory built.
- 1903 Young Women's Christian Association organized.
- 1910 November. New City Hall opened for official use.
- 1911 Municipal Colony established.
- 1911 March. School of Industrial Arts occupies new building at State and Willow Streets.
- 1911 June 20. Commission government adopted. Five commissioners elected, August 15, 1911.
- 1914 Filtration plant placed in operation.
- 1916 October. Junior High School No. 1 opened.
- 1917 March 28. First Trenton troops, Second Regiment, National Guard, mobilized for World War.
- 1919 March 29. Trenton Historical Society organized.
- 1919 May 11. Municipal wharf and warehouses dedicated.
- 1921 Portion of Hamilton township annexed; site of sewage disposal plant.
- 1921 September 21. Stacy-Trent Hotel formally opened.
- 1924 Junior High School No. 3 opened.
- 1926 Junior High School No. 4 opened.
- 1926 October 9. Cornerstone of New Masonic Temple, South Willow Street, laid.
- 1926 December 29. President Calvin Coolidge makes address at dinner of the Trenton Historical Society in celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Battles of Trenton.

APPENDIX C

Borough and City Officials

OFFICIALS UNDER THE BOROUGH CHARTER OF 1746

Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, Chief Burgess
Nathaniel Ware, Recorder
David Martin, Marshal
Andrew Reed, Treasurer

Trenton was incorporated as a Borough September 6, 1746, and the charter was surrendered December 23, 1749, effective April 9, 1750.

The following lists of City officials were furnished and certified to as correct by Leon D. Hirsch, city clerk.

MAYORS FROM THE GRANTING OF THE CHARTER OF 1792 ONWARD

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Moore Furman | 1792-1794 |
| Aaron D. Woodruff | 1794-1797 |
| James Ewing | 1797-1803 |
| Joshua Wright | 1803-1806 |
| Stacy Potts | 1806-1814 |
| Robert McNealy | 1814-1832 |
| Charles Burroughs | 1832-1847 |
| Samuel R. Hamilton | 1847-1849 |
| William C. Howell | 1849-1850 |
| William Napton | 1850-1852 |
| John R. Tucker | 1852-1854 |
| William Napton | 1854-1855 |
| William P. Sherman | 1855 (part) |
| John R. Tucker | 1855-1856 |
| Joseph Wood | 1856-1859 |
| Franklin S. Mills | 1859-1861 |
| William R. McKean | 1861-1863 |

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| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| Franklin S. Mills | 1863-1867 |
| Alfred Reed | 1867-1868 |
| William Napton | 1868-1871 |
| John Briest | 1871-1875 |
| Wesley Creveling | 1875-1877 |
| Daniel B. Bodine | 1877-1879 |
| William Rice | 1879-1881 |
| Garret D. W. Vroom | 1881-1884 |
| Richard A. Donnelly | 1884-1886 |
| John Woolverton | 1886-1887 |
| Frank A. Magowan | 1887-1889 |
| Anthony A. Skirm | 1889-1891 |
| Daniel J. Bechtel | 1891-1893 |
| Joseph B. Shaw | 1893-1895 |
| Emory N. Yard | 1895-1897 |
| Welling G. Sickel | 1897-1899 |
| Frank O. Briggs | 1899-1902 |
| Frank S. Katzenbach, Jr. | 1902-1906 |
| Frederick W. Gnichtel | 1906-1908 |
| Walter Madden | 1908-1911 |
| Frederick W. Donnelly | 1911- |

Commission government went into effect August 22, 1911.

OFFICIALS

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Frederick W. Donnelly, Mayor and Director of Public Affairs | 1911- |
| William F. Burk,* Director of Parks and Public Property | 1911-1919 |
| J. Ridgway Fell,‡ Director of Streets and Public Improvements | 1911-1923 |
| George B. La Barre, Director of Public Safety | 1911- |
| Edward W. Lee, Director of Revenue and Finance | 1911- |
| George W. Page, Director of Parks and Public Improvements | (elected July 22) 1919- |
| Abram Swan, Jr., Director of Public Works | (elected May 8) 1923- |

* Died in office.

‡ Declined renomination.

Appendix C

CITY CLERKS

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Benjamin Smith | 1792-1796 |
| Jacob Benjamin | 1796-1806 |
| Peter Forman | 1806-1822 |
| Samuel T. Machett | 1822-1827 |
| John S. Chambers† | 1827 (part) |
| David Johnston | 1828-1836 |
| John R. Tucker | 1836-1837 |
| Thomas J. Macpherson | 1837-1842 |
| Henry C. Boswell | 1842-1843 |
| Alexander M. Johnston | 1843-1848 |
| L. R. Justice | 1848-1849 |
| Charles W. Jay | 1849-1850 |
| Alexander M. Johnston | 1850-1857 |
| John O. Raum | 1857-1859 |
| William N. Nutt | 1859-1862 |
| Mathew Brown | 1862-1865 |
| Benjamin Naar, Jr. | 1865-1866 |
| Alexander M. Johnston | 1866-1871 |
| Edward E. Hooker | 1871 (part) |
| Benjamin Moorhouse | 1871-1873 |
| Frederick S. McNeely | 1873-1875 |
| Alexander C. Yard | 1875-1882 |
| William H. Earley | 1882-1885 |
| Eckford Moore | 1885-1887 |
| John C. Owens | 1887-1892 |
| Charles J. Fury | 1892-1894 |
| C. Edward Murray | 1894-1904 |
| Harry B. Salter | 1904-1912 |
| Frank Thompson | 1912-1916 |
| Leon D. Hirsch | 1916- |

† John S. Chambers served as city clerk pro tem during part of the year 1827.

CITY TREASURERS

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Pontius D. Stelle | 1792-1798 |
| Jacob Benjamin | 1798-1799 |

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| | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Alexander Chambers | 1799-1818 |
| John R. Smith | 1818-1826 |
| Samuel Evans | 1826-1839 |
| Joseph G. Brearley | 1839-1840 |
| Samuel Evans | 1840-1841 |
| William C. Howell | 1841-1849 |
| Jonathan Fisk | 1849-1852 |
| James H. Clark | 1852-1853 |
| Jonathan Fisk | 1853-1858 |
| William M. Force | 1858-1859 |
| Jesse M. Clark | 1859-1862 |
| Peter Crozer | 1862-1867 |
| John O. Raum | 1867-1871 |
| Joshua Jones | 1871-1873 |
| Philip H. Wentz | 1873-1875 |
| Thomas S. Stevens | 1875-1881 |
| J. R. Encke | 1881-1884 |
| John Margerum | 1884-1887 |
| Watson H. Linburg | 1887-1888 |
| Charles P. Brown | 1888-1892 |
| Samuel Walker, Jr. | 1892-1894 |
| William J. B. Stokes | 1894-1910 |
| Harry E. Evans | 1910- |

APPENDIX D

Statistics of Population by Decades

During the Colonial period a census of New Jersey was taken from time to time, but the figures for the most part are given by Counties and therefore furnish no accurate information as to the population of Trenton in those early days. As estimated by the number of houses in the town the population of Trenton at about the period of the Revolutionary War could not much have exceeded five hundred to six hundred. The first Federal census was taken in 1790. The enumerators' schedules for New Jersey from 1790 to 1830 were destroyed by fire.

The first records for the State of New Jersey on file in the Bureau of the Census relate to 1800 and are the recapitulated returns by minor civil divisions. These returns present the population of New Jersey by Counties for 1800 and not for any smaller subdivisions. The figures for 1810 are, therefore, the earliest records of population for Trenton on file in the Bureau of the Census.

The State Department of New Jersey from data in its possession has computed the population for 1790 and 1800, but for 1790 the figures relate to the Township of Trenton, including the town itself, while the figures for 1800 are given separately for each. If the same proportion between town and township prevailed in 1790 as in 1800, this would give the town a population in 1790 of approximately twelve hundred. Probably the figures for these two earlier dates do not include the slave population.

| | <i>Total</i> | <i>Native- born</i> | <i>Foreign- born</i> | <i>Col- ored</i> |
|------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1800 | 1,648 | | | |
| 1810 | 3,002 | | | 435 ¹ |
| 1820 | 3,942 | | | 600 ¹ |

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| | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------------------|
| 1830 | 3,925 | | | 612 ¹ |
| 1840 | 4,035 | | | 441 ¹ |
| 1850 | 6,461 | | | 526 ¹ |
| 1860 | 17,228 ² | | | 675 |
| 1870 | 22,874 | 17,855 | 5,019 | 805 |
| 1880 | 29,910 | 24,191 | 5,719 | 1,376 |
| 1890 | 57,458 ² | 43,410 | 14,048 | 1,732 |
| 1900 | 73,307 | 56,514 | 16,793 | 2,158 |
| 1910 | 96,815 | 67,888 | 26,310 | 2,581 |
| 1920 | 119,289 | 84,829 | 30,073 | 4,315 ³ |
| 1928 | 139,187 (estimated) | | | |

¹ Colored includes 181 slaves in 1810; 85 in 1820; 20 in 1830; 4 in 1840 and 1 in 1850. The colored inhabitants are included in the total for each year.

² The large increase in population since the preceding decade was due mainly to the annexation of outlying sections.

³ From a recent survey it is estimated that the colored inhabitants today (1928) number from 6,000 to 6,500.

An accurate survey indicates also that there are in Trenton at the present time some 12,000 persons of Jewish blood, included under the headings foreign and native-born. For full statistics of foreign peoples, see the chapter "Trenton's Citizens of Foreign Origin."

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